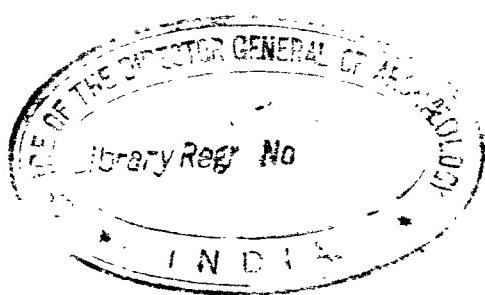


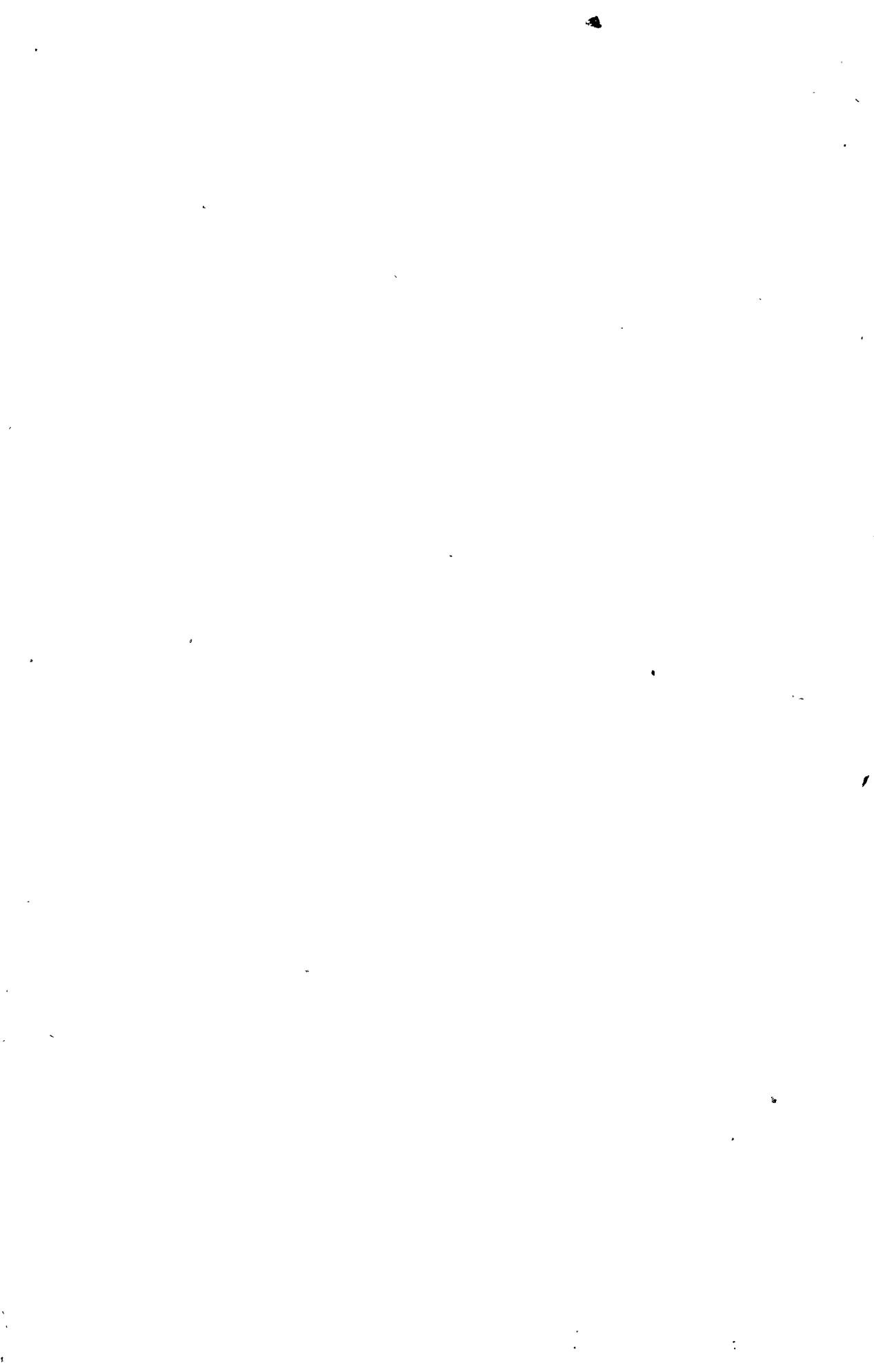
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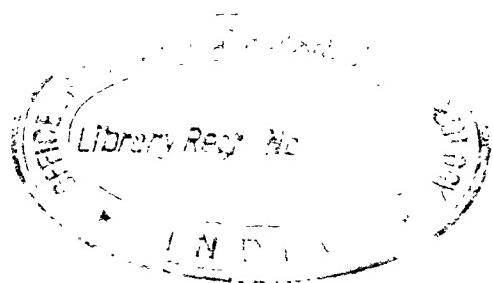
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OF
HELLENIC STUDIES



THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL

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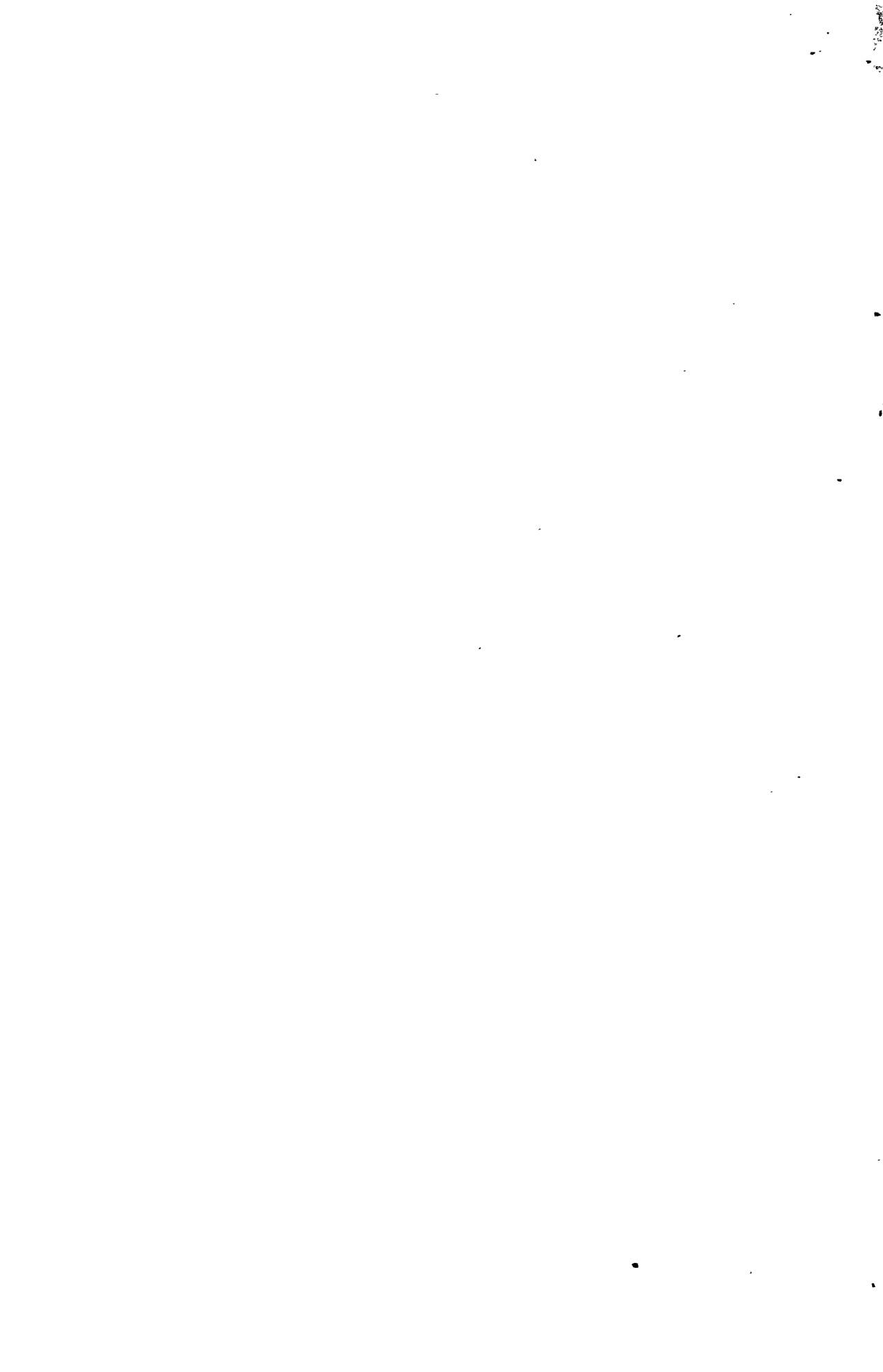
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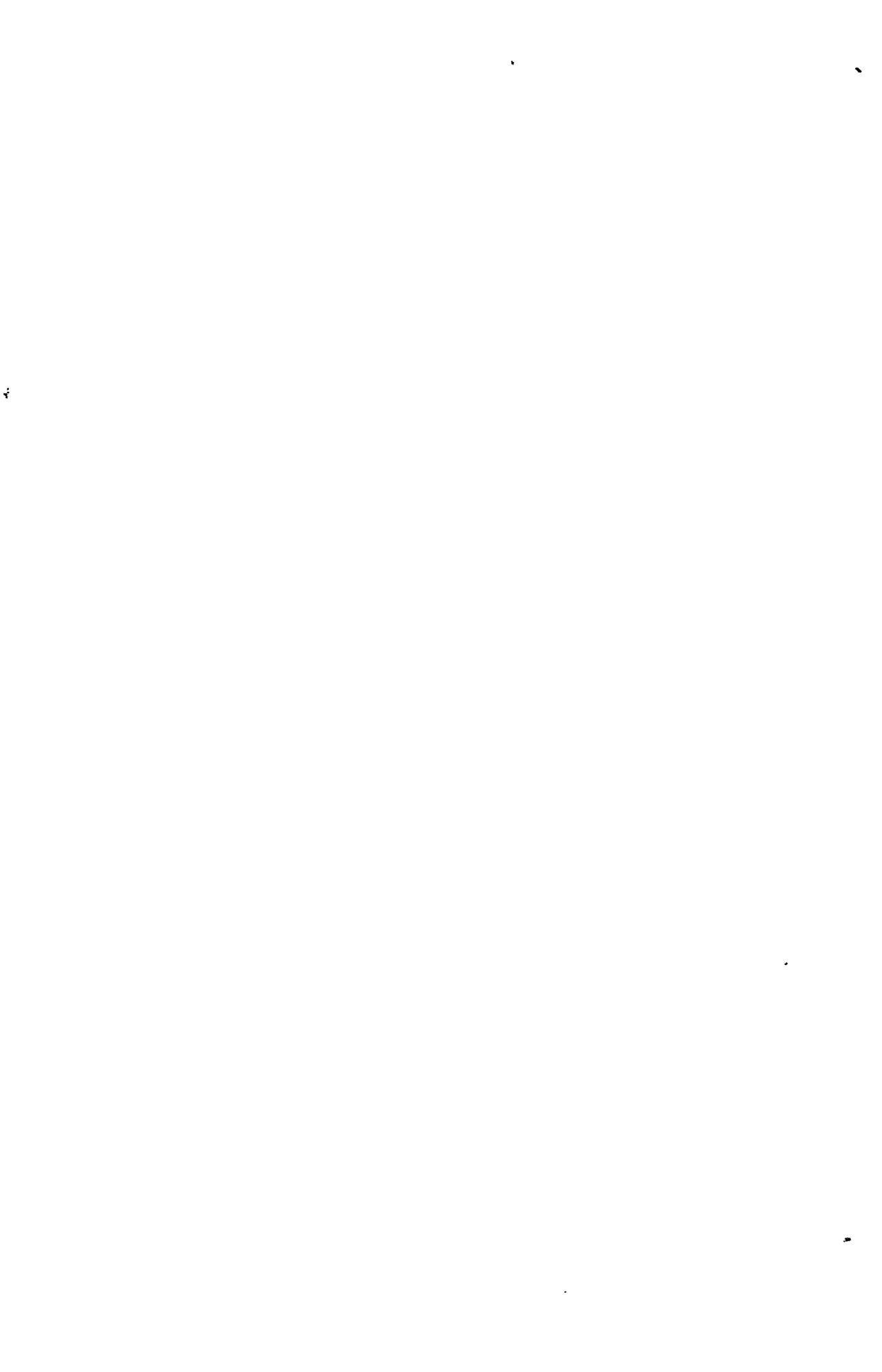
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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.
6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.
7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.
8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.
9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.
10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.
11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.
12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.
13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.
14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.
15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.
16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.
17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1905, shall pay on election an entrance fee of two guineas.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bonâ fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of two guineas, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

38. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 19 BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, W.C.

I. THAT the Hellenic Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Hon. Librarian and Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Hon. Librarian, Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from 10.30 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. (Saturdays, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation from July 20 to August 31 (inclusive).

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books, except under special circumstances, be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian may reclaim it.

- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.
- (6) All books are due for return to the Library before the summer vacation.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.
- (4) New books within one month of their coming into the Library.

X. That new books may be borrowed for one week only, if they have been more than one month and less than three months in the Library.

XI. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each week after application has been made by the Librarian for its return, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

XII. That the following be the Rules defining the position and privileges of Subscribing Libraries :—

- a. Subscribing Libraries are entitled to receive the publications of the Society on the same conditions as Members.
- b. Subscribing Libraries, or the Librarians, are permitted to *purchase* photographs, lantern slides, etc., on the same conditions as Members.
- c. Subscribing Libraries and the Librarians are not permitted to *hire* lantern slides.
- d. A Librarian, if he so desires, may receive notices of meetings and may attend meetings, but is not entitled to vote on questions of private business.
- e. A Librarian is permitted to read in the Society's Library.
- f. A Librarian is not permitted to borrow books, either for his own use, or for the use of a reader in the Library to which he is attached.

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MR. F. H. MARSHALL (*Hon. Librarian*).

MR. J. ff. B. PENOVRE (*Librarian*).

MR. ARTHUR SMITH.

Applications for books and letters relating to the Photographic Collections, and Lantern Slides, should be addressed to the Librarian, at 19 Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

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Breslau, Königliche und Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Breslau*.
Dresden, Königliche Skulpturensammlung, *Dresden*.
Erlangen, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Erlangen*.
Freiburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Freiburg i. Br., Baden* (Prof. Steup).
Giessen, Philologisches Seminar, *Giessen*.
Göttingen, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Göttingen*.
Greifswald, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Greifswald*.
Halle, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Halle*.
Heidelberg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Heidelberg*.
Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Jena*.
Kiel, Munz- und Kunstsammlung der Universität, *Kiel*.
Königsberg, Königl. und Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Königsberg*.
Marburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Marburg*.
Münster, Königliche Paulimische Bibliothek, *Münster i. W.*.
Munich, Archäologisches Seminar der Königl. Universität, *Galleriestrasse 4, München*.
 „ Königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, *München*.
Rostock, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Rostock, Mecklenburg*.
Strassburg, Kunstarchaolog. Institut der Universität, *Strassburg*.
 „ Universitäts- und Landes-Bibliothek, *Strassburg*.
Tübingen, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Tübingen, Württemberg*.
 „ K. Archäolog. Institut der Universität, *Wilhelmstrasse, 9, Tübingen, Württemberg*.
Wurzburg, K. Universität, Kunstgeschichtliches Museum, *Würzburg, Bavaria*.

GREECE.

- Athens**, The American School of Classical Studies, *Athens*.
 „ The Austrian School.

HOLLAND.

- Leiden**, University Library, *Leiden, Holland*.
Utrecht, University Library, *Utrecht, Holland*.

ITALY.

- Rome**, The American School of Classical Studies, 5, *Via Vicenza, Rome*.
Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, *Torino, Italy*.

NORWAY.

- Christiania**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Christiania, Norway*.

RUSSIA.

- St. Petersburg**, La Bibliothèque Impériale Publique, *St. Petersburg, Russia*.

SWEDEN.

- Stockholm**, Kongl. Biblioteket, *Stockholm, Sweden*.
Uppsala, Kungl. Universitetets Bibliotek, *Uppsala, Sweden*.

SWITZERLAND.

- Geneva**, La Bibliothèque Publique, *Genève, Switzerland*.
Lausanne, L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Rue Valentin 44, *Lausanne* (Dr. H. Meylan-Faure).
Zürich, Kantons-Bibliothek, *Zurich, Switzerland*.

SYRIA.

- Jerusalem**, École Biblique et Archéologique de St. Étienne, *Jérusalem*.

LIST OF JOURNALS, &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE
JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- American Journal of Archaeology (Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 96, *Chestnut Street Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*).
- American Journal of Philology (Library of the Johns Hopkins University, *Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.*).
- Analecta Bollandiana, Société des Bollandistes, 22, *Boulevard Saint-Michel, Bruxelles.*
- Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux (Revue des Études Anciennes—Bulletin Hispanique—Bulletin Italien). Rédaction des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, *L'Université, Bordeaux, France.*
- Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (The Institute of Archaeology, 40, *Bedford Street, Liverpool.*)
- Annual of the British School at *Athens*.
- Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (B. G. Teubner, *Leipzig*).
- Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (O. R. Reisland, *Carlsstrasse 20, Leipzig, Germany*).
- Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*).
- Bulletin de l'Institut Archéol. Russe, à Constantinople (M. le Secrétaire, *L'Institut Archéol. Russe, Constantinople*).
- Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, *Alexandria*.
- Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome*).
- Byzantinische Zeitschrift
- Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, with the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Cairo*.
- Classical Philology, *University of Chicago, U.S.A.*
- Ephemeris Archaiologike, *Athens*.
- Glotta (Prof. Dr. Kretschmer, *Florianigasse, 23, Vienna*).
- Hermes (Herr Professor Friedrich Leo, *Friedlaender Weg, Gottingen, Germany*).
- Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. archaol. Instituts, *Corneliusstrasse No. 2ⁿ, Berlin*.
- Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, *Turkenstrasse 4, Vienna*.
- Journal of the Anthropological Institute, and Man, 50, *Great Russell Street, W.C.*
- Journal of Philology and Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society.
- Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
- Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique (M. J. N. Svoronos, Musée National, *Athens*).
- Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte), (Prof. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Berlin, W. 50 Marburger Strasse 6, Germany*).
- Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, *École française, Palazzo Farnese, Rome*.
- Memnon (Prof. Dr. R. Freiherr von Lichtenberg, *Lindenstrasse 5, Berlin Sudende, Germany*).
- Memorie dell' Instituto di Bologna, Sezione di Scienze Storico-Filologiche (*R. Accademia di Bologna, Italy*).
- Mittheilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Athens*.
- Mittheilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, *Rome*.
- Mnemosyne (c. o Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland*.
- Neue Jahrbücher, Herrn Dr. Rektor Ilberg, Kgl. Gymnasium, *Wurzen, Saxon*.

- Notizie degli Scavi, R. Accademia dei Lincei, *Rome*.
Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street*.
Philologus. Zeitschrift fur das klassische Altertum (c/o Dietrich'sche Verlags
Buchhandlung, *Göttingen*).
Praktika of the Athenian Archaeological Society, *Athens*.
Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople*.
Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.
Revue Archéologique, c/o M. E. Leroux (Editeur), 28, *Rue Bonaparte, Paris*.
Revue des Études Grecques, 44, *Rue de Lille, Paris*.
Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (Prof. Dr. A. Brinkmann, *Schumannstrasse 58,
Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany*).
Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums (Prof. Dr. E. Dreiup, *Kaiser-Strasse
33, Munich, Germany*).
Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, *Berlin*.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

SESSION 1910-11.

The Council begs leave to submit the following report on the work of the Society for the Session 1910-11:—

Changes on the Council, &c.—To-day the President (Prof. Percy Gardner) vacates the Chair which he has occupied for the statutory five years. The foundation of the Roman Society, and the change to a new home, will remain outstanding events of the time he has occupied the Chair. They have very great pleasure in nominating as President for the next period of five years their distinguished colleague Sir Arthur Evans.

Mr. Guy Dickins, Mr. D. S. Robertson, and Mr. A. M. Woodward are nominated for election on the Council.

The Council have recently raised the list of Honorary Members to the statutory number of 40 by offering Honorary Membership to two distinguished foreign archaeologists: Dr. Walther Amelung, whose great work on the Sculpture of the Vatican may be said to form the most important addition to the recent literature of sculpture; and H. E. Halil Bey, who succeeds the late Hamdy Bey as Director of the Imperial Museums at Constantinople.

In Mr. S. H. Butcher, who died in January, the Council has lost one of its most eminent Members. Mr. Butcher had served on the Council almost from the foundation of the Society, and had been a Vice-President since 1897. Not only as a distinguished Hellenist, but as a Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge, as President of the Classical Association and more recently of the British Academy, Mr. Butcher's great influence helped to keep the Society in touch with the wider aspects of scholarship and research. Within the last few days, the sudden death of Mr. H. G. Dakyns, the accomplished translator of Xenophon, has deprived the Council of an active Member, who, in spite of his residence forty miles out of London, had for many years been assiduous in his attendance at Meetings, and devoted to the interests of the Society. Professor Adolf Michaelis of Strassburg, who died during the year, had been an Honorary Member of the Society since 1881, when his name was included in the list of archaeologists upon whom that distinction was first conferred.

Question of Greek in Education.—The Council, feeling that the present time is a critical one for the position of Greek in education, has appointed a Committee to consider the situation, and, if possible, to recom-

mend practical measures. It will be understood that it is not the aim of the Council to commit the Society to any corporate action in the controversy with regard to what is known as 'compulsory Greek' at Oxford or Cambridge (on which controversy different members of the Society hold different views), but to ensure that, under whatever conditions, a proper place may be assigned to Greek in any scheme of education. The Committee has held several meetings, and is collecting information on a comprehensive scale.

The Promotion of Roman Studies.—The Roman Society has now been in existence for nearly half a year, and in the last report of the Council of the Hellenic Society it was intimated that arrangements for reciprocal privileges between the two bodies were in contemplation. These have been carried out on the following lines:—The Hellenic Society has extended its premises, and taken in the new body as a tenant. The Roman Society uses its quarters for office and editorial purposes, and it has been arranged that the books and slides of both Societies should form one Library, the whole being maintained on the first floor, and free in respect of access and all facilities to members of both Societies. The Roman Society, besides paying rent for part of the top floor, makes a contribution (at present fixed at £25) for these privileges, while a further economy is effected by a sharing of some office expenses. This arrangement was made in the first instance rather with a view to fostering a long-cherished venture than to striking an exact bargain, and will doubtless work equitably as time goes on.

Considering the time the Roman Society has been in existence, it has a very promising roll of subscribers, and the first half of its Journal, now in active preparation, promises to be of special interest. The Society has also already carried out a scheme for making accessible a series of casts of the more important Romano-British Antiquities. It has been fortunate in securing as its Secretary Mr. G. D. Hardinge-Tyler.

General Meetings.—Three General Meetings have been held, at the first of which, held on November 8th, 1910, Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper on Some Graeco-Phoenician Shrines. The paper dealt with the architectural and religious types which appeared on the coins of the great Phoenician cities, from the beginning of the coinage in the fifth century B.C. to its close in the reign of Gallienus. Generally speaking, at most cities there were two pairs of deities, or one pair (Baal and Astarte, to use the most convenient names) appearing in two forms, a marine form worshipped in the sea-ports, and a celestial form in the hills; with the latter the lion was especially associated. At Aradus Baal-Arvad was first found as a fish-god, afterwards as Poseidon: at Baitokaike in the hills behind there corresponded to him a celestial Zeus, with a goddess-consort resembling the 'Syrian Goddess.' At Berytus, the marine Baal-Berit (Poseidon) had a consort Beroe (a water-nymph); to this pair corresponded,

in the hills, the celestial Baalmarcod and his consort. At Sidon Astarte appeared both as the marine city-goddess and as a lion-riding celestial goddess ; a wheeled shrine was used for carrying a sacred stone associated with her. At Tyre the marine Heracles-Melqarth had a celestial counterpart as Heracles-Astrochiton, and each had a consort. At Tripolis there were important cults, with a great altar of Zeus Hagios, a celestial Baal, associated with the Sun and Moon ; and of Astarte in association, apparently, with the Dioscuri. The well-known temple at Byblus containing a sacred cone was probably sacred to Adonis, the local Baal, or else to Astarte. Other interesting shrines were those of Astarte at Caesarea-Arca, which was probably rock-cut, and a portable shrine of a double-axe deity at Ace-Ptolemais. A discussion followed, in which Mr. H. H. Statham, Miss Gertrude Bell, and Sir Henry Howorth took part.

On February 14, 1911, Prof. Ernest Gardner discussed a Polycleitan Head in the British Museum. This head, from Apollonia, was recognised as a replica of the head of the Westmacott athlete ; several other copies were known, and the relation of these offered an interesting problem. In the case of the Diadoumenos of Polycleitus they had an independent Attic variant as well as Atticising copies ; and in the case of the athlete pouring oil—probably an invention of the Myronic School—they had a Polycleitan variant. The motive of the Westmacott statue had been variously interpreted ; the view that has met with most acceptance was that he was placing a wreath on his head ; the identification as the statue of Cyniscus rested on no certain evidence and was made improbable by the dating of Cyniscus to 460 B.C.

The Westmacott and other copies seemed to be derived from a Polycleitan bronze original. But other copies or variants differed considerably from these ; the Barracco copy showed Myronic tendencies ; the Eleusis copy and the Apollonia head both showed the softer, almost sentimental tendency of Attic art, leading towards the character associated with Praxiteles. The type was found in the Parthenon frieze ; the question, in the case of the Apollonia head, was whether it was to be regarded as a more or less independent Attic variant upon the type, or as an Atticising imitation of the Polycleitan variant ; probably the latter ; it certainly seemed nearer to the original of the Westmacott statue than are the Barracco and Eleusis copies. Whether that original was by Polycleitus himself or only a work of his school was another problem ; probably the latter, if they took the Doryphoros and Diadoumenos as characteristic ; but it was not easy to limit the possibilities of variation. Mr. N. Gardiner, Mrs. Esdaile, Mr. Baker-Penoyre, Mr. Hill, and Mr. H. B. Walters took part in the subsequent discussion.

At the Third General Meeting, held on May 9th, Prof. Ridgeway read a paper on 'The Origin of the Great Games of Greece' (Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, Isthmian, Panathenaic, Eleusinian), developing the theory that they arose out of the worship of dead heroes. The general view is that

they originated in the worship of the great divinities with which they were connected in the age best known to us. Others hold that the Olympic festival sprang from a vegetation cult, while Prof. Frazer thinks it had an astronomical element.

Homer mentions not only the funeral games of Patroclus and Oedipus, but in a simile shows that the ordinary occasion of such contests was a funeral. Hesiod mentions the funeral games of Amphidamas, whilst such games were instituted to honour the dead right down into the classical period, e.g. for the Phoeceans at Agylla (to propitiate their wrath), and for Brasidas at Amphipolis (B.C. 422).

Taking simple cases first, Prof. Ridgeway referred to the Iolaca at Thebes, held in honour of Iolaus, but later called Heracleia, and to the Trophonia and Amphiaraea in honour of Trophonius and Amphiaraeus, who acquired the addition of Zeus. There were in Aegina Aeacea, in honour of Aeacus and held by his grave; in Rhodes there were the Tlepolemeia in honour of Tlepolemus, who brought a colony from Greece. Pindar sings the glories of Rhodes and the Sun-god (*Ol.* vii.), but knows of no Helieia, though later the name of Helios was added to the Tlepolemeia. At Amyclae were held the Hyacinthia, which, though Apollo shared them, never ceased to bear the name of the hero Hyacinthus. The hero must have been prior in date, for his name could not have displaced that of Apollo. The first day of the Hyacinthia was a day of honouring the dead, the contests being held on the second day. Prof. Ridgeway then referred to the honouring of Opheltes in the Nemean Games, of Palaemon in the Isthmian, and Pelops in the Olympian. In the last case the astronomical element was late, whilst the vegetation theory of Mr. A. B. Cook and Mr. F. M. Cornford was based on a myth of the Idaean Dactyls, which Pausanias himself rejected. He had to say a word about method. In these studies no regard was paid to historical perspective; early and good authorities were pushed aside, and some late myth, often post-Christian, was taken as a starting-point. No progress could be made unless strictly scientific method was followed. At Delphi Neoptolemus played a leading part in tradition; there was an annual sacrifice to him, and the paintings of Polygnotus in the Lesche were executed in his honour, not in that of Apollo. The Pythian games had only begun in B.C. 685, after the first Sacred War and the dedication of the Crisaean plain to Apollo, when the Amphictiones first took charge of the games. A beehive tomb had been found at Delphi, an important grave like the Pelopium at Olympia, whilst certainly in late times, at the Pythian festival, horsemen and others came from Thessaly with 100 black oxen to sacrifice to the hero. The Panathenaic Games, earlier termed Athenaic, were in honour of Athena and Erechtheus, the ancient king who shared them with Athena and gave his name to the oldest temple at Athens. The name of a hero would hardly, as already argued, have been added to the games of a great divinity, the converse being far more probable (cf. Hyacinthia, Tlepolemeia).

Eleusis is the inner keep of the vegetation spirit theory from Mannhardt downwards, Demeter being the corn-mother, and Persephone the young blade, whilst Prof. Frazer had followed Miss Harrison in thinking that the chief sacred drama was the marriage of Zeus, the sky god, and Demeter, a view based entirely on post-Christian writers, but at variance with a famous inscription of the fifth century B.C. In this, though the personages to whom sacrifice is to be made are recited, Zeus does not appear. The Homeric Hymn to Demeter, our oldest literary evidence, says not a word about Demeter giving corn to Triptolemus; on the contrary, it assumes barley growing at Eleusis before ever Demeter came. The sacred threshing-floor at Eleusis was called after Triptolemus, not after Demeter: Triptolemus is named next after the two goddesses in the inscription. Of the two priestly families, the Eumolpidae traced their descent from the Thracian Eumolpus, who had brought in certain rites; the other from Triptolemus. Triptolemus had a *naos*, but it has never been found, neither has the *naos* of Demeter been identified. The explanation might be that the *naos* of Demeter and of Triptolemus, the *Anaktoron*, the *Megaron*, and the *Telesterion* were only different names for the one building, known as the Hall of Initiation in later times. Thus as Athena shared 'the strong house of Erechtheus,' the Erechtheum at Athens, so Demeter occupied the Palace of Triptolemus at Eleusis. The *Agones* at Eleusis were almost certainly the oldest part of the celebrations there, and these were the games once held in honour of Triptolemus, to which the name of Demeter was given in later times, as that of Heracles was added to the Iolaea, that of Helios to the Tlepolemeia, and those of Zeus and Apollo to the Olympic and Pythian festivals.

Scholars had begun at the wrong end, taking as primary the phenomena of vegetation spirits, totemism, etc., which really were but secondary, arising almost wholly from the primary element, the belief in the existence of the soul after the death of the body. As prayer, religion proper, was made to the dead, religion must be considered antecedent to magic, which is especially connected with the secondary elements.

Dr. Frazer contended that totemism, the worship of the dead, and the phenomena of vegetation spirits should be considered as independent factors, and that none of the three should be held to be the origin of the others. He quoted sundry details of athletic festivals, particularly the fact that many were held in an astronomical cycle, which would be hard to reconcile with their funerary origin. Incidentally Dr. Frazer claimed that the main contention of Dr. Ridgeway's paper had been made in his edition of Pausanias published in 1898.

Dr. L. R. Farnell thought that caution should be used in any attempt to refer all the athletic festivals of Hellas to one origin. Were he to select any one of many causes, he should be inclined to name the instinctive love of the Greek people for outdoor games.

Miss Jane Harrison pointed out that much depended on the precise significance attached to the word 'hero.'

Prof. Ridgeway, in reply to Dr. Farnell, pointed out that he had carefully confined his doctrine to the Great Games, which he had enumerated in his summary. Of course there were plenty of races, etc., in Greece not connected with funerals. Prof. Frazer had laid great stress on the four-year cycle as a difficulty in the funeral origin of the games, but Prof. Ridgeway pointed out that the astronomical cycles, such as the Metonic, were late, and may have come in with the remaking of the games, which must have existed long before B.C. 776 at Olympia and B.C. 685 at Delphi. The Hymn to Demeter distinctly regards barley at Eleusis as antecedent to Demeter worship there. Naturally no mention is made in the Hymn of games to Triptolemus, for the hymn is not in his honour, but that of the goddess. The hero, however, stands first in all the enumerations of the local chiefs.

Library and Photographic Collections.—The progress in the various sections of the Society's work in this department may be seen at a glance from the appended table.

A. LIBRARY

B. SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

A. LIBRARY					B. SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.			
	Accessions. Books. Vols.	Visitors to the Library.	Books taken out.		Slides added to Collection. (Original Catalogue of 1,500 slides published.)	Slides hired.	Slides sold to Members	Photos sold to Members.
Session								
1903-4	141	157	338	311		1,224	512	465
1904-5	97	122	375	401	154	3,053	787	366
1905-6	124	162	372	415	187	2,941	1,247	670
1906-7	165	198	277	396	148	1,357	871	294
1907-8	148	180	300	760	125	1,442	548	129
1908-9	192	244	617	675	400	2,619	968	359
1909-10	98	109	448	519	281	3,448	826	702
1910-11	372	399	834	716	171	2,510	662	233

The Council acknowledge with thanks gifts of books from the following bodies:—H.M. Government of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Imperial Museums of Constantinople, the British Academy, the British Association, the University Press of the following Universities:—California, Cambridge, Oxford, and Pennsylvania.

The following publishers have presented copies of recently published works:—Messrs. Baer, Batsford, Beck, Bell, Black, Blackwood, Buchholz, Champion, Cohen, Constable, Dent, Duckworth, Fock, Frowde, Geuthner, Ginn & Co., Hachette, Harper, Helbing, Kundig, Leroux, Longman, Macmillan, Mayer & Müller, Meiner, Mills & Boon, Murray, Quelle & Meyer, Schöningh, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Teubner, Töpelmann, Unwin, Weidmann, and Winter.

The following authors have presented copies of their works:—Mr. O. Braunstein, Lady Helena Carnegie, Messrs. C. D. Cobham, S. Demisch, J. Ch. Dragases, E. Drerup, G. K. Gardikas, E. N. Gardiner, P. Girard, H. R. Hall, G. Hempl, P. Jacobsthal, A. P. Laurie, Prof. E. Löwy, Messrs. V. Macchioro, V. Martin, A. Monti, P. Orsi, J. C. Peristianes, Prof. E. Petersen, Miss F. M. Stawell, Prof. F. Studniczka, Dr. J. N. Svoronos, Prof. T. Wiegand, M. Xanthoudides, and Dr. T. Zammit.

Miscellaneous donations of books have also been received from Mr. A. E. Bernays, Mr. Gennadias, Mr. F. W. Hasluck, Prof. F. Haverfield, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mrs. Janvier, Mr. G. A. Macmillan, Mr. J. Penoyre, Prof. F. Studniczka, Miss Virtue Tebbs, Mr. A. H. Smith, and Mr. A. H. S. Yeames.

Among the more important acquisitions are the following:—The Catalogue of the *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, presented by the Trustees of the British Museum; a substantial section of *Archaeologia*; Van Berchem and Strzygowski, *Amida*; the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Kiepert's *Formae Orbis Antiqui*; Mayer, *Views in the Ottoman Empire*; the *Voyage Pittoresque en Sicile*; Phillipson, *Topographische Karte des Westlichen Kleinasiens*; Rossini, *Antichità Romane*; and *The Church of Nativity at Bethlehem*, published under the auspices of the Byzantine Research Fund.

Upwards of 2,000 of the larger photographs in the Society's possession have been uniformly mounted and stored in a way which makes them easily accessible. This collection is capable of indefinite expansion, and is found increasingly useful.

Generous assistance in the photographic department is acknowledged from Prof. W. C. F. Anderson, Miss G. Crewdson, Mr. R. M. Dawkins, Mr. F. W. Hasluck, Dr. Leaf, Mr. A. J. B. Wace, and Mr. A. M. Woodward.

Finance.—Last year a balance of £80, spent in excess of the amount received for the Emergency Fund for furnishing and fitting up the new Library premises at Bloomsbury Square, was carried forward in anticipation of further contributions. The Council are glad to report that this

policy was justified, a sum of £67 having been received during the year. A further £18 has been expended, making a total of £426 in all, and of this sum nearly £400 has been contributed by special donations. The result has been that the Society's income has only been taxed to the extent of £31 in providing the much improved facilities of the new home for the Library, and the Council take this opportunity of expressing their thanks for the generous support given to this Fund.

The ordinary income for the past year stands at practically the same amount as for the preceding year, the only falling off being in respect of the amount received for entrance fees of new members. This deficiency, however, has been made good by increases under other headings. The figures for the total revenue for the year are some £50 higher than last year, principally by reason of the inclusion of the amount payable by the Roman Society for rent, use of the Library and services, as agreed between the two Societies under the arrangement for the joint occupation of the premises at Bloomsbury Square.

On the expenditure side, increases will be noted in the outlay for rent and salaries, and for the cost of cleaning, lighting, etc., for the new Library premises. Part of this is recovered from the Roman Society, as mentioned above, and by the contributions received from the British School at Athens and the British School at Rome. The Journal has, however, cost £150 less than the preceding year, and mainly owing to this the Council is able to show a small surplus of income over expenditure.

The available cash balance stands at £740, as against £955 last year, but as the liabilities under the heading of debts payable are £280 less, this difference is more than accounted for. The amount outstanding for arrears of subscription, when the accounts were closed, was £134.

The number of names now on the register of Members is: 40 Honorary Members and 949 Ordinary Members. The total for ordinary members last year was 947. The number of Subscribing Libraries stands at 200 the same figure as last year.

In moving the adoption of the Report the Chairman delivered the following address:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Annual Report of the Council has given you an account of the activities of our Society during the past year, a year as full of work, and as successful as any which have preceded it. I do not propose, in moving the adoption of the Report, to go over all the ground which it covers. But I will select a few points on which I may briefly enlarge.

Two or three deaths which have taken place during the year among our supporters call for some mention. I think naturally in the first place of our Vice-President, Mr. S. H. Butcher, who was indeed one

of our mainstays, sometimes presiding at our meetings, at all times one of our best advisers. If I do not dwell on our debt to him at length, it is because I have been so fully anticipated in the Press, and in meetings of other Societies. Professor Verrall's brilliant obituary, published in the *Proceedings* of the British Academy, has left for others little to say in praise of Mr. Butcher. A full chorus of appreciation, admiration, and affection, without so far as I have seen a single jarring note, followed him to a grave, which seems to all of us too early.

In Sir Nathan Bodington, Principal of the University of Leeds, we have lost one who was a most enthusiastic votary of Hellenic Studies, and did all he could for their cause in the busy cities of the north. I travelled with Dr. Bodington among the Greek islands, and I shall never forget the eager freshness of his interest in every site which we visited, his untiring enterprise, his alertness of intellect. Absorbed in the work of organization he had no time for writing but I am sure that the chief source of his energy and intellectual freshness came from Greece.

Dr. John Peile was a scholar of the same kind. I cannot speak of him without some emotion for he was one of my oldest friends and my college tutor; and it was his lectures on Plato and Theocritus which first opened my mind to the delicacy of classical scholarship. When I first became an official of the British Museum, Dr. Peile paid me many visits, being most anxious to extend his knowledge of Greece by the study of works of Greek art. Dr. Peile also was taken away from study by the necessities of University business, a great waster of the time of so many of our best scholars. But in the branch of philology he did excellent service to Greek studies at Cambridge.

One other of our late members should be mentioned, Miss Mary Anne Ewart, a woman of varied tastes, strong character, and great liberality. She travelled much and intelligently; and both Newnham College and Somerville College have greatly profited by her benefactions.

In one of our Honorary Members, Professor Adolf Michaelis of Strassburg, I lose a friend, and Classical Archaeology one of its most accomplished representatives. In early years he worked at the Roman Institute, and travelled with Dr. Conze in the Greek Islands. But he was essentially a museum student, a great systematizer rather than an explorer. The extent of his published work is immense: it poured forth in a continuous stream for half a century. In quality it is admirable, precise, clear, and almost omniscient. We in England owe a special debt to Michaelis for his great work on the Parthenon, a storehouse of learning and sound judgment, and for his catalogue of the sculpture in private collections in England, a work requiring qualities which perhaps he alone, in 1882, possessed, which he carried out with wonderful diligence and mastery, and which is of inestimable value to us. When I became Editor of the Hellenic Journal in 1880 Michaelis was one

of our best contributors. He wrote in English requiring but little revision, and steadily pursued his purpose of bringing to light the works of ancient art in the great houses of England, too often neglected or despised by their present possessors. Michaelis' last work, *A Century of Archaeological Discovery*, to the translation of which I was glad to write a Preface is a truly admirable work, not only learned and clear, but also very interesting and stimulating.

Several of us being members of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute, we keenly sympathize with that great society in the losses they have sustained by the death of Prof. Kekule von Stradonitz, the Chairman of the Institute, a veteran of great archaeological learning, and the author of a number of important works on Greek Sculpture, and also by the death of their secretary Dr. Puchstein, who may be said to have held in his hands almost all the clues of existing German enterprises in the field of classical archaeology. He had travelled largely in Asia Minor, and was the author of works of great importance, one on the Greek temples of Italy and Sicily, one on the remains of Greek Theatres, one on the great altar from Pergamon. Our society had not as yet elected Dr. Puchstein as corresponding member: he was indeed a comparatively young man; but in common with all archaeological institutes we shall feel the loss of his organizing power and his high attainments. Like Michaelis he had been especially attracted by the Elgin marbles, and had tried to solve some of the many interesting questions which they suggest.

Among books published during the year, I may perhaps mention two, without casting any slur upon others which I pass by, because I have nothing special to say in regard to them. Generally speaking, the great books, which are mostly of German origin, do not come out all at once, but in parts, spread over a number of years. At the present time, the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, the Corpus of Sarcophagi, the results of excavations at Cnossus, at Pergamon, in Delos, at Delphi, the series of Greek and Roman portraits, the reproductions of the wall-paintings of Pompeii, are all coming out volume by volume. I will not speak of these. But two books have a special claim upon the attention of English people. One is Mr. Norman Gardiner's admirable book on *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, a work which marks a decided advance in our knowledge of the subject of which it treats, a work combining in the highest degree a profound knowledge of the subject and a thoroughly modern treatment of it. Since so many of Mr. Gardiner's notions as to Greek Athletics have been brought before this Society from time to time, we may almost feel a certain proprietorship in the book. The other work is the second edition, greatly enlarged, of Dr. Head's *Historia Numorum*. It is no ordinary book, but a summary of the labours and researches of a lifetime. Perhaps no one has done so much as Mr. Head in the last forty years towards a historic arrangement and a scientific study of Greek Coins.

It would surely be unfair to say that England has not done much lately for the research into Classical Antiquity, when as regards two very interesting branches of it, athletics and coins, we can claim in one year to have produced two books which mark the highest advance yet made.

All archaeologists love what is unique. And the occasion to-day is an unique one. No President of this Society has hitherto resigned his office ; we have lost our Presidents only by death. I wish to use this opportunity to bring before the Society a few facts as to the recent history and a few thoughts as to the future prospects of our Society, and the studies which it exists to promote.

Looking first at our own history, I can find little cause for any feeling except thankfulness and a good courage. From the days of our first meeting in 1879 our course has been one of expansion, and I hope of growing usefulness. Our Journal has year by year garnered a store of archaeological discovery and historic research ; our Library has so grown that a change of address has become necessary ; our collection of photographs and lantern slides has become enormous. But it is the great and the rare distinction of this Society that it has not been content to exist only for itself. It has taken an active part in the formation of other societies and institutions to deal with parts of its own field or similar fields adjoining. The foundation of the two British Schools at Athens and at Rome is no longer modern history. But even during the past year it has been the good fortune of the officers of this Society to see realized the plan which they were the first to bring forward, for the formation of a society to do for Roman Studies what we have tried to do for Hellenic Studies. To some of us it has been unpleasant to find that it was impossible so to extend the activity of this Society as to include within it Roman as well as Greek history, literature, and antiquities. But we found such expansion to be inconsistent with our constitution ; and were obliged to pass on the task to our colleagues and friends who have especially devoted themselves to Roman Studies.

Thus up to the present moment we have been growing ; and we in this room may claim that we have not fallen short of the ancient maxim that men should hand on to their successors undiminished what in the way of good they have received from their predecessors.

When we turn from the history of our own society to the state and the future prospects of those Hellenic studies which are dear to all of us, the outlook is less pleasing. There can be little doubt that in all European countries, and countries colonized by Europeans, the vogue of Hellenic studies is receding rather than advancing. You are doubtless aware that quite recently the University of Oxford has decided to admit to her degrees certain classes of students without the knowledge of the Greek language which has hitherto been required. Cambridge must needs follow the example. I am not ashamed to say that, for my own part, I supported the concession, believing that the position of Greek studies in

education must be maintained by dwelling on their intrinsic nobleness and usefulness rather than by a compulsion which only arouses disgust in the student. But it is useless to deny that the course of education is trending in other directions rather than towards Greek. The cause is partly the rapid growth of physical science and the glamour which surrounds recent discoveries in regard to our material surroundings and recent inventions based on those discoveries. Partly it is the increased hurry and rush of modern life, which will not allow time for the laying of a Greek foundation of general culture. Partly it is a growing belief that since the world is so different from what it was 2,000 years ago, the literature of modern Europe must be better suited to foster the higher mental and moral developments of our times than the literature of the ancient world.

For these and other reasons we must expect that the proportion of our young men who learn Greek will diminish. There is little fear that the highly educated and cultured will give up Greek, since it is the almost universal opinion of such people that no substitute can be found for Greek poetry and history and philosophy at the foundation of the higher kind of education. But there may be a danger that the knowledge of these things may be confined in future to a narrower circle, to small coteries standing apart from the general intellectual activity of the nation. This danger we shall have to face. Our colleagues of the Classical Association are taking the bull by the horns, and doing what they can to widen the interest in the Greek and Roman classics. My colleague, Professor Gilbert Murray, has been especially efficient in this task: it is a triumph to have secured for a play of Euripides a run in a London theatre. Yet I think it is not only in a democratic direction that we must look for help in the maintenance among us of an interest in Greek studies.

I think that a natural and healthy division of functions is taking place. Our friends, or indeed our other selves, of the Classical Association are struggling with the question of the Classics in schools and in education generally, checking the tendency to a merely utilitarian bent in education, trying to preserve the English tradition of a classical education by adapting it to modern circumstances. They wish to spread widely the advantages of a really humanist education. The task of this Society, and of the newly founded Roman Society, is to see rather to the depth than to the wide diffusion of classical culture, to retain in touch with it the best minds, to see that the seeds of thought and art planted long ago in Hellas should still bear fruit in our twentieth century.

And surely no age since the Renaissance has had more need of constant contact with classical models. As democracy spreads apace, there is naturally, alike in literature and in art, a tendency towards the unregulated. We are in danger of plunging into chaos. The revolt against authority calls in question all that is regarded as settled and conventional, whether good or bad. In literature each writer tries to surprise, to rouse, perhaps to shock, public opinion, and fights for his own

hand, quite regardless of the tendency of his works. In painting we have seen the chaos of the impressionists, followed by the absurdities of the post-impressionists. The sign-posts are thrown down, the roads are deserted, and each artist is trying to make his way over moor and fen towards an uncertain goal. In real truth, we are in danger of a new barbarism, our liberty has long verged towards license, and the value of any settled rules, any fixed points, in criticism and history has become inestimable.

Now, I take the great principle of this society to be as follows :—The working of the Greek spirit is not merely a thing of the past, but a need of the present. The laws of beauty and of order which Greece gave to the world are of eternal significance. They appear in a fresh light to each generation. But Greece can only be kept thus living and working among us by a constant stream of new studies and fresh discoveries. As in the physical sciences, so in this branch of historic study, we must be constantly finding new facts, or looking at old facts in a new light. The lake must be kept sweet by pouring through it a constant stream of spring water. The fresh treatment of ancient writers, new views of philosophy, new theories in philology, all tend to renew Greek studies. But the most constant and abundant supply of fresh material and new methods in Hellenic studies comes from exploration and excavation on Greek soil. Thence we gain fresh information as to ancient life and history; we acquire fresh works of art, fresh inscriptions and manuscripts. We attain to direct touch with what has survived from ancient Greek times; and when we put the new facts by the side of those already known, the result is a sudden expansion and a delightful vivification of our knowledge. The Greeks seem to step out of sculptured portrait and written record, and to mingle with us familiarly. They teach us things they never taught us before. They speak not a dead but a living language; and we feel how much nearer they are to our best selves than are our own ancestors, or many of our contemporaries. To make ancient Greece alive again, or to keep alive its spirit as a corrective to many modern tendencies which lead to destruction is our main purpose as a society.

This fresh communion with the Greek spirit may be attained in various ways. To many, Homer and Euripides and Plato, read in the hours snatched from professional work in the world, keep alive a friendship begun in youth. A few may collect Greek coins or gems, the mere sight of which is a medicine to the eyes. Many have experienced the delight of travel in Greece and Asia Minor, and that most historic of countries, Sicily. In any of these ways enthusiasm may be sustained. But our principle is that knowledge as well as emotion is necessary to the full enjoyment of what is Hellenic. In every pursuit in life, and even in every recreation, the few must toil for the many. The specialist must devote himself to the illumination of some particular passage of history or some class of monuments, and thoroughly explore all that can possibly be ascertained in regard to it, in order that he may, so to speak, add a few bricks to the

fabric of our knowledge. The teacher must go on learning and exploring, or his teaching soon becomes dull and jejune. It is not merely the results of his researches which are of value. The chief value lies in the process, in the mental training and discipline which it involves. In my opinion no one can be fully trained in any branch of human and historic study who has not at once a wide outlook over a considerable range of knowledge, and a complete and intimate knowledge of a small part of the field over which he looks out. Of course, we in this society are by no means all specialists. But I think we all have some sympathy with the specialist, we are glad that he should be working among us, and we are grateful when he takes the trouble to put his new views and his results in a form in which they can be understood and appreciated by the mass of those who value the classics in education.

Let me turn for a few minutes from the general subject of Hellenic Studies to that branch with which I am more especially connected, the archaeological, and in particular to the archaeology of the Museum and the lecture-room, rather than that of the spade, for from them also come many important additions to our knowledge. When this society was founded, thirty years ago, the greatest figure in this field was Professor Brunn, of Munich, who had introduced into the study of ancient art the comparative study of artistic style ; and by that means, combined with his admirable gift of literary expression, had for the first time made clear the conception of Greek art as a gradual evolution, a historic working out of the ideas of human beauty and artistic expression which are fundamental in the Greek race. I followed Professor Brunn's lectures for a short time, and I never heard a man speak with more complete mastery of his subject and of language. When Brunn died, his mantle fell upon his gifted pupil, Professor Furtwängler, who in learning surpassed his master, and carried further his methods, producing wonderful monuments of vast knowledge and astounding diligence. Unfortunately, in following Brunn's methods, he was not always guided by Brunn's soundness of judgment, and his constructions are often like the image which had a head of gold, and feet of iron mixed with clay. Since Furtwängler's tragic death, what I may call the pure study of Greek archaeology has seemed for a moment to pause. But that pause is healthy. During the last thirty years the excavations and explorations on the soil of Greece have been so extensive and so fruitful that all our system-making has to be done afresh. The results of the great explorations at Olympia, on the Athenian Acropolis, at Delphi, at Delos, and on many other sites, have so flooded us with new knowledge that we may well pause a little before we can duly arrange all the new data. Meanwhile, the publication of such storehouses of critical knowledge and research as the Corpus of Inscriptions, Furtwängler and Reichhold's work on Greek Vases, Head's Historia Numorum, the Corpus of Terra-cottas, the Corpus of Sarcophagi, Frazer's wonderful edition of Pausanias, and other great Thesauri, has at once superseded the tentative articles and

books written before their publication, and has provided great reservoirs of serried facts which must in future guide and limit the course of theory and explanation.

Another kind of expansion of Greek Archaeology has also been notable in the last thirty years. A strong tendency towards a research into origins set in with the rise of Darwinism in the mid-Victorian age. And for reasons which are not hard to find, but which I cannot here set forth, this phase of archaeological research found a readier welcome in this country than ever did purely Hellenic Archaeology. Some of the earliest papers in our Journal narrate the discoveries of Sir William Ramsay in the interior of Asia Minor, which brought to light abundant monuments of the semi-Greek races of Phrygia, Lydia, and Cappadocia, monuments on the road between Babylon, the spiritual metropolis of the pre-Hellenic world, and the Ionians of the coast, who were very receptive of oriental influences. And at about the same time, the excavations of Schliemann at Ilium, Mycenae, and Tiryns laid bare strata of the pre-Hellenic civilization of the Levant, the mere existence of which had never been suspected. I need not remind you how the pre-historic record, thus begun, has been amplified by researches in Thera, Melos, and other sites, and more especially in Crete, where Sir Arthur Evans has made discoveries the fame of which will ring through future ages.

The same eager spirit of research into origins which has powerfully affected archaeology has stirred in other branches of Hellenic study. The racial question, the beginnings of Greek polity, more especially the primitive elements to be traced in Greek religion and cultus—all these matters have of late been investigated with a new energy. Students have dug through successive strata of Greek custom and belief, as they have dug through the successive strata of remains buried in the soil: it would almost seem in the hope of tracing the very first germination of Greek ideas. The pursuit of what is primitive has led them on from point to point, until they are inclined perhaps somewhat to overvalue mere antiquity, to care more for the root than for the leaves and the fruit.

It was his passion for the *Iliad* which precipitated Schliemann upon Mycenae and Ilium, and at first he looked on every fresh discovery on those sites through a Homeric mist. It is because Crete was the seat of the Monarchy of Minos, and connected with the earliest legends of Athens, that the discoveries of Cnossos have stirred the minds of educated people in England. But it is impossible to deny that, as the facts of Minoan and Mycenaean civilization have come into clearer and clearer light, while their anthropological and archaeological interest has increased, they have become more and more detached from the Homeric epics and from the actual history of Greece, which begins with a time not long preceding Croesus and Solon. The chasm dividing pre-historic from historic Greece is growing wider and deeper: and those who were at first disposed to leap over it now recognize that such feats are impossible.

We shall all be disposed most heartily to welcome the spread of knowledge in regard to primitive and pre-historic Greece. It is a fresh breeze to fill our sails, and a fresh point of view whence to approach the subjects which so deeply interest us. Yet I hope you will allow me on the last occasion on which I shall thus address you, to express my own preference for what is purely Greek. I care more for the inner shrine than for the porch; more for the products of the full maturity of the Greek spirit than for its immature struggles. Our debt to Greece lies not in what is common to the Greeks and to all other races at the same stage of development, but to their unique contributions to the progress of the world, the poetry of Homer, the dramas of Sophocles, the philosophy of Plato, the oratory of Demosthenes; and on another side to the great temples and the exquisite statues which were fashioned by the great architects and sculptors. In particular, the succession of Greek artists has fixed for all time a standard of health and of beauty for the human form, which may be approached but cannot be surpassed. We have only to compare the Greek ideal of the human body with the works of sculpture, often beautiful enough, of our Gothic cathedrals, or with the best art of China and Japan, to see how incomparably the Greeks excelled all peoples in the rendering of human beauty and charm. It may be that in the domain of art, as in other domains, the modern mind is turning from what is classical to what is naturalistic, or individual, or amusing. But certainly not less in the domain of art than in that of literature we cannot afford to set aside Greek achievement. It has come home to many in recent years that modern society, living a hasty and fevered life, is in the greatest danger of physical degeneracy. It has become clear that we do not think enough of a life in accordance with nature, of health as distinguished from mere efficiency for particular purposes, of the well-being and the future of the race. Such truths as these are being brought home to us by such societies as that of Eugenics, the Kyrle Society and the like. In England and America the practice of athletic sports, though often distorted and perverted, must needs on the whole be on the side of healthy physical and moral development. That is the side on which perhaps we touch the Greeks most closely, and on which we have most to learn from them. Greek art and Greek literature stand through all the ages for what is simple, natural, and healthy, for what is in accordance with the laws of the visible world, and on the lines of survival. It is Greek art and Greek literature which still in our day form the best protection of society against what is unhealthy and overstrained, against ugliness in our surroundings, and exaggerated sentimentality in our feelings. Modern life tends in every direction to excessive individuality, and to extremes of every kind. The Greek feeling of corporate life, of the continuity of the race, and the Greek love of balance and moderation are even now among the most potent forces to keep society from dissolution.

I do not, of course, mean that no modern can care for health and beauty unless he learns Greek, or studies Greek art. But I mean that Greece is the fountain head whence all through history a love of moderation, of good sense, and of beauty has flowed. At the Renaissance Greece was rediscovered, and ever since the choice spirits of all the countries of Europe have thence derived much of their inspiration.

I think that a general conviction of the depth of our debt to Greece has lain at the foundation of the success of our society. It was at the first floated on a wave of enthusiasm ; and that enthusiasm is by no means extinct. It is quite natural that modern studies should encroach upon those which are of the old world ; for time is limited, and the competition of studies one with another grows more keen. But so long as we keep a place in our hearts for the charm and the restfulness of Greece, our Society will find a field for useful work, and make useful contributions to knowledge and culture. I am sure that my successor in this chair will be anxious to carry on the good work for a fresh term of years.

The adoption of the report was seconded by Sir Edwin Pears, and, having been put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the auditors, Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. C. F. Macmillan, proposed by Mr. W. C. F. Anderson and seconded by Mr. Baker-Penoyre, was carried unanimously.

As the result of the ballot the printed list of nominations for the election or re-election of officers submitted by the Council was unanimously confirmed.

The retiring President before vacating the chair congratulated the Society on its choice of his successor, Sir Arthur Evans.

A vote of thanks to Prof. Gardner for the services he had rendered the Society during his tenure of the chair was proposed by Mr. Macmillan seconded by Mr. Warwick Draper, and carried by acclamation.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables :—

ANALYSIS OF RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1902	31 May, 1903	31 May, 1904	31 May, 1905	31 May, 1906	31 May, 1907	31 May, 1908	31 May, 1909	31 May, 1910	31 May, 1911
Subscriptions. Current	£ 628	£ 646	£ 672	£ 709	£ 789	£ 753	£ 759	£ 773	£ 771	£ 766
Arrears	13	13	205	76	90	72	70	82	82	84
Life Compositions	78	94	126	94	94	47	47	15	31	94
Libraries	185	202	147	154	168	173	188	190	197	196
Entrance Fees	52	50	100	133	103	65	78	94	107	65
Dividends	42	42	42	49	44	61	62	62	62	62
Rent : (B.S.A. & B.S.R.) .....	...	...	...	...	...	10	10	10	13	22
Endowment Fund .....	..	...	...	30	475	17	23	2	6	1
“Excavations at Phylakopi,” sales .....	..	..	..	52*	28*	21*	18*	12*	7*	10*
“Facsimile Codex Venetus,” sales .....	..	..	..	93*	8*	17*	3*	..	..	12*
Lantern Slides Account .....	..	..	..	..	15*	3*	5*	..	7*	..
Emergency Fund (for Library Fitings) .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	327	67
Rent, Use of Library, &c. (Roman Society) .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	38
	998	1,047	1,292	1,390	1,814	1,239	1,263	1,240	1,610	1,417

* Receipts less expenses.

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1902	31 May, 1903	31 May, 1904	31 May, 1905	31 May, 1906	31 May, 1907	31 May, 1908	31 May, 1909	31 May, 1910	31 May, 1911
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Rent	80	80	80	88	98	100	100	100	109	188
Insurance	15	15	16	18	13	14	15	15	13	14
Salaries	60	69	89	165	176	178	178	204	241	271
Library: Purchases & Binding	82	89	50	100	65	85	85	85	58	73
Cost of Catalogue .....	..	..	55	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Heating, Lighting, Cleaning, &c. .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36
Sundry Printing, Postage, Stationery, etc.	41	72	137	147	158	101	119	140	126	151
Printing and Postage, History of Society .....	..	..	..	24	..	..	..	..	..	..
Printing and Postage, Proceedings at Anniversary	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lantern Slides Account	17	35	2	5*	..	..	..	17*	..	16*
Photographs Account .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cost of Journal (less sales)	367	454	511	511	356	356	406	362	532	385
Cost of Journal, Reprint of Vol. XXIII. .....	..	..	..	122	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grants	200	250	225	260	125	225	340	185	150	150
“Facsimile of the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes”	210	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
“Excavations at Phylakopi”	156	140	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Roman Society, Expenses re formation .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	51	5
Library Fittings .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	408	18
Depreciation of Stocks of Publications	123	104	10	6	53	52	3
	865	1,432	1,335	1,573	1,095	1,069	1,249	1,161	1,740	1,310

* Expenses less sales

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'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1910, TO MAY 31, 1911.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper. Vol. XXX, Part II, and XXXI, Part I.	311	18	0				By Sales, including back Vols., from June 1, 1910, to May 31, 1911.					
" Plates	48	0	11				Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.	113	0	1		
" Drawing and Engraving	52	6	4				" Hellenic Society	41	3	6		
" Editing and Reviews	78	3	0				Received from Authors for Excessive Corrections.	154	3	7		
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members...	70	13	5				Receipts for Advertisements	5	16	4		
	<u>561</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>				Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	15	15	8		
								385	6	1		
								<u>£561</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>		

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'EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPI' ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1910, TO MAY 31, 1911.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1911.				Column showing Account for Current Year.			Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1911.			Column showing Account for Current Year			
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
158	11	2		—			By Sale of 10 Copies during year	10	1	3	10	1	3
							Deficit Balance from Publication at May 31, 1911 (excluding value of Stock) ...	148	9	11			
								£158	11	2	£10	1	3
Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding value of Stock)	158	11	2										
Balance on Current Year to Income and Expenditure Account	—												

*FACSIMILE OF THE COMPLEX VENETUS OF ARISTOPHANES' ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1910, TO MAY 31, 1911.

	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1911.	Account for Current Year.	£ s d	£ s d.	£ s d.	£ s d.	£ s d.
To Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding Value of Stock)	101 3 8		5 8 7	5 8 7			
Binding	5 11 9		11 19 9	11 19 9			
" Half Balance to American Archaeological Institute	11 19 9		11 19 9	11 19 9			
" Half Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	11 19 8		11 19 8	11 19 8			
	£118 12 0		£29 8 0	£29 8 0			

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1910, TO MAY 31, 1911.

	£ s d.	£ s d.	£ s d.	£ s d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale	33 14 11½			
" Slides for Hire	9 0 2			
" Photographs for Reference Collection	13 14 5½			
" Purchase of Negatives from Mr. Atchley	12 12 0			
	£69 1 7			

JUNE 1, 1910, TO MAY 31, 1911.

	£ s d.	£ s d.	£ s d.	£ s d.
To Purchases	45 13 4			
" Binding	28 11 10			
	£74 5 2			
	£69 1 7			

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1910, TO MAY 31, 1911.
EMERGENCY FUND (a special account opened to meet the cost of fitting and furnishing the new premises).

	£ s d.	£ s d.	£ s d.	£ s d.
To Expenditure as per last year's account	497 15 6			
" " on Furniture and Fittings during year	18 4 6			
	£426 0 0			
	£74 5 2			
	£69 1 7			

By Contributions as per last year's account

By Contributions received during year

Balance, being amount expended in excess of receipts

31 1 6

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. From JUNE 1, 1910, to MAY 31, 1911.

Expenditure.

BALANCE SHEET. MAY 31, 1911.

<i>Liabilities.</i>				<i>Assets.</i>	
		£	s.	£	s.
To Debts Payable.....	266 11 9½			By Cash in Hand—Bank	104 12 5
“ Subscriptions carried forward	535 6 3			“ on Deposit	600 0 0
“ Suspense Account	2 2 0			Assistant Treasurer	19 8 1½
“ Endowment Fund	554 13 0			Petty Cash	16 7 11
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar)					
“ Emergency Fund (Library Fittings and Furniture)	394 18 6			“ Debts Receivable	192 0 2
Total Received				“ Investments (Life Compositions)	1263 3 11
“ Life Compositions and Donations—				“ “ (Endowment Fund)	500 0 0
Total at June 1, 1910 .. £1857 9 0					
Received during year, 6 at £15 15s.	94 10 0			“ Emergency Fund—Total Expended	426 0 0
				“ Valuations of Stocks of Publications	487 8 0
				“ “ Library	350 0 0
<i>Less</i> carried to Income and Ex- penditure Account, two at £10 10s.—Members deceased	21 0 0				
				1930 19 0	
Excess of Assets over Liabili- ties at June 1, 1910.	265 13 5				
<i>Add</i> Surplus Balance from In- come & Expenditure Account	8 16 7			274 10 0	
				£3059 0 6½	
				£3959 0 6½	

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Examined and found correct.

(Signed) { G. E. CLAY,
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

NINTH LIST OF
BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ADDED TO THE

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE.

1910—1911.

With this list are incorporated books belonging to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. These are distinguished by R.S.

NOTE.—The Original Catalogue published in 1903, with all the supplements appended, can be purchased by members and subscribing libraries at 3/- (by post 3/4). Applications should be made to the Librarian, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

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8vo. Paris. 1836.

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus *κ* should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs *υ*, *αι*, *οι*, *ου* by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-ος* and *-ον* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-ρος* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ει*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved, also words ending in *-ειον* must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-ρος*, as *Λέαγρος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-ον* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heraclès*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions :—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitt. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M. C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Sculpt. = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R. = Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Instituto.
Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
C.R. St. Pét. = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. O.G.I. = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Dittenb. Syll. = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
'Εφ. Ἀρχ. = 'Εφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
Gerh. A.V. = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Head, H.N. = Head, Historia Numorum.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Klio = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
NeueJahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

<i>I.G.</i>	<i>I.</i>	= Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.
"	<i>II.</i>	= " " aetatis quae est inter Eucl ann. et Augusti tempora.
"	<i>III.</i>	= " " aetatis Romanae.
"	<i>IV.</i>	= " Argolidis.
"	<i>VII.</i>	= " Megaridis et Boeotiae.
"	<i>IX.</i>	= " Graeciae Septentrionalis.
"	<i>XII.</i>	= " insul. Maris Aegaci praeter Delum.
"	<i>XIV.</i>	= " Italiae et Siciliae.

Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.
Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.
 Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Philol. = Philologus.
 Ramsay, *C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.
 Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.
 Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.
 Reinach, *Rép. Vases* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.
Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.
Rev. Et. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.
Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.
Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.
Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.
Röm. Mitt. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.
 Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.
S. M. C. = Sparta Museum Catalogue.
T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.
Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

- [] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.
- () Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.
- < > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- . . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.
- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.
- Uncertain letters should have dots under them.
- Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.
- The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, †.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

- () Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
- [[]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

VASES RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THIS paper is in continuation of one which appeared in Vol. xviii. of the *Journal* (1898). It deals with the more interesting of the hitherto unpublished black-figured vases acquired by the British Museum during the last twelve years, to which are added two of later date. I hope in a future paper to publish on similar lines some of the red-figured vases and white lekythi acquired subsequently to the issue of the third volume of the *Vase Catalogue* in 1896.

I. Early Attic Kylix from Thebes. (Figs. 1-3.)

Ht. $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. (8 cm.), diam. $11\frac{5}{8}$ in. (29·5 cm.), with handles 14 in. (36 cm.).

This kylix belongs to the period of Attic vase-painting which immediately succeeded the Geometric style, and in which a rapid development may be observed, both in technique and in composition, culminating in the so-called 'Tyrrhenian' amphorae, the immediate precursors of the fully-developed black-figure style. It forms one of a class distinct from, and on the whole later than, the group usually known as Proto-Attic¹; they exhibit more of the Oriental influence than is to be observed in that group, or indeed in any other phase of Attic pottery. The majority of these vases have been found at Vourva in Attica, and others in the tumulus at Marathon²; their distinguishing characteristic is that they are always decorated with friezes of animals, the background filled in with rosettes in the manner of Corinthian and other fabrics. The deep red ground, however, on which the figures are painted in lustrous black (with occasional details in white or purple) distinguishes them from the Corinthian as well as from the similar Ionic fabrics. Dr. Nilsson, who has made a careful study of the group,³ rejects the term 'Vourva vases,' originally applied to them, and considers that they were probably made in the north-east of Attica, and owe much to the influence of the neighbouring Euboea. Eretrian vases, as previously pointed out by Boehlau,⁴ were the medium through which Oriental influence found its way into Attica. But this view is rejected by

¹ See for these *J.H.S.* xxii. pp. 29 ff.; Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, i. pp. 292 ff. xviii. pp. 46 ff.

² See generally *Ath. Mitt.* xv. pp. 318 ff.,

³ *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* xviii. pp. 124 ff.

⁴ *Aus Ion. u. Ital. Nekrop.* p. 116.

Graef,⁵ who, while retaining the name 'Vourva' for conventional usage, regards the group merely as a temporary adoption in Attica of the 'Tierfriese' system of decoration. Thiersch⁶ attempts to distinguish a Boeotian fabric, to which he assigns specimens found at Eleusis, but so many have

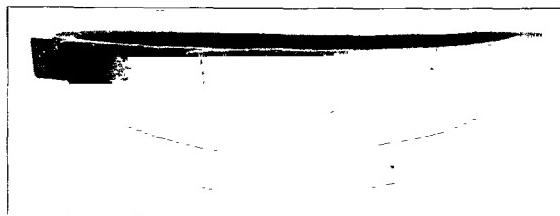


FIG. 1.—KYLIX (EARLY ATTIC) FROM THEBES.

been found on the Acropolis of Athens that it seems unnecessary to go outside Attica for their origin. In the employment of the 'Tierfriesen' these vases form a connecting link between the Proto-Attic and the succeed-



FIG. 2.—INTERIOR DESIGN ON KYLIX.

ing 'Tyrrhenian' group, in which the subordination of the friezes to a principal figure-subject marks a progressive step.

The form of the kylix (see Fig. 1) is characteristic of the class,⁷ and is

⁵ *Antike Vasen von d. Akrop. zu Athen.* i. p. 51, Nos. 472 ff.

⁶ *Tyrrhen. Amphoren*, p. 146.

⁷ Cf. Collignon and Couve, *Cat. des Vases d'Athènes*, No. 608 (Fig. 4 in Nilsson's article); Graef, *op. cit.* Nos. 526–534.

marked by its shallow rounded outline, square flat rim, and low heavy foot. The handles are of peculiar band-like form attached vertically to the side of the rim and bent up in a loop at each end. The technique is good, the black varnish being lustrous and carefully applied, and there is a general use of purple accessory colour for details, especially in the upper of the two friezes. The vase was unfortunately found in a very shattered condition, but after the necessary repairs and restoration remains fairly complete, the missing parts including but a small portion of the designs. These are disposed in two broad friezes round the exterior, comprising the main subjects, and in a central medallion which covers an area of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter in the interior. Subsidiary decoration includes a band of zigzag lines round the top of the rim with a row of black spots round the outer edge, and below the exterior friezes a narrow band of three rows of dots between triple lines, surrounded by a band of rays. Similar patterns occur on the majority of the vases in this group.⁸ The interior design (Fig. 2), which is probably unique, consists of a very elaborate pattern of four large lotos-flowers alternating with as many palmettes of peculiar form, the stems interlacing and forming a central device of four circles.

Of the two friezes round the exterior (Fig. 3) the upper is evidently intended to be the more important. It is not continuous, being interrupted by the handles, where two square patches of black varnish surround the points of attachment; between them and inside each handle is painted a large rosette with purple centre and purple tips to the petals. The two friezes thus produced are not of the 'processional' type, but are rather in the form of quasi-heraldic, or rather, pedimental compositions: a central figure or device between two others, and a flanking figure at each end. On one side we have in the centre a figure of Hermes standing to right, caduceus in hand: he is bearded and wears a long loose chiton, with a chlamys hanging over the left shoulder. On either side of him is a Siren facing towards him, of the usual type, with human head and bird's body; beyond on the left are a swan and a lion, both to right, the latter looking backwards; on the right, a lion to left, also looking backwards, behind which is a rosette of the usual 'ground-ornament' type.⁹ On the other side the Sirens are replaced by Sphinxes, and Hermes by an interlacing pattern of tendrils from which spring three palmettes and a lotos-flower in the form of a cross, in which the lotos-flower forms the lowest arm.¹⁰ These are flanked on the left by a panther to right with face to front, on the right by another panther to left, now almost entirely obliterated.

The lower frieze is continuous, though the figures do not all face the same way; there are nine animals in all, forming four groups of facing pairs,

⁸ Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 125.

⁹ The absence of ground-ornaments (with this exception) is curious, and taken in conjunction with the appearance of Hermes, seems to suggest a comparatively late date for this

example. On the other vases they are almost invariably present.

¹⁰ Cf. Thiersch, *Tyrrhen. Amph.* p. 75, for similar patterns.



FIG. 3.—EXTERIOR DESIGNS ON KYLIX. (No. I. p. 3.)

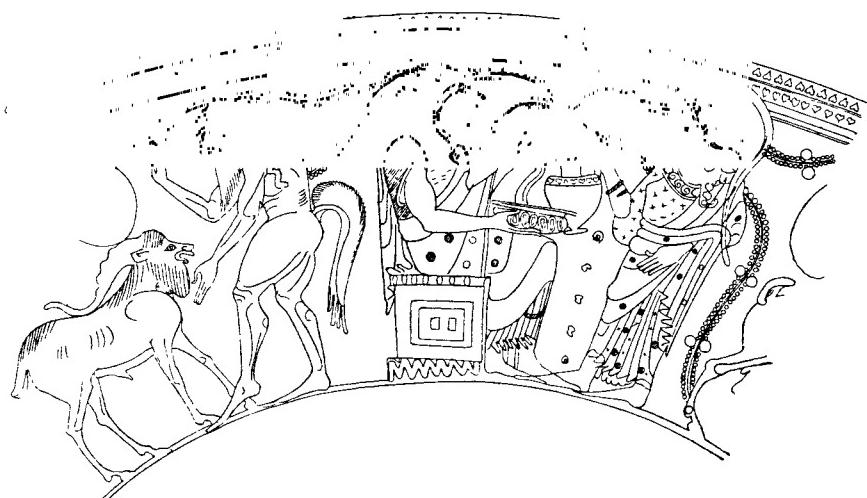


FIG. 4.—OBVERSE OF KYLIX. (No. II. p. 5.)

with an extra one facing left: (1) goat and lion; (2) stag and panther; (3) lion and stag; (4) panther and boar; (5) panther. Of the second panther the tail alone now remains, and the head of the boar is wanting; each of the other panthers has the face turned to the front.

II. Kotyle from Boeotia. (Figs. 4, 5.)

Ht. 7 in. (17·5 cm.). •Diam. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (23·5 cm.).

The form (rare in the black-figure period) is midway between the ordinary B. F. kotyle or skyphos (cf. *B. M. Cat. of Vases* B 369–372)¹¹ and the R. F. kotyle of which the Hieron vase (B. M. E 140) is a typical example. It is more convex-sided than the latter, but has the same broad low foot; on the other hand the handles slope upwards as in the B. F. 'skyphos' type. The interior, handles, and foot are completely covered with black varnish, the whole of the exterior being left red. Round the rim is an ivy-wreath, and round the base of the body a tongue-pattern, alternately black and purple.

The subjects on the two sides are curiously similar, both representing Herakles seated and Athena standing facing one another, with a Satyr and goat on the left of the scene, the latter being under the handle, so that the scenes are not marked off from one another. The scene represented in Fig. 4 may be described as follows: Herakles is seated to right on a cubical seat, which recalls in form the *cistae* on which Demeter and Persephone are placed in the Eastern pediment of the Parthenon,¹² with a slightly projecting base. Along the top and base are rows of black *dots*; the surface of the rest is painted white except for a rectangle of black, within which are two small compartments of the same colour. The hero wears the lion's skin, and in addition a long chiton and a mantle wrapped round his body. The latter unusual costume seems to indicate that his labours are now over, and that he has assumed a position on a level with the gods with whom he is now associated. In his right hand he holds out a large phiale (ornamented with a band of egg-pattern in white), into which Athena is about to pour wine from an oinochoe: this vessel, which in form is more like a hydria, has a patch of white round the mouth and a band of white ivy-leaves on the shoulder. The goddess is of the usual type, with crested helmet, long chiton, and peplos wrapped round her body; the chiton is ornamented with crosses, and a band of spirals at the neck, the mantle with purple and white spots. In the background is a tree, the branches of which spread over the scene, and are loaded with large white fruit grouped in pairs at intervals. On the left of the scene a Satyr turned to the left holds out his hands as if about to seize the goat which, as already noted, is under the handle.

The scene on the other side (Fig. 5) differs from the preceding in the following details: Herakles sits in a chair with the arms supported on columns, the back ending in a large swan's neck and head; the legs are curved. In front of it lie his bow and bow-ease, a wing forming the cover of

¹¹ In the Museum collection B 79 is the nearest parallel.

¹² See Studniczka in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* xix. (1904), pp. 1 ff.

the latter; in his left hand he holds the club, which is omitted in the other scene. Athena holds the oinochoe (which is painted white throughout) in



FIG. 5.—REVERSE OF KOTYLE. (No. II. p. 5.)

her left hand, and supports the phiale with her right; her chiton is unornamented. The Satyr stands with face turned to the front and feet

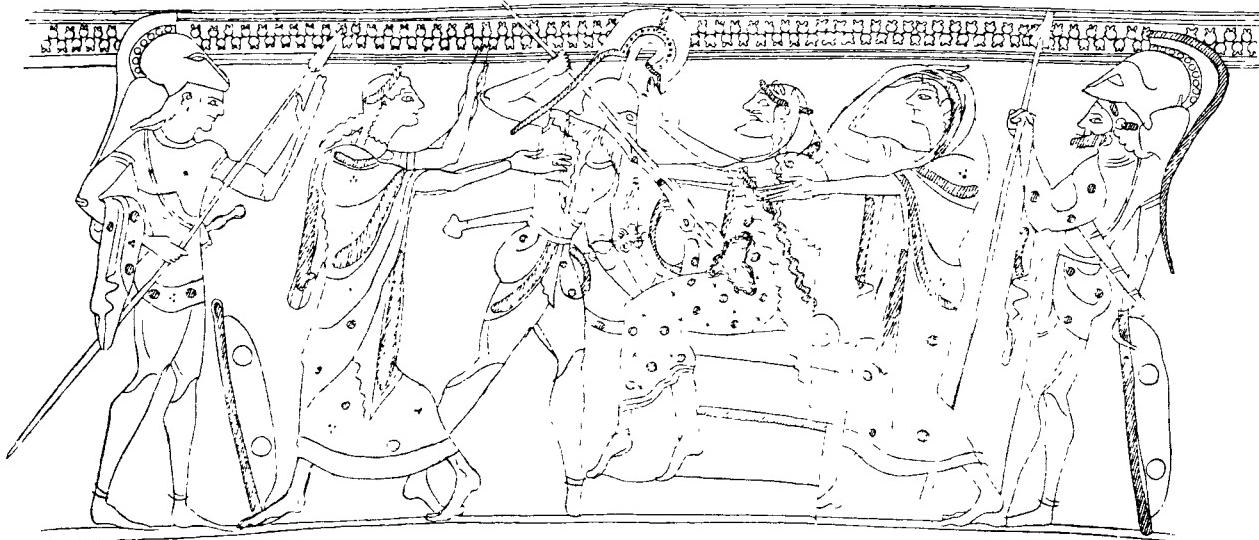


FIG. 6.—THE DEATH OF PRIAM. (No. III. p. 7.)

to right (the head is now wanting); he is dancing, and is covered all over with small fine incisions to indicate hair.

The subject, in one form or another, is a common one especially on B. F. vases.¹³ Athena, as the hero's special patron, is conceived as receiving and refreshing him after his labours; and in some cases the presence of other deities suggests that the scene is placed in Olympos, after the hero's apotheosis. The nearest parallel to our vase is one published by Gerhard,¹⁴ where Herakles is seated in the company of Athena and Dionysos. The usual type, however, is one which represents the goddess and the hero both standing, as in Brit. Mus. B 198 and B 498. The presence of the Satyr in the scene under discussion may or may not have any special significance, but A. S. Murray was inclined to see in it a reference to a Satyric drama. He also cites Aristophanes, *Ran.* 46, with reference to the wearing of the chiton and mantle by Herakles; but this does not seem to be very apposite. There is no ground for regarding the scene as having any further meaning than that he is resting peacefully from his labours.¹⁵

III. Lekythos. (Fig. 6.) Presented in 1899 by Miss Preston.

Ht. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (31 cm.).

Usual B.F. shape, but with wider body than usual, the neck short and slim: thick heavy stem on thin flat foot. On the shoulder are a circle of oblique strokes round the base of the neck, and chains of palmettes united by tendrils. Round the body above the design are two rows of pomegranate-buds linked by sloping lines; below the design is a broad band of black.

The subject is the Death of Priam. The aged king is seated to left on an altar which is ornamented with volutes on the top and has a projecting base painted white. Round his head is a fillet, and he wears a mantle with crinkly folds and edges, embroidered with spots and bands in white and purple, and incised crosses. The white used for his hair and beard has faded away. Neoptolemos, a fully-armed warrior, with Boeotian shield and purple-striped tunic, advances towards him and plunges a spear in his left side. On either side is a Trojan woman, the one on the right facing the central scene, the other running away and looking back. Their flesh is painted white, and they both raise their hands in attitudes of horror or dejection; the first-named wears a fillet in her hair and a striped and spotted himation, and the other, a similar mantle drawn right over her head. At the end of the scene and facing it on each side is a fully-armed warrior, presumably a Greek, with chlamys over one arm and shield resting on the ground.

The various 'types' of this subject in the B. F. vases have been collected and discussed by Prof. Ernest Gardner in an earlier volume of this *Journal* (xiv. pp. 170 ff.). He distinguishes three main varieties, each with two subdivisions, and our vase may be included under his heading A 2 'type where Priam is represented alive, and Astyanax does not appear'. It is very

¹³ A good R. F. example is Munich 369 = Cf. also Louvre F 117. The former is interpreted Furtwaengler and Reichhold, *Gr. Vasen*. i. by M. Reinach as the 'initiation of Herakles.' Pl. XXIV.

¹⁴ *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. Pl. CXLI. Figs. 1, 2. Cf. the Louvre vase already cited, and Furtwaengler in Roscher's *Lexicon*, i. p. 2216.

closely paralleled by a hydria at Würzburg, published by Reisch,¹⁶ on which Neoptolemos thrusts his spear into the right breast of Priam, who falls back on the altar: on either side is a woman in a similar attitude to those on our vase. The commonest type is that in which Priam is already slain, and Neoptolemos hurls the body of Astyanax upon his.

IV. Lekythos, from Braona near Sparta. (Figs. 7, 8.)

Ht. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. (8.8 cm.), in present condition.

The vase is of a peculiar, if not unique, type (see Fig. 7), the body being in the form of a pyxis with concave sides (cf. Brit. Mus. E 772, 774, 777, 780), with a low wide foot: the shoulder is flat, and from the centre rises a narrow neck like that of an ordinary lekythos, the greater part of which is now wanting. There are no signs of any handle. On the shoulder, which has been partly restored in black paint, are a band of carelessly-executed tongue-pattern and one of enclosed palmettes divided by a * ornament. Round the top of the body is an egg-pattern, with a dot in the middle of each egg; the foot is partly covered with black glaze, which is worn away in places.

The design on the body (Fig. 8) is a broad frieze representing a sacrifice to Athena. The goddess is seated to left between two Doric columns, which are in a sort of perspective, one at her back, the other beyond her knees. Her chair has no proper back, but from the back of the seat rises an ornament in the form of a swan's head. In her right hand she holds out a phiale, on which a fluted pattern is indicated by incised lines: on her head is a high-crested helmet. She wears a long chiton embroidered with small stars and bands of ornament round the lower part of the skirt; over this is a himation enveloping her left arm. Rough marks projecting from behind her left arm seem to be meant for the snake-fringe of the aegis, not otherwise indicated. Before the goddess is a low cubical altar with volutes at the top and bands of ornament round the middle, on which a fire burns; on the other side of it



FIG. 7.—LEKYTHOS FROM BRAONA

approaches a train of worshippers, three in number. First comes a woman wearing long chiton and himation, with a fillet round her head, on which she carries a flat basket or *kavoūn* containing three objects of columnar form. The lines of the folds of her drapery, as painted, do not correspond to the original engraved lines. Next is a bearded man, wearing fillet and himation, carrying an oinochoe in his right hand. The third figure is similar, and leads up a bull, walking on the further side of it. Behind him is a Doric column.

¹⁶ *Rom. Mitth.* iii. p. 108.

The style is rough and careless, and there is a very sparing use of accessory colours, white being used only for the faces of the women and the fillets, purple not at all. This, taken in conjunction with the developed forms of the patterns on the upper part of the vase, seems to indicate a late date, not earlier than the end of the sixth century.

The subject is not a common one on Greek vases; but there are two other B. F. examples, one of which (if not both) is of somewhat earlier date than our vase, in which the subject is treated in a very similar manner. These are the curious kylix in the British Museum, B 80,¹⁷ which is somewhat archaic in style and very rude in workmanship, and an amphora in Berlin (Cat. 1686),¹⁸ which certainly belongs to the beginning of the black-figure period. In both of these the figure of the goddess is of the Promachos type, with shield and spear, not as in the present case, in her peaceful aspect. In both again a female worshipper is followed by a man leading a bull; the former holds a basket on the British Museum vase, lustral branches on that in Berlin. A fourth example is published by Gerhard,¹⁹ but the scheme of composition is different.

V. Lekythos, presented in 1910 by Edwin Barclay, Esq. From Sicily.
Ht. 5½ in. (= 14·5 cm.). (Fig. 9.)

Usual B. F. form, with slim neck and small mouth. Designs in black (with purple pigment for details) on pale buff slip, the shoulder left red. The surface is in bad condition and part of the design on the body is much obscured, if not obliterated. The ornamentation consists of a ring of short strokes round the base of the neck, a chain of lotos-buds on the shoulder, and a pattern of two rows of dots united by oblique lines round the upper part of the body (as on No. III).

The subject of this vase, being unique, demands more attention than others described in this paper. The scene depicted on the body represents the capture of Seilenos by Midas' guards. In the centre is a rectangular structure with a plain façade, on the right-hand wall of which is a spout in the form of a lion's head. This is clearly a well-house, as so often represented on B. F. vases, in hydrophoria scenes and elsewhere, and, as will be seen later represents the fountain of Inna. Within the building Seilenos is lying in a very contorted attitude, almost filling the whole space; he is engaged in drinking from the spout, but the liquid he is consuming is, as we shall see, wine, and not water. His legs are placed with the knees drawn up as if he was reclining on his back with face to left, but the upper part of his body is turned in the contrary direction to enable him to drink while sprawling on the ground. He wears a fillet which is coloured purple, as is also his beard. On either side of the building is a palm-tree, and on the top of it is an armed man kneeling to right on his right knee, waiting to seize Seilenos and

¹⁷ *J.H.S.*, i. Pl. VII.

Grecque, Pl. VII.

¹⁸ Rayet and Collignon, *Hist. de la Céram.*

¹⁹ *Ausgr. Vasenb.* iv. Pl. CCXLII. 1.

bind him with the thong which he holds coiled up in his right hand. He wears a purple fillet and a short chiton girt up at the waist, and his beard is coloured purple. The other details of his costume are obscure, owing to the defective condition of the vase at this part but he appears to carry a bow-case with a wing attached to the top. On the left of the scene is a bearded figure

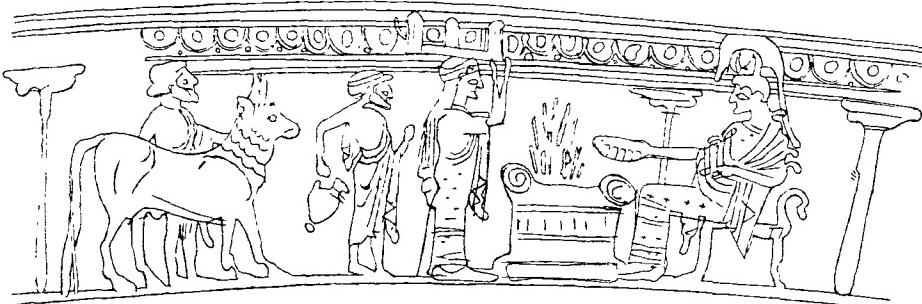


FIG. 8.—SACRIFICE TO ATHENA. (No. IV. p. 8.)

seated on a chair with spear in right hand wrapped in a himation, and watching the progress of events: on the left is a similar figure. The former is satisfactorily identified as Midas himself (though he is not usually present at the capture) by the inscription $M\cdot\Delta\epsilon\cdot M(\ell)\delta\eta\varsigma$, painted in front of him In front of the other figure (or possibly referring to the guard) and above

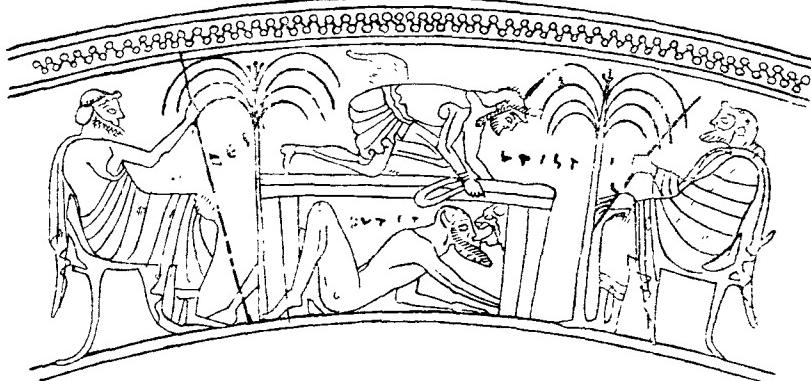


FIG. 9.—CAPTURE OF SEILENOS. (No. V.)

the Seilenos, are also painted inscriptions, but they are apparently meaningless collocations of letters.

The story of Midas and the Seilenos is traced by Kuhnert²⁹ to a North Greek Saga, of which the earliest tradition is given by Herodotus, viii. 138:

²⁹ See generally his article in Roscher's *Gesellsh.* xl. p. 556; Frazer, *Pausania*, ii. *Leridon*, s.v. Midas, ii. 2954 ff. The story is also discussed by K. in *Zeitschr. d. Morganland*.

p. 74; Cook in *J.H.S.*, xiv. pp. 57 ff.

οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης οἰκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίεω, ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ρόδα, ἐν ἔκαστον ἔχον ἑξήκοντα φύλλα, ὅδμῆ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων· ἐν τούτοισι καὶ ὁ Σιληνὸς τοῖσι κήποισι ἥλω, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ‘Τπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων οὐρος κέεται Βέρμιον οὔνομα, ἀβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. But so far we have no mention of the spring, nor any explanation of what Seilenos was doing or how caught. Xenophon, however, leads us a step further (*Anab.* i. 2. 13): ... Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ' ἥ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι οἴνῳ κεράσας αὐτήν. Xenophon knows the story of the filling of the spring with wine, but he has transferred it (in common with the vase-painters and other later writers) into Phrygia, with which Midas was more naturally associated.²¹ Ovid (*Metam.* xi. 90) says :

titubantem annoque meroque
ruricolae cepere Phryges vinctumque coronis
ad regem duxere Midan.

Athenaeus, however, quoting Bion of Prokonnesos (ii. 45 c = *Frag. Hist. Gr.* 2. 19) harks back to the older and truer version, and incidentally gives the name of the spring as Inna: *καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Φρύγα Μίδαν φησὶ Θεόπομπος, ὅτε ἐλεῖν τὸν Σειληνὸν ὑπὸ μέθης ἡθέλησεν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ κρήνη, ὡς φησὶ Βίων, μέση Μαίδων καὶ Παιονίων Ἰννα καλουμένη.*

Aelian (*V.H.* iii. 18) and Aristotle (*αριστ Plut. Cons. Apoll.* 27) refer to Seilenos expounding the theory of life to Midas after his capture. The earlier writers quoted give us no clue to the reason why Midas wished to capture Seilenos, but this is plainly shewn by Aristotle in the passage referred to. Midas desired to obtain of Seilenos wisdom, which he was reluctant to impart, and even when compelled to enlighten the king, his theme was man's ephemeral and unhappy existence, the burden of his speech being *μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἄπαντα νικᾶ λόγον*, etc. Ovid's version of the story is on these lines, but contaminated by other legends.

An interesting parallel to this story comes from Jewish sources.²² In the Haggadah the tale is told that Solomon when building the Temple wished to capture the demon Asmodeus, in order to know how to shape blocks of marble by means of the Shamir or worm (iron tools not being allowed). Having filled the well from which Asmodeus drank with wine, he caused the demon to become intoxicated, and so obtained what he wanted.²³

It has already been stated that the above-described vase-painting is unique. But it is not of course the only example of the subject in Greek art, but only of that particular episode. Other vase-paintings illustrate the

²¹ Pausanias (i. 4. 5) places the spring at Ancyra. See Frazer's note. Philostratus also alludes twice to the story (*Imag.* i. 22 and *Vit. Apoll.* vi. 27), placing the scene in Phrygia. Kuhnert suggests that there has been a con-

fusion between Βρύγες (i.e. Macedonians) and Φρύγες.

²² I owe the suggestion to Dr. M. R. James.

²³ See *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ii. p. 218.

later stages of the story. Of these there are seven in all, three black-figured and three red-figured.²⁴ The list is as follows:—

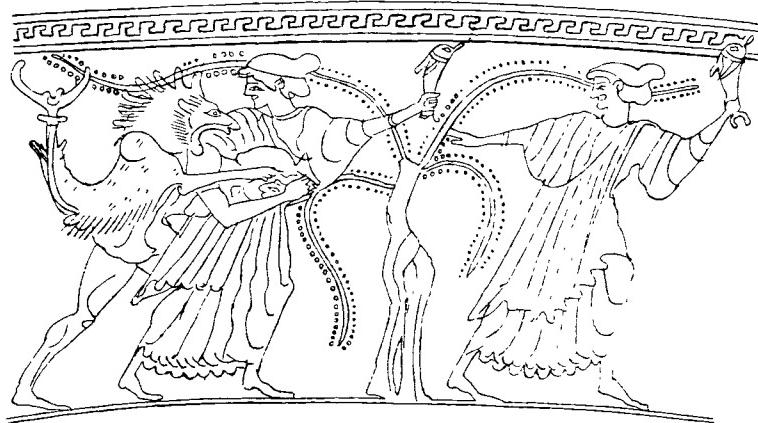


FIG. 10.—PELEUS AND THETIS. (No. VI. p. 13.)

1. *Seilenos being led away to Midas after his capture.*

- (1) Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. Pl. CCXXXVIII. (Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. p. 120), by Ergotimos.
Seilenos is led by Oreios and Therytas.



FIG. 11.—DESIGN ON TOP OF PAXIS. (No. VII. p. 14.)

- (2) Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenb.* Pl. LIII. 2 (B. F.).
Seilenos led by armed guard.

²⁴ See *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* ii. p. 112.

2. *Announcement of the capture to Midas.*

- (3) R. F. vase in Vatican = *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1844, Pl. D, 3.
(Seilenos not present; Midas has asses' ears.)

3. *Seilenos brought before Midas.*

- (4) B. F. vase = *Cab. Durand* 261.
Seilenos brought in chains by two armed guards.
- (5) R. F. stamnos = Brit. Mus. E 447.
Seilenos led by Phrygian guard; Midas has asses' ears.
- (6) R. F. vase in Palermo = *Mon. dell' Inst.* iv. Pl. X.
Similar to (5).
- (7) R. F. vase in Naples (*Cat.* 1851).
Seilenos led by Phrygian spearman.

To this list may be added a gem in the British Museum (*Cat.* 1474),²⁵ on which the captured Seilenos appears to be represented as in No. 7.

VI. Lekythos from Thebes. (Fig. 10.)

Ht. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (= 16·5 cm.).

The form is carefully modelled, on the normal lines, but with shorter neck than usual, and small foot. The black varnish covers the exterior of the mouth and outside of handle, the lower part of the body (except for two lines left in red), and the upper part of the foot. On the shoulder is a chain of palmettes alternately pointing outwards and inwards, and round the base of the neck radiate oblique strokes, the neck itself being left red like the ground on the shoulder. The body is covered with a creamy-white slip with a greenish tinge, on which the designs are painted in black: round the upper edge is a key-pattern between pairs of lines.

The subject is the familiar one of the capture of Thetis by Peleus, in the usual wrestling scheme. Peleus stoops forward to right with head down, supported on his right foot, and grips Thetis round the waist. She endeavours to run away, and is represented as if in three planes, her face turned to left, her body to the front, and her feet to right. In her left hand she holds up a fish; her hair is looped up at the back under a fillet, and she wears a long chiton and himation. Peleus is nude, and has a beard. On the latter's back is a monster representing two of Thetis' transformations in one, the head and forepaws of a lion being combined with the body and tail of a fish; it places the right paw on Peleus' head and seizes his right shoulder in its mouth. Beyond Thetis is a tree with two stems uniting some way up and then dividing into four long thin branches, which spread over the scene, edged with two rows of dots to indicate leaves, in the usual late B. F. fashion. On the extreme right of the scene a Nereid runs away, but looks back, with right hand extended: she resembles Thetis in costume and also

²⁵ *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1869, p. 59, No. 31.

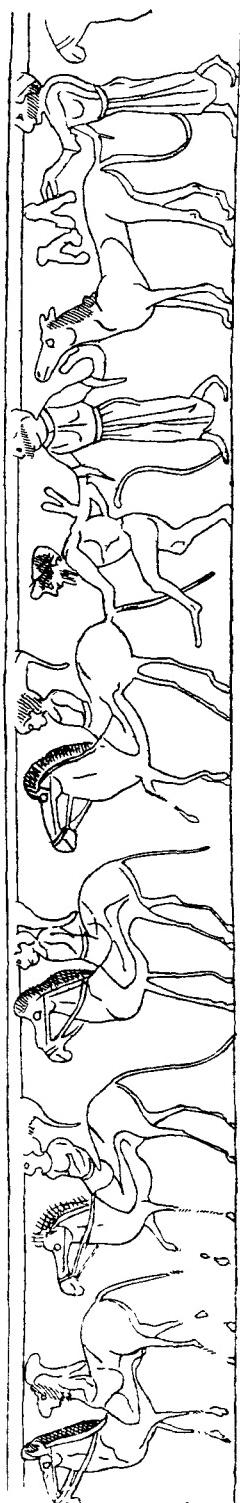


FIG. 12.—DESIGN ROUND SIDES OF PYXIS.

holds a fish. The style of the drawing is somewhat late and careless, and there is no use of purple for details. The vase is probably not earlier than 500 B.C. The different examples of this subject have been collected and classified in types by B. Graef,²⁶ including some 108 examples. Our vase comes under the category of his II. I. B. His No. 47 (Naples 2535) shews a similar monster on Peleus' back, combining in the same way the forms of lion and fish.

VII. Pyxis from Boeotia. (Figs. 11, 12.) Presented in 1908, by A. van Branteghem, Esq.

Ht. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. (4.5 cm.). Diam. $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. (8 cm.).

The pyxis is in the form of a round box with cover fitting closely over it (cf. Brit. Mus. B 677); the box part is plain, and unglazed except the edge of the base: the top of the cover is glazed, with a narrow ring of black varnish round the rim, and the side is completely covered with a white slip on which figures are painted in black. On the top figures in black with purple details alternate with others painted in white. It seems probable that the black has faded off these figures leaving them in the white slip which originally covered the top as well as the sides. On the other hand it is possible that they are in their original condition, and in this case the vase would be remarkable for combining three varieties of technique: black on red, white on red, and black on white. In any case the vase is of late date, and belongs to a period of experiments.

The black figures on the top (Fig. 11) consist of three horsemen to l., so placed that the head of each meets the head of the horse behind, forming a sort of *τρισκελής* scheme. Each horseman sits with legs doubled up, and is beardless, wearing a high-crested helmet, and a belt round his waist. The horses' manes are purple. Alternating with these are three diminutive nude figures, apparently women dancing with castanets, but they are now very indistinct.

Round the body is a frieze of figures (Fig. 12):

²⁶ *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.*, i. pp. 192 ff.

(1) grotesque figure in Phrygian cap on horseback to l.; (2) horseman to l. like those on the cover, wearing short chiton: (3, 4) similar figures: (5) bearded man dancing to l. and seizing the tail of the horse in front; (6) woman (?) to l. in long girt chiton, with castanets in right hand; (7) mule to l., followed by woman walking to left with left hand raised, her right placed on its hind-quarters. In the field above are two objects in the form of an inverted V.

VIII. Lekythos. (Fig. 13.)

Ht. 4 in. (10·3 cm.).

This vase belongs to a well-known class dating from the end of the black-figure period, in which the body is completely covered with black varnish, on which the design is painted in opaque pigments.²⁷ Here the whole vase is varnished except the neck and shoulder, inside of handle, and under side of foot. On the shoulder are short strokes and pendant-shaped markings radiating from the base of the neck. The design on the body is painted in opaque white and pinkish-red, and round the top is a pattern of zigzags in the latter colour. Below is a single figure of a woman seated in a chair to left. Her flesh is white, her features and fingers picked out with red; her hair is knotted up at the back with a fillet passing twice round it, and she wears a long girt red chiton with white stripes. Her chair has a low back, and her feet rest on a low stool. In front of her is a white wool-basket (*κάλαθος*), and on her lap is a frame somewhat in the form of a lyre,²⁸ being formed by two upright pieces with knobs at the top, diverging slightly towards the top, across between which are stretched two threads at the top and two at the bottom, seven vertical threads being also visible. Her hands are placed on the threads, which she is engaged in manipulating. This object can only be intended for a hand-loom, though there is apparently no evidence for the use of such objects in ancient times, or among Oriental races either in the past or at the present day.²⁹ The only other parallel to the representation on this vase is one published by Stackelberg,³⁰ where a woman holds a similar frame and is similarly occupied with her hands. The writers of the articles *Stickerei* in Baumeister and *Phrygicum Opus* in

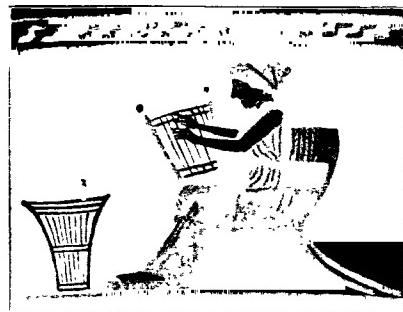


FIG. 13.—WOMAN WEAVING.

²⁷ Six in *Gaz. Arch.* 1889, pp. 193 ff., 281 ff. : Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, i. pp. 393 ff.

²⁸ The Latin names for the different parts of the lyre were derived from a comparison with the loom (see Smith, *Dict. Ant.* ii. p. 768).

²⁹ See on the subject Blumner, *Technologic*, i. pp. 120 ff. : Smith, *Dict. Ant.* art. *Tela* ; L. Hooper, *Handloom Weaving* (Hogg, 1910).

³⁰ *Gräber der Hellenen*, Pl. XXXIII. reproduced in Baumeister, iii. p. 1715, Fig. 1796.

Daremburg and Saglio, misled by the likeness of the object to the modern crewel-frame, interpret the process as embroidering. But this kind of work implies cloth or other textile substance already woven, on which patterns are worked in, whereas in both the vase-paintings the textile is obviously in course of construction.

IX. Boeotian Krater, found in Euboea (?). (Figs. 14, 15.)

Ht. 11 in. (28 cm.).

This krater belongs to a class which is hardly represented outside the collection in the Museum at Athens, where there are a considerable number from Tanagra and other sites in Boeotia.³¹ It is clearly a local variety of the later Athenian style, and as such demands some slight discussion here. But first it may be more convenient to describe the example before us.

The krater (Fig. 14) is of the 'calyx' type (or *vaso a calice*), with heavy thick lip, vertical handles placed low down on the body, and low stem with moulded base. The dull yellowish-red surface of the unvarnished part and the inferiority of the black varnish mark it as distinct from the products of Attic workshops. The subsidiary ornamentation consists of a band of short strokes on the lip with a roughly-executed tongue-pattern below; below the design, a band of maeander alternating with squares in which are diagonals with dots between, and a narrow band of dots. The foot has been repaired.

On one side is Victory (Fig. 15) flying in three-quarter profile to left, holding a laurel-branch in her right hand, in her left a flat dish or basket containing cakes. Her hair is covered with a spotted coif, and she wears earrings formed of a cluster of small studs, a triple necklace, and long girt sleeveless chiton with over-fold, which is blown out by the wind behind. On her wings are markings in black.

On the other (see Fig. 14) is a four-horse chariot galloping in three-quarter profile to l., driven by Athena, who wears a low-crested helmet and chiton like Victory's with border of short strokes in two rows. The horses are very clumsily drawn, and the reins are not indicated. The wheel of the chariot and other details have been painted in white, which is now much faded. This subject also occurs on a Boeotian krater in the Athens Museum (Collignon and Couve, No. 1345).

The vases of this Boeotian fabric are, says Rubensohn,³² much under the influence of the later Attic style, but are distinguished by their light red clay and dull black varnish. The commonest form is the bell-shaped krater, a type only found in Boeotia on the Mainland of Greece,³³ but well known in Rhodes and the adjoining islands,³⁴ as also of course in Southern

³¹ See Collignon and Couve, *Cat. du Musée d'Athènes*, Nos. 1341–1352, 1583, 1887–1920.

³² *Ath. Mitt.* xxiv. (1899), p. 67.

³³ 'ΕΦ. 'Αρχ. 1883, p. 176.

³⁴ Cf. *B.M. Cat. of Vases*, iv. F 1 ff.



FIG. 14.—BOEOTIAN KRATER: ATHENA IN CHARIOT



FIG. 15.—VICTORY, FROM BOEOTIAN KRATER

Italy. Our vase, being a calyx-krater, is exceptional. The kantharos and kotyle are also popular forms, and a good instance of the former is Athens 1583,³⁵ representing a sepulchral banquet : on the reverse is Athena in a biga. The drawing is always careless and unpleasing, but there is a decided preference for mythological and religious subjects. The vases fall into two groups, to the earlier of which, dating about 400 B.C., our example belongs ; the later are distinguished by an extensive use of white pigment. In the neglect of isocephalism and the indifference to beauty of forms, these vases decidedly resemble the contemporary ware of Southern Italy, to which they form a parallel development from the Attic.

X. Campanian Krater. (Fig. 16.)

Ht. 14½ in. (37 cm.). Diam. 14½ in. (36 cm.).

The form is that known as bell-shaped (*vaso a campana*), as commonly found in the South Italian fabrics. The black varnish has a somewhat metallic character, and the clay is of the dull pinkish-red usual in the vases of Campania. There is a lavish use of white accessories in the design. The subsidiary ornamentation is also of a normal type : wreath above the design and maeander below, with egg-pattern round the bases of the handles : below them are in each case two large palmettes with volutes and leaves below.

The design on the principal face evidently represents a torch-race. In the middle is a competitor mounted on a white horse which rears to the right ; he holds a torch in his right hand and looks back at a second youth who stands to the front, and looks round at the first, raising his right hand. On the right a third youth moves away and turns round with a chaplet of beads in his right hand, as if offering it to the others. Both the latter carry torches : they wear white fillets, and over the left arm of each is a chlamys ; each has a string of beads round the body. The lines of the ground are indicated by irregular incised markings.

On the reverse is a subject of the usual type on these vases, though rather more carefully executed than usual. Two youths, wearing white fillets, mantles, and shoes, stand to left facing a similarly-clad third. The two former each hold up a chaplet of beads (?) in one hand. In the field are two white flowers.

Our information on the subject of the Greek torch-race is singularly meagre, both from literary and monumental sources, and though there are at least a dozen vase-paintings in existence representing runners with torches, they are mostly of a late and conventional character, with little definite action. It is certain, however, that the contest originated at Athens, where it was celebrated in connexion with various festivals.³⁶ It was run in

³⁵ Rayet and Collignon, *Hist. de la Céramique Grecque*, p. 291.

Lampadedromia). See also Gardiner, *Athenian Sports and Festivals*, pp. 292, 461 ; *Jahrb.* vii. p. 149 ; *Rivue de Philol.* xxiii. (1899), p. 112.

³⁶ Flav., *Pausanias*, ii. pp. 391 ff. ; Daremberg and Saglio, iii. pt. 2, pp. 909 ff. (s.v.

at least two ways. According to Pausanias (i. 30. 1) the course was from the Academy to the city, and the object of the competitors was simply to keep their own torches alight the whole way, or they were disqualified. The other way was that referred to in the familiar line in the *Agamemnon*, where one torch was handed from runner to runner. At the Bendideia the contest seems to have been equestrian: it is described by Plato (*Rep.* 328 A) as follows: *λαμπάδια ἔχοντες διαδώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀμιλλώμενοι τοῖς ὕποις*. It is of course conceivable that the latter type of race is the original one, and that described by Pausanias a later variety of his own times. The point, however, with which we are immediately concerned is the part played in it



FIG. 16.—CAMPANIAN KRATER: TORCH-RACE. (No. X.)

by mounted competitors. On this some more light is thrown by an inscription from Athens (*Inscr. Gr.* ii. 969 b), dating from the second century B.C., which speaks of a victory won by a knight of the tribe Kekropis: *Κ]εκροπίδος φυλῆς [έκ τῶν ιππέ]ων λαμπάδι.*³⁷ Two similar inscriptions (*Inscr. Gr.* ii. 447, 448) mention torch-races of boys, ephebi, and *νεανίσκοι*, and also a race *τῇ λαμπάδι τῶν Ταραντίνων*. The latter phrase is significant in view of the well-known type on coins of Tarentum, of a horseman carrying a torch. It also suggests that the mounted torch-race,

³⁷ The reading is doubtful, but the editors have restored *ιππέων* from the analogy of other formulae in this inscription. It is not definite- ly stated that this torch-race was equestrian, but it is highly probable.

20 VASES RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM

if not actually practised in Campania,³⁸ was at any rate familiar to inhabitants of Southern Italy, and was at least a feature of Tarentine athletic displays.

A few words may be said in conclusion on the vases with representations of the torch-race, though, as noted above, they are not very illuminating. They fall into two classes: those representing the actual race, and those with groups of inactive athletes, one of whom is usually being crowned by Victory.

1. *Actual race.*

- (1) Brit. Mus. F 59. Two runners with torches, one bearded; all wear radiated head-bands.
- (2) Brit. Mus. (*J.H.S.*, xviii. p. 300). Single figure of runner.
- (3) Tischbein. iii. Pl. XLVIII. (Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 320). Two youths with torches running; another standing, towards whom Nike flies with taenia.

2. *Groups of athletes with torches.*

- (4) Brit. Mus. E 111.
- (5) Brit. Mus. E 389.
- (6) Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. LXXVI.).

3. *Groups as last; one crowned by Nike.*

- (7) Krater by Nikias in Brit. Mus. (Froehner, *Coll. Tyszkiewicz*, Pl. XXXV.).
- (8) Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. LXXI. 3).
- (9) Petersburg 2010 (*Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* Pl. LXIII.).
- (10) *Coll. Lecuyer*, ii. Pl. D. 4.
- (11) *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* vii. p. 149.
- (12) Tischbein, ii. Pl. XXV. (Reinach, *Rép.* ii. 298).

It will be noticed that all these vases are of late date, none being earlier than the middle of the fifth century B.C. It is probable that the race was first introduced about that time.

H. B. WALTERS.

³⁸ A torch-race was instituted at Neapolis by Diotimos about 433 B.C., but it is not stated to have been equestrian (Lycephron, *Cass.* 732, with Tzetzes' note).

A 'POLYCLEITAN' HEAD IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.¹

[PLATES I., II.]

THE artistic character of Polycleitus is attested by ancient writers in remarkably clear and definite language; his position at the head of the Argive School of sculpture during the latter half of the fifth century also seems easy to understand. Friedrich's identification of the Doryphoros, which has met with universal acceptance, supplied the necessary link between the literary evidence and extant sculpture; and with this help the Diadoumenos and the Amazon soon fell into their places. But even here the study of the work of Polycleitus is by no means free from difficulty: the extant copies of the Diadoumenos vary perhaps more than those of any other well-known work, and there are associated with them other statues, whether variations on the same type or different renderings of the same subject, which have added to the confusion. Then there is a whole mass of statues which have been loosely grouped together as 'Polycleitan,' some of them perhaps copies of the master's own work, others probably to be attributed to his pupils or his direct influence, others more remotely affected by the traditions of his school: and in some of these the influence of Myron, of Cresilas, or of other sculptors, has to be recognised and assigned its proper value. It is evident therefore that the study of a 'Polycleitan' head offers a problem by no means so simple as it appears at first sight. At present we are concerned only with one of the numerous types that fall into this category; but it is difficult if not impossible to consider any such type without some general discussion of the larger class to which it belongs.

The head that forms the subject of this paper has already been published, with a brief description, by Mr. F. H. Marshall in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxix. (1909), p. 151, together with other recent acquisitions of the British Museum: but the illustration there given was made before the head was mounted in its proper position and is inadequate to show its beauty and the fineness of its finish. It was at once recognised by the authorities of the Museum as a replica of the head of the well-known statue called after the sculptor Westmacott: and Mr. Marshall suggests that it may be

¹ Among many articles bearing on the subject of this paper, those I have made most use of are: Kekulé, *Idolao*; Winnefeld, *Hupnos*; Philios, in 'ΕΦ. 'ΑΡΧ. 1890, p. 207; Furtwängler's section on Polycleitus in his *Meisterwerke*, and his *Statuenepochen im Altertum*; Mahler, *Poluklet und seine Schule*.

dated to the closing years of the fifth century B.C., and, if this dating is correct, is practically a contemporary copy' (from a Polycleitan original). 'The



FIG. 1.—'POLYCLEIAN' HEAD IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Westmacott statue is probably a later and rather an inferior copy.' The missing portion of the top of the head, which was originally made in a separate piece, and the neck and shoulders also have been restored by a cast

from the Westmacott statue: the head is here republished in its present state (Plate I. and Fig. 1) by permission of Mr. Arthur Smith, the keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

The problem offered by this head, and the attempt to assign it to its due place in the history of sculpture, falls naturally into several distinct sections. First we have to determine the relation of the new head to the head of the Westmacott athlete and to other replicas of the same type (Pl. II.), among which those generally recognised are that in the Barracco Museum (Cat. No. 99, Pl. XXXVIII.) and the statue of a youth from Eleusis now in Athens (*Nat. Mus. Catalogue*, No. 254)¹⁴ and, for the head only, that belonging to Sir Edward Vincent in the *Burlington Fine Arts Catalogue*, 1904, No. 43, Pl. XXXIII. and in Furtwangler, *Masterpieces*, Fig. 103, p. 251, and that in Dresden, *Arch. Anz.* 1900, p. 107. Then we have to consider its relation to the various sets of statues or types that have been compared with it by various authorities, usually with good reason. In the first place there is the series of certainly Polycleitan statues, the Doryphoros and Diadoumenos in their numerous variations, and other clearly Polycleitan types collected together by Furtwangler in his *Masterpieces*. In addition to these we have a whole series of statues that introduce a certain tinge of sentiment, as well as a lighter system of proportions, into the Polycleitan repertory: especially notable among these are the statue of a boy now in Boston (von Mach, *Handbook*, No. 124), which tends towards the type of Praxitelean Eros of Centocelle, and which, by a curious coincidence, has had the top of its head worked in a separate piece and then lost, just as the new British Museum head: and the series of statues sometimes identified as Hyacinthus or Narcissus, sometimes as Hypnos, which is discussed by Winnefeld in his *Hypnos*, the finest example, now in Berlin, being figured in Plate III. of that publication: another example is published by Mrs. Strong in vol. xxvi. of this *Journal*, Pls. I. and II.

Mr. Marshall notices an affinity between the British Museum head and the Nelson athlete (*J.H.S.* xviii. Pl. XI.), a head which has so close a resemblance to the wounded Amazon attributed by Furtwangler to Cresillas that it must be assigned to the same hand; and whether the attribution to Cresillas be accepted or not, the two certainly show a modification of Polycleitan forms under Attic influence: the beautiful bronze head from Beneventum, the Dionysus of Tivoli, attributed by Furtwangler to Euphranor, and the Idolino in Florence, also belong to this class. It would be easy to add to the list: but enough has been said to show that the new head belongs to a class that has very wide ramifications, and that it finds its place, so to speak, at the crossing of various influences and tendencies. It is worth noticing that in more than one instance among the types just enumerated we can trace in almost continuous development a type that originated in pre-Pheidian Athens, that came to be blended with Polycleitan elements, and that emerged again in the fourth century as Praxitelean. It is evident that

¹⁴ These three are placed together for convenience of comparison in Pl. II. I am indebted to Mrs. Strong for the Barracco photograph.

we have here material for a lengthy and complicated investigation, which has already been the subject of much discussion, and which it will be impossible, within the scope of a single article, to follow out in any detail : but it seemed better to sketch at the start this general outline of a comparative survey, before making a closer study of the British Museum head and its nearer affinities.

As to the discovery of the head, I have nothing to add to the statement recorded by Mr. Marshall that it was found at Apollonia in Epirus. This city is one where one might expect to find fine works of art from any period ; it was a Corinthian colony, and its most familiar artistic record is its dedication at Olympia of a great group by Lycius the son of Myron : it is evidently therefore a place where Peloponnesian or Attic influence might be looked for. It is perhaps worth noting that an Apolloniate sculptor, Pausanias, was among those who worked with the scholars of Polyclitus upon the offering of the Tegeans at Delphi.

The Apollonia head, as it may conveniently be called to distinguish it from other examples of the same type, is in excellent preservation, but for a certain amount of weathering. The only serious damage—apart from the loss of the top of the head, is a piece broken out of the nose, but fortunately not extending to the tip, which is perfect. This break is restored in plaster. The marble of which the head is made appears to be Pentelic ; it is at any rate a fine-grained marble, contrasting strongly with the coarse-grained Parian of which the Westmacott athlete is made, and also Sir Edgar Vincent's head and the Dresden one.² The features are very finely and delicately modelled. the nose is slender, and the mouth very subtle in its curves ; there is also, very clearly visible, the slight upward curve of the outer ends of the eyebrows, which is so marked a characteristic of the 'Myronic' athlete pouring oil from one hand to the other, and also of the Hermes of Praxiteles. The whole of the lower part of the face is smaller and the chin more pointed and less rounded in shape than in the Westmacott figure, which agrees with Sir Edgar Vincent's copy in reproducing the full oval which characterises all this series of Polycleitan works.³ The hair is treated in a manner not inconsistent with marble work : it has not the hard metallic texture of bronze ; but on the other hand it shows, especially in the arrangement of the locks and in the small parting above the middle of the forehead, a distinct reminiscence of the treatment of hair which we find in Polycleitan work ; it is not, however, completely translated into a soft marble technique, as is the case with the hair of the youth from Eleusis. As a result of comparing this head from Apollonia with the Westmacott head, one feels that it is not, like

² *Burlington Catalogue*, No. 45. *Arch. Auct.* 1900, p. 107.

³ This impression is borne out by the measurements. The measurements, hair-brow, brow-tip of nose, tip of nose-chin (which are equal in heads undoubtedly Polycleitan), are, in the Westmacott head 39 mm. : 54 : 53 : in the Apollonia head, 40 : 55 : 50. Again, the

breadth across the temples and between the outer corners of the eyes is, in the Westmacott head, 114 : 89, in the Apollonia head, 114 : 90. The slightly greater breadth at the eyes, combined with the smaller measurements of the lower face generally, has a great effect on the visible proportions.

the latter, a good but mechanical copy of a bronze original, but a fresh and vigorous head extraordinarily sensitive in modelling, and showing in its execution many characteristics of the finest Attic work. It is in this respect not unlike the Eleusis statue; but it differs from that statue in keeping more closely to the type and probably the motive on which it is a variation: the Eleusis statue is thought out altogether in marble, and has none of the simplicity of form and clear mapping out of the muscles which we find in Polycleitan bronzes; it has a wonderfully subtle and elusive charm, and, as Furtwängler suggested, probably does not represent an athlete at all, but one of the youthful Eleusinian deities or heroes.

So far nothing has been said as to the motive of the statue, which must of course be taken into account in considering the expression and character of the head. Here the most valuable evidence is afforded by the Barracco copy, which has the right arm preserved right down to the wrist, the hand only being lost. Several explanations of its position have been offered. The first of these, which is accepted in the Barracco catalogue, is that the right hand held an oil-flask, from which the oil was being poured into the left hand, as in the well-known 'Myronic' statue. This may be ruled out at once; the position of the left hand is inconsistent with it, for the puntello on the left hip of the Barracco statue shows that its left hand, like that of the Westmacott statue, hung down close to the left side. We have a copy of a Polycleitan version of this oil-pouring motive, in the statue at Petworth⁴: and this is a distinct type. Another theory, that he was shading his eyes with his right hand, is inconsistent with the position of the right arm, which does not approach near enough to the head. Two other suggestions require careful consideration, because both can be justified by a comparison with other representations of athletes, as may be seen from the sketches given by M. Philios⁵ in his publication of the Eleusis example. The one, first suggested by Winnefeld in his *Hypnos*, and accepted by many others,⁶ is that the boy was placing a victor's wreath upon his head with his right hand; the other is that he was beginning to scrape with a strigil either his forehead or, perhaps, the back of his neck, as in a bronze statuette in the Bibliothèque National.⁷ Either motive is probable enough in an athletic type, and both alike seem to be possible, from the position of the arm and head. I owe two other suggestions to Mr. Norman Gardiner, who examined with me the Barracco statue last spring: one is that he may have been sprinkling sand on his body with his right hand; the other is that the right hand was resting upon a spear, a motive that would accord excellently with the position and expression of the head, and that corresponds with the motive of the 'Capitoline' type of Amazon, a statue which shows considerable affinity in position and motive and especially

⁴ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 258, Fig. 107.

⁵ 'Εφημ. Αρχ. 1890, p. 207.

⁶ For a list of these see Furtw. *I.e.* p. 252, note 6.

⁷ No. 934. Mr. Norman Gardiner, to whom I owe this comparison, describes it as a good

Roman bronze, showing an athlete scraping his shoulder blade with strigil. The right hand is just behind the head, the left leg is somewhat advanced. According to the catalogue it is evidently a copy of some larger work.

in the turn of the head towards the side of the bent leg. It also would harmonise admirably with the poise and expression of the head, which may suggest physical exhaustion such as would become a victor. The only objection to the suggestion is that the turn of the wrist, so far as it is preserved, seems to imply that the hand was turned palm downwards; and this, though it would suit the action either of holding a strigil or of placing a wreath on the head, would hardly be possible if the hand were supported on a spear; if this difficulty be not insuperable, the explanation is a tempting one; but my impression in front of the statue itself was that the turn of the hand did not suit it. Still less would it suit Mahler's suggestion⁶ that in this type we must recognise the 'nudus telo (not talo) incessens' of Polycleitus, a motive that has not met with any great degree of approval, and that certainly does not commend itself as appropriate to the position or character of the work.

A technical point that may be of some assistance is that in almost all copies of the head the portion about the right ear and temple is only roughly worked—in some cases merely blocked out—as if it had been difficult for the sculptor to get at this part of the head, or it had not been clearly visible when finished: in the Eleusis head a large projecting mass of marble is left above the right ear, just opposite where the hand should be. This again seems more consistent with the strigil or the wreath than with any of the other explanations. As against these two, it must however, be noted that there are no holes or other marks of attachment, such as we should expect to find for a strigil above the middle of the forehead, and for a wreath all round the head, if these accessories were made, as must necessarily have been the case, of metal. It is difficult, and perhaps needless, to decide among these different interpretations. This, like other athletic types, was susceptible to considerable variation in detail and in meaning: and it is quite possible that, in the accessories which supplied the motive for the position, some of the copies may have varied from others. The motive of a youth placing a wreath on his head is well attested as belonging both to Attic and to Peloponnesian art of the latter part of the fifth century, just as is the somewhat similar motive of a diadoumenos, a victor binding a fillet round his brows.

The analogy of this other type may here be some help to us. To discuss it in any detail would require far more space than can here be given to it, but a summary statement of what seem the evident facts about it may suffice. We find an Anadoumenos by Pheidias, which may or may not be reflected in the Farnese Diadoumenos, and which is, in all probability, earlier than the Polyeleitan Diadoumenos; then we have the numerous copies of the Polyeleitan bronze figure, including the fine head in the British Museum, which shows that the original, though softer and more advanced in technique than the Doryphoros, was by no means so completely Atticised and translated into marble style as the Dresden and Cassel heads

⁶ *Polyklet und seine Schule*, p. 50.

would suggest; then we find many later variants, including a terra-cotta statuette⁷ which shows the Polycleitan type almost completely assimilated to the style of Praxiteles. Here we must distinguish carefully between the type which existed in Attic and possibly in Argive tradition, and the particular examples of the type which were worked up into individual and characteristic statues by Pheidias and Polycleitus. In some cases such as the Vaison statue and the British Museum head, we evidently have direct copies in marble made from the bronze original by Polycleitus. In the Farnese statue we need not necessarily recognise any direct influence either of Pheidias or of Polycleitus: it rather seems to be a work of a second-rate Attic artist, producing an example of the Attic diadoumenos type. The Dresden and Cassel heads, on the other hand, show clearly Polycleitan influence, though they cannot be mechanically correct copies of the Polycleitan original; they are evidently the work of Attic sculptors, giving their own version of the Polycleitan statue: and the same thing may be said of the terra-cotta statuette. Then, in the Delos statue, we may see a lightened and modified version of the Polycleitan statue, made to suit the taste of the second century B.C., when an exact reproduction of the forms of the original such as was required in Roman times and aimed at by the Vaison statue, would have seemed too definite in modelling and too heavy and even clumsy in appearance. Here the relation of the various copies and replicas and of the variations on the type seem fairly clear.

Another case of an athletic motive, which was evidently used by several sculptors, though its invention must probably be attributed to one man, whom the others followed or imitated, is that of the athlete who holds an oil-flask in his raised right hand, and drips the oil from it into his left hand, which he holds in front of his body. The well-known statues of this type in Munich and Dresden are generally attributed to the Myronic school and are remarkable for the free and appropriate pose of the statue, standing firmly with its legs wide apart, and for the way in which the action is expressed by the whole pose of the figure and the position of the limbs. In the statue of a boy at Petworth,⁸ we have a Polycleitan modification of this motive strongly resembling in style a whole series of Polycleitan statues, among which it is placed by Furtwängler, and which includes the Westmacott athlete and its replicas. In the case of this Petworth statue, we may see a clear case of borrowing and adaptation; but is this borrowing to be attributed to Polycleitus himself, or to his school? The question is very pertinent to our present enquiry, for this whole series of statues of boy athletes shows very strong resemblance throughout, and any theory applicable to one must apply more or less to all.

This brings us back to the question of the Westmacott athlete and the Apollonia Head. The external evidence for a direct assignment of the original of these figures to Polycleitus will hardly bear investigation: it

⁷ J.H.S. 1885, Pl. LXI. I assume that this statuette is genuine, a matter on which some

doubts have been expressed.

⁸ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, Fig. 107.

consists merely of the marks of the feet of the statue on the Cyniseus basis at Olympia, which show that statue to have been in the usual Polycleitan walking attitude, just as we see it in the Doryphoros and the Diadoumenos, but with the position of the two legs exchanged. This gives, it is true, the position we see in the Westmacott athlete: and this figure has therefore been identified by several writers as a copy of the Cyniseus. On this matter it is sufficient to quote the warning of Furtwangler,⁹ that, though the identification has met with some acceptance, 'unfortunately absolute certainty cannot be attained. There must have been several Polycleitan statues of boys with the same position of the feet. Further, it is hardly likely that the original of our favourite and oft-copied statue was still in the Altis in the time of Pausanias, as the Cyniseus was.' If the dating of the Cyniseus to 460 B.C. were indisputable it would decide the question: but unfortunately there is no certainty about the matter: his victory may, as Förster suggested, be subsequent to 440 B.C.¹⁰

The type of a young man crowning himself occurs, as has been pointed out in this connexion by Furtwangler, on the frieze of the Parthenon;¹¹ and the pose of this figure, who holds the bridle of his horse in his other hand, resembles that of the 'Myronic' athlete pouring oil, especially in the position of the legs. We may therefore reckon it as among the repertory of Attic artists in the latter part of the fifth century. The Westmacott athlete, with whom may be closely associated the new Dresden head and Sir Edgar Vincent's head, bears evidently just the same relation to this type as does the Petworth athlete to the Myronic oil-pourer:—that is to say, it is a copy of a Polycleitan bronze variant of the same subject. The Barracco and the Eleusis examples are entirely different. The Barracco statue, though it is in the same position as the Westmacott, has nothing Polycleitan about its style. It is somewhat careless and summary in execution, but it has none of the clear mapping out of the muscles which we see in the body of the Westmacott statue: the hair, instead of the wiry bronze texture, in which the Westmacott head resembles the Doryphorus, has a series of close-set flat curls, like those of the Lancelotti Discobolus. It is, in short, a poor variant, more or less Myronic in style, on the Polycleitan type. The Eleusis figure, as we have noticed already, is more in the style and spirit of the Attic work of the early fourth century. Among all these we have still to assign its place to the new Apollonia head. Both the treatment of the hair and the modelling of the face seem to be directly derived from the Polycleitan type, though they are distinctly modified from it in the direction of Attic softness and grace: they bear, in fact, much the same relation to it that the Cassel and Dresden heads bear to the Polycleitan Diadoumenos. The Apollonia head, then, would seem to be—as Mr. Marshall suggested—'an almost contemporary copy,' if

⁹ *Masterpieces*, p. 250.

¹⁰ *Sieger in den Olymp. Spielen*, i. n. 255; this was written before the discovery of the Ovyrhynchus Papyrus. But Robert's dating of the Cyniseus is only reached by a process of

exclusion: and there are other possible gaps, besides 460, where Cyniseus can be fitted in. Cf. Robert, *Hermes*, xxxv, p. 185.

¹¹ N. side, No. 131 (Michaelis).

we may use the word 'copy' in the sense of a free imitation of bronze in marble, not of a mechanical reproduction of its actual forms and technique.

So far there is hardly room for any difference of opinion: a more difficult question is in what sense we are to regard the bronze original, which is implied by the extant copies, as Polycleitan. Was it a work of Polycleitus himself, or merely a work of his school or of his pupils? Most authorities, including Furtwangler and Collignon, seem almost to assume the former as self-evident; I have ventured to express a doubt on the matter in my 'Six Greek Sculptors,' on the ground that 'the slender forms, the exaggeration of the attitude, especially in the droop of the head and the sinking of the right hip, do not seem probable in a work by the master himself, much less in the earliest of his recorded works.' This last objection disappears, if it be conceded that the identification as the Cynicus cannot be pressed, and that the date of his victory is doubtful; but with it disappears the only piece of external evidence for attributing the statue to Polycleitus. 'It seems more probable that we see here a work of one of his scholars or successors, imitating very closely his earlier style. There is a whole series of such later Polycleitan works, mostly more slender in form and more sentimental in character, of which a well-known example is the Idolino at Florence.' A still further development in the same direction is seen in the series of statues sometimes identified as Hyacinthus or Narcissus, and discussed by Winnefeld in his *Hypnos*; here, as in the Eleusis copy of the Westmacott type, we get away from any athletic associations, and may recognise a deliberate intention in the gentle and even sombre melancholy that is appropriate to a genius of sleep or of death: and following on these we find in the Praxitelean school such a work as the Eros of Centocelle, and, in the imitative Graeco-Roman school of Pasiteles, the figure with inverted torch in the Ildefonso group. We cannot, however, here follow all these later variations. The difficulty is to draw the line where the work of Polycleitus himself ends and the Polycleitan influence begins. If we take the only three works which we can attribute to the master on clear and positive evidence, the Doryphoros, the Diadoumenos, and the Amazon, we find in all copies of these a clear and intelligible system of proportions and a simple and unaffected pose that contrast with other 'Polycleitan' works: there is, indeed, in the slight inclination of the head of the Diadoumenos and the Amazon just a suggestion of that modest, even downcast bearing which is so conspicuous in the Westmacott type: the softer and less developed forms of the more youthful athlete may partly account for the exaggeration of the attitude of body and legs; but, if works by Polycleitus like this were familiar, it is difficult to understand how his monotony could have been so much insisted on by ancient writers. There are indeed many statues that occupy an intermediate position between the Diadoumenos and the Westmacott types, as to which it may be wise to reserve judgment for the present, but the original of the Westmacott figure should rather be sought among the works of the pupils of Polycleitus: it would be easy to make the conjecture more definite, but in the multitude of athletic types and the absence

of positive evidence, there is little advantage and some danger in such guesswork.

It has been pointed out¹² in this connexion both by Milchhoefer and by Furtwangler that 'a famous painting by Eupompus of Sicyon, representing a *victor certamine gymnico pulmam tenens*, seems to have been directly derived from the Polycleitan statue.' The pupils of Polycleitus, who seem to have transferred his school to Sicyon, would naturally be associated with Eupompus.

If we assign to one of them the original of the Westmacott statue, it will follow that an Attic imitation of it such as the Apollonia head will fall into the earlier part of the fourth century rather than the latter part of the fifth—a dating that seems appropriate to its artistic character, and brings it nearer to those Praxitelean works which it seems in many ways to anticipate.

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

¹² Furtw. *I.e.* p. 256.

SOME MORE UNPUBLISHED FRAGMENTS OF ATTIC TREASURE-RECORDS.

THIS paper contains some further results of my studies of unpublished fragments of Attic Treasure-records in the Epigraphical Museum, and deals with three small fragments from lists of the fifth century B.C., of which the first belongs to the Pronaos-records, and the second and third to those of the Hekatompedon. They are of interest as giving us contributions to a more exact text of this important class of documents, for the first establishes definitely the exact number of silver *φιάλαι* in the Pronaos each year during the period 434 3–431 0, and the third sheds fresh light on the arrangement of the first eight records of the sacred objects in the Hekatompedon. At the end is appended a note containing some further information as to the last of the three inscriptions published recently by myself in this *Journal* (*J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 182 foll.). It remains to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. B. Leonardos, Ephor of the Epigraphical Museum, in permitting me to study and publish these fragments, and of Mr. M. N. Tod in reading the proofs of this paper with his usual care.

1. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides and at the back, measuring .085 x .17. Letters .01 high. *στοιχηδόν*. In the Epigraphical Museum (inventory No. 616).

ΙΧΝΟΣΑΡΑ
ΕΝΤΟΞΕΠΙΤΟΙ
ΡΑΙΙΙΙΣΤΑΩΜΩΝ

From the presence of the word [Λ]ύχνος in l. 1 we can tell that this must be a fragment of one of the Pronaos-records (*I.G.* i. 117–140¹), for no item of this kind is found in those of the Parthenon or the Hekatompedon. The phrase in l. 2, which is obviously to be restored [ἐπέτεια ἐπεγ]ένετο ἐπὶ τῷ[ν ταμιῶν] hoῖς - - - ἐγραμμάτευε, κ.τ.λ., is the formula introducing the list of the objects added in the year to which the record belongs; and thus our fragment must belong to one of the earliest catalogues of the treasures in the Pronaos for in them alone is the λύχνος entered at, or near, the end of

¹ See also, for subsequent additions to these lists, *I.G.* i. Suppl., pp. 26, 130; and the commentary in Boeckh-Frankel, *Die Staatsinschriftenhaltung der Athener*³, vol. ii, pp. 174 foll.

the list.² The vacant space below l. 3, which is at least .04 in height, shows us, further, that our stone must be broken off from the bottom of some stele, as there is no example known in this class of inscriptions of such a wide interval being left between the records of two years in the middle of a stele. Thus on internal evidence it could belong only either to the first or to the second of the existing stones containing the Pronaos-records, namely *I.G.* i. 117–120, or i. 121–124. But plainly it cannot belong to the latter, as (1) the letters *ος ἀργυρός* followed by the weight of the *λύχνος* are preserved on the stele, and (2) the restoration in the *Corpus* shows that this item did not come in the line immediately before that which contains the words *ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο, κ.τ.λ.*, but three lines above it.

We are left then with *I.G.* i. 120 as the only place from which it can have come, and, as practically the whole catalogue for the year, except the heading, is lost, it is easy to believe that this attribution is correct. The style of the writing on the two stones corresponds exactly, but the lower edge of the main stele is so much worn that there is no actual join when the new fragment is placed in its original position.³ This, however, cannot have even the smallest effect on the validity of the arguments which support the attribution of the fragment to this stele.

The restoration of these three lines, except for the weight of the objects in l. 3, offers no difficulty, for the weight of the *λύχνος* is known, and we may restore in l. 2 the name and demotic of the *γραμμάτευς* of the year from the heading of this inscription as *Δίογνις Ἰσάνδρο Περαιεὺς*. For the restoration of l. 3 we have two alternatives only, viz.: [*ποτέρια ἀργυρᾶ*] *ΙΙΙ*, or [*φιάλαι ἀργυρᾶ*] *ραὶ* *ΙΙΙ*, and, on referring to the lists of the years immediately before and after the present one (*I.G.* i. 119, 121), it will be seen that the latter alternative is alone possible, for in *I.G.* i. 121 the number of the *ποτέρια ἀργυρᾶ* is the same (four) as in i. 119, and therefore none were added in the intervening year. Apparently l. 2 began with the word *ἐπέτεια*, as did the corresponding lines in *I.G.* i. 118, 119, so eleven letters are missing from the left-hand side of ll. 1 and 2 of our fragment, and ten from l. 3, which began therefore with the word *φιάλαι*.

We have so far obtained the following restoration for the last three lines of the stele as reconstructed: *λύχνος ἀργυρός, σταθμὸν τούτῳ ΔΔΔΠΗΠ. εἰσειτ. | Ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο ἐπὶ τῷ ν ταμιῶν ὡς Δίογνις Ἰσάνδρο Περαιεὺς ἔγραμμάτευε | φιάλαι ἀργυρᾶ* *ΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν [τούτον - - -]*. But it will be worth our while to attempt to link it on to the rest of the stele, now that we know its exact distance from the original edge of the stone, and to restore the numbers of the silver *φιάλαι* throughout the inscription, which are at present unknown. Though *I.G.* i. 120 is engraved *στοιχηδόν*, it is noteworthy that the number of letters in each line is not the

² As in *I.G.* i. 117 (restored), 119, 121, 122; in i. 118 the whole item is missing, and likewise in i. 120, where practically nothing is left of the record of the year (431/0 B.C.) except the heading.

³ The surface of the largest fragment of the

stele (*c* in the *Corpus*) is worn almost smooth in places and is much whiter in colour than our new fragment: this is no doubt owing to its subsequently being used, perhaps for a doorstep, after our fragment was broken off it.

same. The relative positions of the surviving letters show that l. 1 had 65 letters, l. 2 had 66, l. 3 had 68, and l. 4 had 66 : no restoration of the subsequent lines is given in the *Corpus*, as the stone is broken away here, only four letters of l. 5 being preserved. The restoration of l. 5 as far as it is given shows that the word *ἀσταθμος* ends with the thirty-first letter of the line. We may see from *I.G.* i. 121, the record of the next year, that we have the following items to insert in the gap between this point and the beginning of our new fragment: (1) an unknown number of silver *φιάλαι* of unknown weight, (2) three silver *κέρατα* weighing 528 dr., (3) four silver *ποτέρια*, either grouped together as in *I.G.* i. 121, or in two lots (of three and one) as in i. 119. It will be easiest to leave the question of the *φιάλαι* to the end, as it is the most complicated.

Now in the restored text of l. 1 of our fragment we have a vacant space from after the forty-second letter to the end of the line, and, if the order of the items followed that in *I.G.* i. 119, the *λύχνος* should be followed by the description of the single silver *ποτέριον* which appears there, in ll. 7 and 8, thus: [ποτέριον ἀργ]υρῶν ἐν[. | κ]ατάχρυσον, the whole phrase consisting of forty-four letters. But this cannot possibly be inserted after the *λύχνος* in l. 1 of our fragment, as there is room there for only twenty-six letters at most, nor will even an abbreviated version fit the space. It is obvious then that this vessel was not entered at this point in the list, but it remains to see whether it was entered separately in a previous line, or merely grouped with the other three *ποτέρια* as in *I.G.* i. 121. We may suppose that between the end of the word *ἀσταθμος* as restored in l. 5 there are missing ca. thirty-five letters from l. 5, either one or two whole lines, i.e. ca. sixty-six or 132 letters, and ten letters before the λ of [λ]ύχνος in l. 1 of our fragment, making in all either ca. 111 or ca. 177 letters. Into this space we have to fit either *x* *φιάλαι* weighing *y* dr. (=ca. forty-one letters, as in *I.G.* i. 119, 121), + three *κέρατα* weighing 528 dr. (=thirty-five letters), + three *ποτέρια* weighing . . . dr. (=thirty-three letters), + one *ποτέριον* with its elaborate description (=forty-four letters); or, if we suppose the *ποτέρια* to have been all grouped together, *x* *φιάλαι* (=ca. forty-one letters), + three *κέρατα* (=thirty-five letters), + four *ποτέρια* weighing 142 dr. (=thirty-seven letters, as in *I.G.* i. 121). The former arrangement gives us ca. 153 letters and the latter ca. 113, and thus there can be no possible doubt that the shorter of the two arrangements is the correct one; and this gives us the following results: (1) that only one whole line is missing between l. 5 of *I.G.* i. 120 and l. 1 of our fragment, (2) that the four *ποτέρια* were all listed together this year, and (3) that the entry of the *φιάλαι* contained not forty-one but thirty-nine letters, for thus we obtain exactly our required total of 111 letters. There is, it is true, slight room for uncertainty, since the number of letters to a line, which I take on an average as 66, may not represent the exact truth.

We may now proceed a step further, and, leaving thirty-nine letters for the entry containing the *φιάλαι*, fill up the rest of the gap in the light of our knowledge just acquired of the disposition of the four *ποτέρια*. We have to

leave the rest of l. 5 (thirty-five letters), and four letters in l. 6 vacant; and the rest of this, the lost line, and the first ten letters of l. 7, as we may henceforth call l. 1 of our fragment, will be exactly occupied with the following words: *κέρατα ἀργυρᾶ ΗΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτον, ΠΔΔΠΗΗ, ποτέρια ἀργυρᾶ ΗΙΙ σταθμὸν τού τον ΗΔΔΔΔΗΗ. λ]ύχνος κ.τ.λ.* But how are we to fill the gap in the number and weight of the silver *φιάλαι*? The total number of these vessels in the Pronaos is not preserved in any of the earlier records (*I.G.* i. 117, 118, 119), but we know from *I.G.* i. 121 that they were 121 in number in the year which followed that which is here in question. Now we know also that three were added in this very year (*I.G.* i. 120, ll. 8 and 9), so we arrive at 118 as the missing number for l. 5 of this record. This, however, conflicts at first sight with the evidence from *I.G.* i. 119, where, according to the copy in the *Corpus*, four were added as *ἐπέτεια*, and in the mutilated fifth line there was only room for a sum of three figures, the restoration being certain, whereas we should have expected to find *ΗΔΗΙΙΙ*, a sum of six figures. In face of this dead-lock I suspected that there was an error in the copy of the number of the *ἐπέτεια*, and that we should read *ΗΙΙ* and not *ΗΙΙΙ*, so as to be able to restore *ΗΔΠ* in l. 5, as the extra figure disturbs the usual *στοιχηδόν* arrangement. And so it turned out, for the stone has indisputably *ΑΡΛΥΡΑΗΙΙΙ*, the figures being cut exactly *στοιχηδόν*, and thus all our difficulties vanish with regard to l. 5. Having thus restored correctly the number of the *φιάλαι* in *I.G.* i. 119 we may do the same in the two earlier stones. In i. 118, ll. 10 and 11, the *ἐπέτεια* were two *φιάλαι*, and therefore in l. 6 we may restore *ΗΔΗΙΙ* (= 113); and in i. 117, l. 12, there are five spaces for the *φιάλαι* added this year, which must presumably have been *ΠΗΗΗΗ* or *ΔΗΗΗΗ*, a higher number being extremely unlikely. That the former number is correct appears on reference to i. 117, l. 7, where we have five spaces for the total number, which was thus *ΗΗΗΗΗ* (= 104).

It is unfortunately impossible to restore the weights of the *φιάλαι* throughout this stele, as we have only the smallest indications to guide us. We know from *I.G.* i. 121, ll. 4 and 5, that 121 *φιάλαι* weighed *ΤΤΗΗΗΗΗ* *ΔΔΔΗΗ* (= 12432 dr.) giving an average weight of just over 100 dr. each, or to be precise $102\frac{9}{24}$ dr.; we know also that 104 (as we have rightly restored the total in *I.G.* i. 117, l. 7) weighed 10500+ dr., *ΜΠ* alone being visible on the stone, and we may notice that 100 dr. is not an uncommon weight for a *φιάλη* to have,⁴ though the weight was sometimes more and sometimes less than that figure.⁵ And although we know how many figures are missing in each case, it is useless to attempt an exact restoration of the weight in any single instance on our stele,⁶ for we have unfortunately no record of the

⁴ In *I.G.* i. 122, l. 10, seven weigh *ΠΗΗΗ*; in i. 123, l. 11, two weigh *ΗΗ*. The *φιάλαι* *ἔξελευθερικαὶ* dedicated in the 4th century B.C. weigh invariably 100 dr. Cf. Tod, *R.S.A.* viii p. 198.

⁵ In *I.G.* i. 124 l. 12, four weigh only *ΗΗΗΗΔΔΠΗΗΗΗ*; but in i. 129, l. 11, seven weigh *ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔ*, and in i. 120, l. 11, i.e.;

weigh *ΗΗΗΗΗΔΔ*.

⁶ In *I.G.* i. 118, l. 7, I calculated that for the weight of 113 *φιάλαι* there were some sixty-five different weights, consisting of nine figures each, which possibly might have stood here, between 11304 and 11832 dr. alone.

weight of any of the newly added *φιάλαι*. We saw above that the *φιάλαι* in ll. 5 and 6 of *I.G. i. 120* occupied a space of apparently thirty-nine letters in all. We know that their number was ΗΔΠΗΙ, and, as the words *φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ* ΗΔΠΗΙ *σταθμὸν τούτον* occupy thirty-two spaces, we have seven spaces to allot to the record of their weight, always, be it noted, supposing that my allowance of sixty-six letters per line is accepted as certain. But as to the exact weight to supply here we are quite in the dark, though it is reasonable to suggest that it was *c.* 300 dr. less than the total of 12432 dr. weighed by 121 *φιάλαι* in the next record. If indeed we suppose that these three weighed 306 dr., and 102 dr., as we saw, is very near the average weight, we get ΤΤΗΙΔΔΠΗ as the weight for the 118 *φιάλαι*, but that this fits the space cannot be regarded as more than an attractive coincidence, the accuracy of which we have no means of checking.

The last five lines of the inscription may now be restored thus, beginning after the word *ἄσταθμος* in l. 5: *φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΠΗΙ, σταθμὸν τούτον ΤΤΗΙΔΔΠΗ (?)*, *κέρατα ἀργυρᾶ* ΙΙΙ, *σταθμὸν τούτον ΠΔΔΠΗΗ*, *ποτέρια ἀργυρᾶ* ΙΙΙ, *σταθμὸν τούτον ΗΔΔΔΔΔΗΗ*, *λ]ύχνος ἀργ[υρᾶς, σταθμὸν τούτο ΔΔΔΠΗΗ*. *ταῦτα | Ἐπέτεια ἐπεγ]ένετο ἐπὶ τῷ[ν ταμιῖνος ἡοῖς Δίογνης Ἰσανδρο Περαιῶν ἔγραμμάτενε | φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ* ΙΙΙ, *σταθμὸν [τούτον ΗΗΗΠΗ (?)*.

2. Fragment of Pentelic marble apparently complete on left (though this is not the original edge of the stone), measuring 165 x 118: broken at back. Letters in ll. 1-3 .0085 high, in ll. 4-8 .009-.011 high. Between ll. 3 and 4 is a vacant space .016 in height. (Unnumbered.)

^
ΣΤ
ΑΡΛΥΡΩ
ΔΝΔΙΩΣΕ

ΤΟΝΗΙΕΡ
ΣΔΙΟΛΝΙΣΙ
ΩΜΑΔΟΦΛΥΕ
ΡΟΣΚΡΙΤ
ΤΑΘ

It will be recognized at once from the contents of l. 4, *τῶν οἱερῶν* [*χρεμάτων*] that here we have a fragment containing the introductory heading to a record of sacred objects, preceded in ll. 1-3 by the remains of the end of the list of the previous year. The restoration of the demotic [*Ἄφι]όναῖς* in l. 3 gives us a clue to the name of the *γραμματεύς* under whom the *ἐπέτεια* were added, for we know of only two *γραμματεῖς* to the *ταμίαι* of Athena who belonged to the deme Aphidna, namely *Ἀπολλόδορος*

Kριτίο, who held office in *Ol.* 87, 1 (432/1 B.C.) and *Λευκαῖος Κομάρχο*, who held office in *Ol.* 91, 4 (413/2 B.C.). But the presence of the name *Διόγνης* in l. 5 shows that this stone belongs to the earlier of the two possible dates, as *Διόγνης* was *γραμματεύς* in the year after *'Απολλόδορος*. This fragment then can only contain the end of the record of *Ol.* 87, 1, and the beginning of that of *Ol.* 87, 2.

We may now inquire to which of the three lists of the sacred objects of Athena it belongs, *i.e.* of those in the Pronaos, the Hekatompedon, or the Parthenon. It cannot be part of the first of these, for in the Pronaos-record of these two years the words *τὸν λιερῶν χρεμάτων* are not missing from the stele (*I.G.* i. 120, which we have just been discussing in connexion with the previous inscription). Nor can it be part of the Parthenon-records (*I.G.* i. 163, 164), as the division of the lines in the *Corpus* shows that l. 2 of the latter stone began with the words *ὅτις Διόγνης*, which means that they could not possibly come directly underneath the fourth to the fourteenth letters of the phrase [*ταμίαι*] *τὸν λιερόν*, as they do in our fragment, or, in other words, that the Parthenon-record contained several more letters to the line than our stele. And when we restore ll. 4 and 5 we find that l. 4 contained sixty-seven letters, whereas *I.G.* i. 164 contained seventy-four. There is now no possible doubt that our fragment belongs to the Hekatompedon-record, and formed part of *I.G.* i. 143, 144. And we see that thirteen letters are missing from the left-hand side of ll. 2–5 inclusive, clearly owing to a later cutting down of the stone. If there is any doubt still possible on this point it is removed when we observe that a similar mutilation is visible on the upper part of the stele (*I.G.* i. Suppl., p. 130 (Nos. 141–143)), which has lost the first thirteen letters in ll. 7–12 inclusive: and this shows that the new piece was broken off from the original stele after this cutting down took place. Thus we have an exact clue to its original position, and the experiment of applying it to the larger stone showed convincingly that it was once more in its proper place, for the join was as perfect as could be desired.

It is not worth while to give the restored text at present, as it will come more suitably below, when I have described another fragment of the same inscription, which, though smaller than this, leads to a highly important discovery. But one point is notable in connexion with the present inscription, namely the last letter in l. 5. As the block shows, it is a *hasta* with no trace of any other stroke such as we should expect if it were *Κ* *Λ* *Ν* or *Ρ*⁷: we might suppose it to be *Ι*, as the name of *Διόγνης*' father was *"Ισανδρός*, but from its position over the extreme left-hand edge of the *Υ* in the line below it was not *Ι* but *Π*, and the explanation is that the engraver wrote the demotic immediately after the man's name, and, discovering his mistake, inserted the father's name after the demotic. That this was so may be seen from the fact that in a small unpublished fragment added since the

⁷ The stone is damaged here, the line of the break just missing the upper part of the *hasta*, but destroying the two smaller strokes which the letter would have had if it was *Π*, thus: *Π*.

publication of the *Corpus* to the left-hand side of I.G. i. 144, we have the remains of the word 'Ισάνδρο' immediately before ἐγραμμάτευε.

3. The following fragment which, like the others, has been lying for years unnoticed in the first room of the Epigraphical Museum, is also obviously to be attributed to the same class of records. It is of Pentelic marble broken on all sides, and measures .07 x .145. The letters vary between .009 and .011 in height, and there is an interval of .021 between ll. 1 and 2. (Unnumbered)

ΣΤΑΕ

ΟΛΛΟΥ Σ ΚΠΑ
ΣΕΛΡ ΔΤΕΥ

In l. 1 we have σταθ[μόν], and in l. 2, from the interval left above it, clearly the beginning of a new heading, followed by -s ἐγρ[αμμ]άτευ[ε] in l. 3. In l. 2 the fifth letter was plainly Λ, followed by two letters now lost: about the rest there is no room for uncertainty. Now - - ολλογ . . εκπα can be only one phrase in the first line of such a record as this, namely τ]ὸλ λόγ[οι] ἐκ Πα[ναθέναιον, the first Λ being written by assimilation for Ν before the second *lambda*.⁸ No alternative is possible, for ἐκ Πα - - is not a known demotic, nor is - - ολλογ . . the genitive of any conceivable name. There can then be no question that here we have part of the heading employed only in the first year of each Penteteris in these treasure-records: τάδε παρέδοσαν ήτις τέτταρες ἀρχαὶ ήτις ἐδίδοσαν τὸν λόγον ἐκ Παναθέναιον ἐς Παναθέναια τοῖς ταμίασι ήοις ὁ δεῖνα ἐγραμμάτευε, κ.τ.λ. But what of the letters in l. 1? Hitherto it has been the universal view that the lists of each new Penteteris were inscribed where possible on a fresh slab or the fresh face of a slab,⁹ but here we have convincing evidence of a slab which contains undoubtedly the record of the opening year of a new Penteteris, but has also, up above, the remains of the record of some previous year. This can only belong to a stone which either contained the lists of more than one such period, or else contained one or more lists from the end of one Penteteris followed by one or more lists from a new Penteteris. The latter alternative was so unlikely that I hesitated to accept it as possible until I had proved the other impossible. To satisfy the easier conditions one clearly wanted two stelai with the records, presumably, of two successive years, the former incomplete below, and the latter above, and containing respectively the last year of one Penteteris and the first year

⁸ For another instance in the same phrase see I.G. i. 32 A, l. 28, and Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, p. 111.

⁹ See Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* ii. p. 14, who shows in diagrammatic form the allotment of each period to its

stone, by which we may see that wherever we have any direct evidence there is no exception to this rule between the years 434/3 and 415/4. For the Pronaos it is true down to 411/0, but for the Parthenon the records after 419/8 are too uncertain for us to draw any conclusions from them.

of the following one. It seemed likely that such conditions, if found at all, would exist among the earlier records, *i.e.* soon after 434/3, for it plainly would have required a very large stele indeed to record the lists of eight years on one face at a time when the sacred objects of Athena had become as numerous as they did in the later records. The method of exclusion showed at once that our fragment could not be from the lower part of the stele, *I.G.* i. 117–20, for the discovery of the first fragment published in this paper proved that there was a large margin (at least '04) left vacant below *I.G.* i. 120, whereas in the fragment which we are trying to place there is only '021: in addition to which the lists of the next period (430/29–427/6) are inscribed on an 'opisthographous' stone, *I.G.* i. 121–124, 125–128, to which it would be impossible to join *I.G.* i. 117–20 which is inscribed on one face only. And as the second stele is complete below, with a large space left vacant, it is clear that our fragment cannot be placed here either, nor can it possibly have belonged to any other of the Pronaos-records. It is likewise impossible for this to have belonged to the first stone containing the Parthenon-records, for it is clearly complete above, and each face (for it is inscribed on both) has a large vacant space below. Nor could it have been part of the stele *I.G.* i. 170–173, which contains the Parthenon treasures from 422/1–419/8. That it could have belonged to the mutilated stone *I.G.* i. 169 is very improbable, as that seems to have been one of the latest of the Parthenon-records.

We are left therefore with the conclusion that this is in all probability from one of the Hekatompedon lists, and, as will be seen, this view is correct. The first four years of these records are contained in *I.G.* i. 141–144, to the bottom of which the fragment just dealt with was found to belong. The lettering on our present problematical stone resembles closely that on this stele, and it was a legitimate inference that the two were to be connected. The restoration shows us that forty-one letters are missing before the first *o* of [τ]όλ λόγ[ον] in l. 2 of our fragment, and therefore that the ξ of σταθ[μόν] in l. 1 was the forty-third letter on the stone, for the records of these two years are written strictly στοιχηδόν, as far as the letters are preserved. We know from the fragment published above (No. 2) that there were sixty-seven letters in each line in *I.G.* i. 144, and a restoration of the same number in l. 2 of our fragment brings the Ε in εγραμμάτενε correctly under the Λ in τόλ. Having thus established the original position of the fragment, and having ascertained by a restoration of the whole text of *I.G.* i. 144 that the letters ΚΡΓ preserved in l. 5 were, by a fortunate coincidence, the 43rd to the 45th of the line, it only remained to test this by placing the new fragment in its presumed position with the ξ of σταθμόν immediately under the Ο of [κ]όρε. The result was gratifying, for the join was certain, though not irreproachable.

It was also desirable to confirm this discovery, if possible, by joining the lower edge of my fragment to the upper edge of the stone which contains the list of the next year (*I.G.* i. 147). Here unfortunately there was less chance of a join, as the front edges of the break do not nearly touch, seven lines being completely lost, but several cmm. in from the front surface a projection

from the lower edge of my fragment with a flat lower surface rested exactly on a corresponding surface on the stone below, though some twelve centimetres of the inscribed face are missing at this point. And now that the exact positions of the two halves of the original stele had been ascertained other indications of the correctness of the join were forthcoming, in particular the existence of a vertical split practically from the top to the bottom of the original stele, which was clearly made before the horizontal split (which has separated *I.G.* i. 144 from the list which succeeded it, *I.G.* i. 147), for it continues in exactly the same line through both halves of the slab. There is also a surface flaw which has practically destroyed three letters in ll. 2 and 3 of my fragment, which may be seen higher up across the face of *I.G.* i. 143, running up almost vertically, but with a slight inclination to the right as one faces the stone. The style of the writing in *I.G.* i. 144 and i. 147 is likewise identical: in i. 143 the letters are slightly smaller as the reproduction of fragment No. 2 of this article shows. In fact from the style of lettering alone I was convinced that these two fragments were from the same inscription before I made any attempt at restoring either.¹⁰ I am equally certain that No. 1 of the inscriptions in this paper was engraved by the same hand, and this would not be surprising, seeing that it belongs to the same year as *I.G.* i. 144.

A note of explanation is necessary as to the spacing of l. 1 of *I.G.* i. 144 as it is given in the *Corpus*, and as to the division into lines of what is left of the inscription. The fragment *c* contains in l. 1 the letters $\tau\omega\iota$, which were thought to be the remains of $\tau\omega\iota$, and this line, the seventh of *I.G.* i. 143, is restored at this point in the *Corpus* $\sigma\tau\alpha[\theta\mu\circ\iota\tau\omega\iota\nu\Delta\Delta\Delta]$. Now in *I.G.* i. 144, l. 1, below the ξ of $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\circ\iota\tau\omega\iota$ is ν , the remains of ν , the fourth letter in the name 'Αντιμέδης, the head treasurer of the year, and the restoration in the *Corpus* leaves three spaces between the edge of fragment *b*, on which this letter is cut, and the left-hand edge of *c* which has $\Lambda\Delta\Xi\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ and gives the name as 'Α]ντι[. . .]αηδης, and this curious name is restored throughout the records for the years in which it is found. But if we suppose that $\tau\omega\iota$ are the remains of $\tau\omega\gamma$ there is no need to separate these fragments at all, for they will be the first three letters of the word $\tau\omega\gamma\tau\omega\iota\nu$, and this will enable us to join the two fragments exactly, and to restore the simple name 'Αντιμήδης. This has indeed been done, and there is no doubt whatsoever that it is correct, in the fixing together of these two fragments in the Museum. It gives us a natural restoration with sixty-seven letters to the line, as was demanded by the position of the letters in my second fragment, instead of one with sixty-eight letters in *I.G.* i. 144, l. 1, and sixty-seven in l. 2 and subsequently, as given in the *Corpus*.

It will now be worth while to give a restoration of *I.G.* i. 143–145 so as to show exactly the position of the two new fragments, and to illustrate without recapitulation the results thus obtained. The letters preserved in whole

¹⁰ The thickness of the stele likewise furnishes evidence in support of this conclusion. At the top, above *I.G.* i. 141, it is '16. and increases gradually lower down, being '11. '185 where ascertainable in the lower half of the stele. This is a common feature in such stones.

or in part on the stone are represented as they appear there, and those entirely missing are written in minuscules, to avoid confusion by the frequent use of brackets: figures preserved on the stone are underlined.

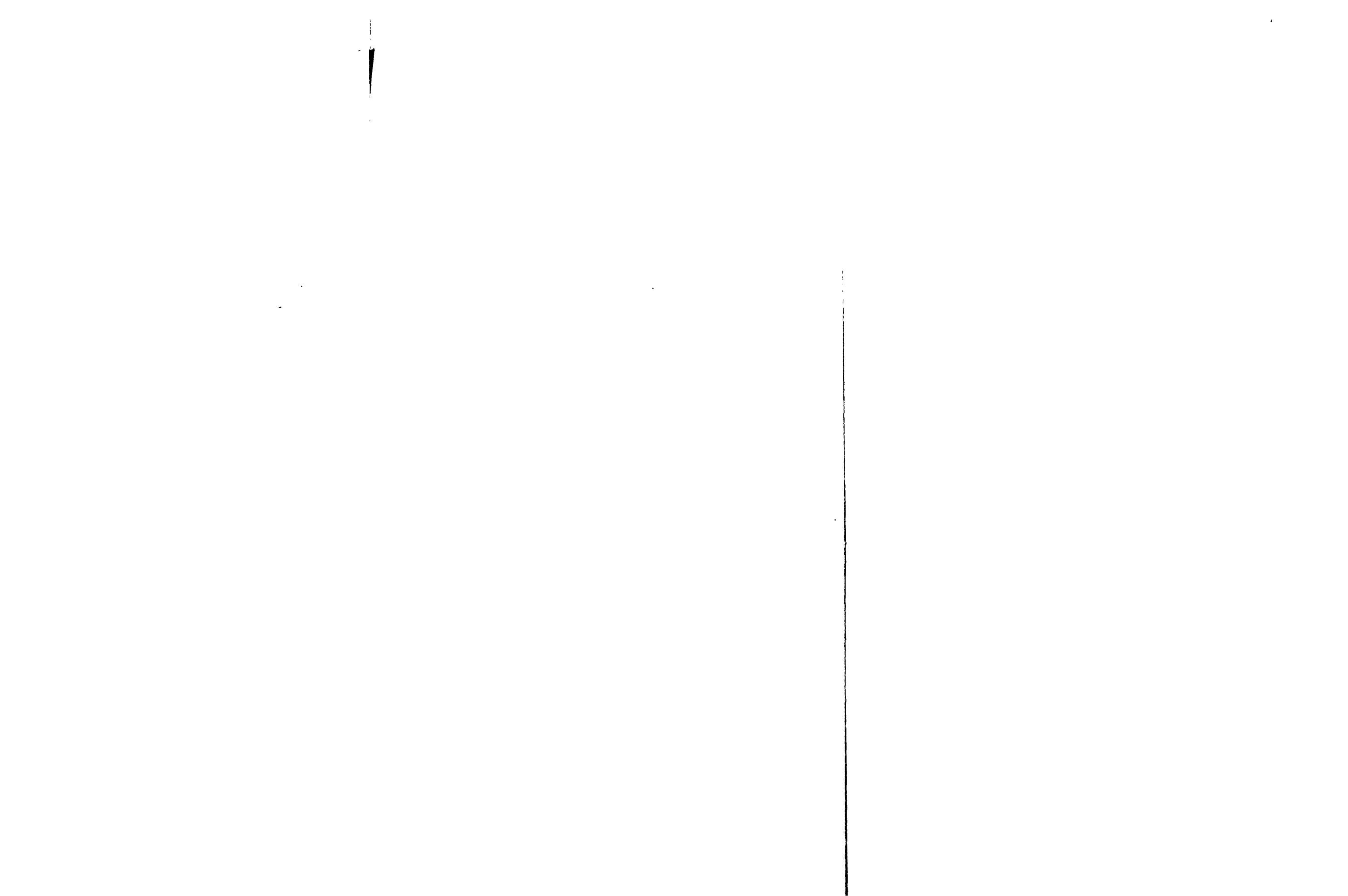
We may note finally that in *I.G.* i. Suppl., p. 130, No. 143, l. 3 the copy in the *Corpus* is incorrect in one detail. The last letter visible on the stone at the lower right-hand corner is copied as **M**, and this is what one would expect since the letters immediately before it were *έγραψ*. But it was not **M** but **A**, the stone having plainly **Α**, in the middle of the space allotted to this letter. That the engraver omitted the second **M** is clear when we turn to the restoration of this line, for there are only four letters [*τενε*] missing between here and the **Π** of *παραδεχσάμενοι* on the right-hand fragment (*I.G.* i. 143 b). It is more natural to suppose that, as indicated in the transcript of the stone, a letter was omitted from the end of l. 2 and that l. 3 began with *hoīs*, than that either an extra letter was inserted by mistake in the early part of l. 3 or the *στοιχηδον* arrangement abandoned just in this one place, seventeen letters being allotted to the space occupied by eighteen on the rest of the stele.

With regard to the last of the three inscriptions published recently by me in these pages (*J.H.S.* xxix, pp. 182 foll.) the following correction and additions are worth noting here. The height of the letters is only ·006, not, as I stated, ·01, and that of the figures ranges from about ·004 to ·006. I regret that owing to my carelessness the incorrect measurements were allowed to appear. There are also two other fragments of this same stele in existence. The first was found in February of last year, built into a late wall at the N.W. corner of the Acropolis, by Mr. A. C. Johnson of the American School, who will shortly publish it in full in the *American Journal of Archaeology*. I have his kind permission to mention here that it joins the upper left-hand corner of the fragment published by myself (as we proved together by experiment), and gives part of the heading of the inscription including the words *ἐπὶ Αστρείῳ ἀρ[χοντος]*: his restoration shows that the stele contained originally four columns, of which my fragment preserves part of the last two. Thus my conjecture as to the date ('between the years 375/4 and 369/8 inclusive') receives gratifying confirmation. The second of the new fragments which I attribute to this inscription is *I.G.* ii. 2, 747, since the shape and spacing of the letters resemble exactly those on the other two fragments, and it exhibits the peculiarity observed there of recording the weights of the objects to the left of the column containing their names. It is complete on the left, apparently, and below, and must therefore be the lower left-hand corner of the stele. The first six lines may be restored as follows,¹¹ with the aid of the full text of *I.G.* ii. 2, 678 **A** given by Van Hille ('Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1903, pp. 139 foll., col. i, ll. 35 foll.):

¹¹ In l. 2 there is plainly **FFF** (and not, as in the *Corpus*, **FF** only) before the **|||||**, and in l. 10 I see **FFC** and not only **C**. The sur-

face is much damaged here, and nothing is visible of the weight in l. 4. Van Hille, *I.G.* ii. 36, reads **||** not **||||**.

I.G. i. 144 Τάδε ἡ οἰταμία / ΓΟΝΗΙΕΡεν χρέ μάτοντες αὶ ασ'Α' Τ' ΙΕΔΕΣΚΥΔΑΟΕν αιεὺς καὶ χρ
υνάρχοντες ἡοῖς ΔΙΟΛΝΙΣΙΙ εραὶ εὺς'ΙΣΑΝΔΡοὲ γραμματεύεραπεδόσαντοὶ σταμίασι
νηοῖς Θέολλος Ξ'ΑΜΑΔΟΦΛΥΕὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν επαραλέχεσαμενοι παρατόνπροτέροντα
μιῶνηοῖς'Απολλόδορος ΚΡΙΤιο'Αφιδναῖος ἐγραμματεύεντοὶ νεῶιτοὶ ήκατομπρέ
(5) οιφιάλαιταχρυσαῖτοισταθμὸντούτονχριδαδιπτήκοργχρυσῆπιστελέσσατοσταθμούσ
ἀπορραντέριονἀργυρῷνστοῖσταθμονστεφάνωνχρυσῷντούτονπανταδιπτήκοργ



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δοκι[μεῖα λεῖαι χρυσαῖ ΔΔΔΔΓΙ (?)
[(?) ΔΔΔΔΓΙ]····· σταθ[μόν]
χρυσό[ν ὁ παρὰ Ἀριστάρχωι]
[ΡΗΤΙ] ηύρεθη, [σταθμόν]
····· έλικτῆρε[ς Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνί]-
····· φς χρυσοῖ, σ[ταθμόν]
κ.τ.λ.

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

THE ZACCARIA OF PHOCAEA AND CHIOS.

(1275–1329.)

GENOA played a much less important part than Venice in the history of Greece. Unlike her great rival on the lagoons, she had no Byzantine traditions which attracted her towards the Near East, and it is not, therefore, surprising to find her appearing last of all the Italian Republics in the Levant. But, though she took no part in the Fourth Crusade, her sons, the Zaccaria and the Gattilusj, later on became petty sovereigns in the Aegean; the long administration of Chios by the Genoese society of the Giustiniani is one of the earliest examples of the government of a colonial dependency by a Chartered Company, and it was Genoa who gave to the principality of Achaia its last ruler in the person of Centurione Zaccaria.

The earliest relations between Genoa and Byzantium are to be found in the treaty between the two in 1155; but it was not till a century later that the Ligurian Republic seriously entered into the field of Eastern politics. After the establishment of the Latin states in Greece, the Genoese, excluded from all share of the spoil, endeavoured to embarrass their more fortunate Venetian rivals by secretly urging on their countryman, the pirate Vetrano, against Corfu, and by instigating the bold Ligurian, Enrico Pescatore, against Crete—enterprises, however, which had no permanent effect. But the famous treaty of Nymphaeum, concluded between the Emperor Michael VIII. and the Republic of Genoa in 1261, first gave the latter a *locus standi* in the Levant. Never did a Latin Community make a better bargain with a Greek ruler, for all the advantages were on the side of Genoa. The Emperor gave her establishments and the right to keep consuls at Anaea, in Chios, and in Lesbos, both of which important islands had been assigned to the Latin Empire by the deed of partition, but had been recaptured by Michael's predecessor Vatátzes in 1225.¹ He also granted her the city of Smyrna, promised free trade to Genoese merchants in all the ports of his dominions, and pledged himself to exclude the enemies of the Ligurian Commonwealth, in other words, the Venetians, from the Black Sea and all his harbours. All that he asked in return for these magnificent concessions was an undertaking that Genoa would arm a squadron of fifty ships at his expense, if he asked for it. It was expressly stipulated that this armament

¹ Nikephóros Gregorás, i. 29; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, i. 125.

should not be employed against Prince William of Achaia. Genoa performed her part of the bargain by sending a small fleet to aid the Emperor in the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins; but it arrived too late to be of any use. Still, Michael VIII. took the will for the deed: he needed Genoese aid for his war against Venice; so he sent an embassy to ask for more galleys. The Genoese, heedless of papal thunders against this 'unholy alliance,' responded by raising a loan for the affairs of the Levant;² and it was their fleet, allied with the Greeks, which sustained the defeat off the islet of Spetsopoulo, or Sette Pozzi, as the Italians called it,³ at the mouth of the Gulf of Nauplia in 1263. But the Emperor soon found that his new allies were a source of danger rather than of strength: he banished the Genoese of Constantinople to Eregli on the Sea of Marmara, and made his peace with their Venetian rivals. In vain Genoa sent Benedetto Zaccaria to induce him to revoke his decree of expulsion; some years seem to have elapsed before he allowed the Genoese to return to Galata, and it was not till 1275 that the formal ratification of the treaty of Nymphaeum marked his complete return to his old policy,⁴ and that Manuele and Benedetto Zaccaria became the recipients of his bounty.

The Zaccaria were at this time one of the leading families of Genoa, whither they had emigrated from the little Ligurian town of Gavi some two centuries earlier. The grandfather of Manuele and Benedetto, who derived his territorial designation of 'de Castro,' from the district of S. Maria di Castello, in which he resided, had held civic office in 1202; their father Fulcho had been one of the signatories of the treaty of Nymphaeum.⁵ Three years before that event Benedetto had been captured by the Venetians in a battle off Tyre. Three years after it, he was sent as Genoese ambassador to Michael VIII. and, though his mission was unsuccessful, the Emperor had the opportunity of appreciating his businesslike qualities.⁶ Early in 1275, the year when Genoa had returned to favour at the Imperial Court, the two brothers started from their native city upon the voyage to Constantinople, which was destined to bring them fame and fortune—to Manuele, the elder, the grant of the alum-mines of Phocaea at the north of the Gulf of Smyrna, to Benedetto the hand of the Emperor's sister.⁷ Phocaea at that time consisted of a single town, situated to the west of the alum-mountains: but, later on, the encroachments of the Turks led its Latin lords to build on the sea-shore at the foot of the mountain a small fortress sufficient to shelter about fifty workmen, which, with the aid of their Greek neighbours, grew into the town of New Phocaea, or Foglia Nuova, as the Italians called it.

² *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, xvii. 227-9; xxviii. 791-809; Dandolo, *Chronicon*, apud Muratori, *R.I.S.* xii. 370.

³ *Ibid.* 371; M. da Canal, *La Chronique des Toscans*, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, viii. 488; *Annales Januenses*, apud Pertz, *M.G.H. Script.* xviii. 245.

⁴ *Atti*, xxviii. 500-4.

⁵ Ogerii Panis *Annales*, apud Pertz, *ibid.*

119: *Atti*, xxviii. 805.

⁶ *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents Arméniens*, ii. 747; Lanfranci Pignelli, etc., *Annales*, apud Pertz, *ibid.* 249.

⁷ Pachynées, i. 420; ii. 558; Nikephoros Gregoràs, i. 526; Sanudo, *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, apud Hopt, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 146; *Atti*, xxxi. ii. 37 n²; M. Giustiniani, *La Scuola Sacra del rito Latino*, 7.

The annual rent, which Manuele paid to the Emperor, was covered many times over by the profits of the mines. Alum was indispensable for dyeing, and Western ships homeward-bound were therefore accustomed to take a cargo of this useful product at Phocaea.⁸ The only serious competition with the trade was that of the alum which came from the coasts of the Black Sea, and which was exported to Europe in Genoese bottoms. A man of business first and a patriot afterwards, Manuele persuaded the Emperor to ensure him a monopoly of the market by prohibiting this branch of the Euxine trade—a protective measure, which led to difficulties with Genoa. He was still actively engaged in business operations at Phocaea in 1287, but is described as dead in the spring of the following year,⁹ after which date the alum-mines of Phocaea passed to his still more adventurous brother, Benedetto.

While Manuele had been accumulating riches at Phocaea, Benedetto had gained the reputation of being one of the most daring seamen, as well as one of the ablest negotiators, of his time. He was instrumental, as agent of Michael VIII., in stirring up the Sicilian Vespers and so frustrating the threatened attack of Charles I. of Anjou upon the Greek Empire, and later in that year we find him proposing the marriage of Michael's son and the King of Aragon's daughter.¹⁰ In the following years he was Genoese Admiral in the Pisan War, and led an expedition to Tunis: in 1288 he was sent to Tripoli with full powers to transact all the business of the Republic beyond the seas. After negotiating with both the claimants to the last of the Crusaders' Syrian states, he performed the more useful action of conveying the people of Tripoli to Cyprus, when, in the following year, that once famous city fell before the Sultan of Egypt. In Cyprus he concluded with King Henry II. a treaty, which gave so little satisfaction to the Home Government, that it was speedily cancelled. More successful was the commercial convention which he made with Leo III. of Armenia, followed by a further agreement with that monarch's successor, Hethum II. But his rashness in capturing an Egyptian ship compelled the Republic to disown him, and in 1291 he sought employment under a new master, Sancho IV. of Castile, as whose Admiral he defeated the Saracens off the coast of Morocco.¹¹ From Spain he betook himself to the court of Philip IV. of France, to whom, with characteristic audacity, he submitted in 1296 a plan for the invasion of England.¹² During his absence in the West, however, war broke out between the Genoese and the Venetians, whose Admiral, Ruggiero Morosini, took Phocaea and seized

⁸ Doúkas, 161-2; Friar Jordanus, *Mirabilia descripta* (tr. H. Yule), 57.

⁹ Genoese document of April 25, 1288, in Pandette Richeriane, fogliazzo ii. fasc. 25, ep. Appendix.

¹⁰ Sanudo, *apud Hopf. op. cit.*, 133; *Doruments Arméniens*, ii. 789; Carini, *Ricordi del Vespro*, n. 4; Ptolomaei Lucensis *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *apud Muratori, R.I.S.* xi. 1186.

¹¹ J. Autie *Annales Januenses, apud Pertz, op. cit.* xviii. 307-8, 312, 315-8, 322-4, 336-7, 340, 344; *Doruments Arméniens*, i. 745-54; ii. 795-6, 801-2, 827; *Liber Jurium Reipublicae Genvensis*, ii. 275; *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, xi. 41-52.

¹² Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, ii. 129.

the huge cauldrons which were used for the preparation of the alum.¹³ But upon his return he speedily repaired the walls of the city, and ere long the alum-mines yielded more than ever. Nor was this his only source of revenue, for under his brother and himself Phocaea had become a name of terror to the Latin pirates of the Levant, upon whom the famous *Turturin* of the Zaccaria ceaselessly preyed, and who lost their lives, or at least their eyes, if they fell into the hands of the redoubtable Genoese captains.¹⁴ The sums thus gained Benedetto devoted in part to his favourite project for the recovery of the Holy Land, for which he actually equipped several vessels with the aid of the ladies of his native city—a pious act that won them the praise of Pope Boniface VIII., who described him as his ‘old, familiar friend.’¹⁵ This new crusade, indeed, came to nought, but such was the renown which he and his brother had acquired, that the Turks, by this time masters of the Asian coast, and occupants of the short-lived Genoese colony of Smyrna, were deterred from attacking Phocaea, not because of its natural strength but because of the warlike qualities of its Italian garrison. Conscious of their own valour and of the weakness of the Emperor Andrónikos II., the Genoese colonists did not hesitate to ask him to entrust them with the defence of the neighbouring islands, if he were unable to defend that portion of his Empire himself. They only stipulated that they should be allowed to defray the cost out of the local revenues, which would thus be expended on the spot, instead of being transmitted to Constantinople. Benedetto had good reason for making this offer; for Chios and Lesbos, once the seats of flourishing Genoese factories under the rule of the Greek Emperor and his father, had both suffered severely from the feeble policy of the central government and the attacks of corsairs. Twice, in 1292 and 1303, the troops first of Roger de Lluria and then of Roger de Flor had ravaged Mytilene and devastated the famous mastic-gardens of Chios—the only place in the world where that product was to be found, while a Turkish raid completed the destruction of that beautiful island.¹⁶

Andrónikos received Benedetto’s proposal with favour, but as he delayed giving a definite decision, the energetic Genoese, like the man of action that he was, occupied Chios in 1304 on his own account. The Emperor, too much engaged with the Turkish peril to undertake the expulsion of this desperate intruder, wisely recognised accomplished facts, and agreed to let him have the island for ten years as a fief of the Empire, free of all tribute, on condition that he flew the Byzantine standard from the walls and promised to restore his conquest to his suzerain at the expiration of the lease.¹⁷ Thus, in the fashion of Oriental diplomacy, both parties were satisfied: the Italian

¹³ J. a Varagine *Chronicon Genuense*;

F. Pipini *Chronicon*; and R. Caresini *Continuatio, apud Muratori, R.I.S.* ix. 56, 743; xii. 406.

¹⁴ Sanudo, *apud Hopf, op. cit.* 146.

¹⁵ Raynaldi *Annales Ecclesiastici*, (ed. 1749), iv. 319; *Les Registres de Bonifac VIII*, iii.

290-3.

¹⁶ Pachyméres, ii. 436, 510, 558; Muntiner, *Cronaca*, ch. 117; *Le Livre de la Conquête*, 362; *Libro de los Fiechos*, 107; B. de Neocastro *Historia Sirula, apud Muratori, R.I.S.* xxi. 1186.

¹⁷ Cantacuzene, i. 370; N. Gregorias, i. 435.

had gained the substance of power, while the Greek retained the shadow, and might save his dignity with the reflexion that the real ruler of Chios hoisted his colours, owed him allegiance, and was a near kinsman of his own by marriage.

This first Genoese occupation of Chios lasted only a quarter of a century; but even in that short time, under the firm and able rule of the Zaccaria, it recovered its former prosperity. Benedetto refortified the capital, restored the fallen buildings, heightened the walls, and deepened the ditch—significant proofs of his intention to stay. Entrusting Phocaea to the care of his nephew Tedisio, or Ticino, as his deputy, he devoted his attention to the revival of Chios, which at his death, in 1307, he bequeathed to his son, Paleologo, first-cousin of the reigning Emperor, while he left Phocaea to his half-brother, Nicolino, like himself a naval commander in the Genoese service. This division of the family possessions led to difficulties. Nicolino arrived at Phocaea and demanded a full statement of account from his late brother's manager, Tedisio; the latter consented, but the uncle and the nephew did not agree about the figures, and Nicolino withdrew, threatening to return with a larger force, to turn Tedisio out of his post, convey him to Genoa, and appoint another governor, Andriolo Cattaneo della Volta, a connexion of the family by marriage, in his place. Nicolino's son privately warned his cousin of his father's intentions, and advised him to quit Phocaea while there was still time. At this moment the Catalan Grand Company was at Gallipoli, and there Tedisio presented himself, begging the chronicler Muntaner to enroll him in its ranks. The Catalan, moved by his aristocratic antecedents and personal courage, consented, and soon the fugitive ex-governor, by glowing accounts of the riches of Phocaea, induced his new comrades to aid him in capturing the place from his successor. The Catalans were always ready for plunder, and the alum-city was said to contain 'the richest treasures of the world.' Accordingly, a flotilla was equipped, which arrived off Phocaea on the night of Easter 1307. Before daybreak next morning, the assailants had scaled the walls of the castle: then they sacked the city, whose population of more than 3000 Greeks was employed in the alum-factory. The booty was immense, and not the least precious portion of it was a piece of the true Cross, encased in gold and studded with priceless jewels. This relic, said to have been brought by S. John the Evangelist to Ephesus, captured by the Turks when they took that place, and pawned by them at Phocaea, fell to the lot of Muntaner.¹⁸ This famous 'Cross of the Zaccaria' would seem to have been restored to that family, and we may conjecture that it was presented to the cathedral of Genoa, where it now is, by the bastard son of the last Prince of the Morea,¹⁹ when, in 1459, he begged the city of his ancestors to recommend him to the generosity of Pius II. Emboldened by this success, Tedisio, with the aid of the Catalans,

¹⁸ Muntaner, *op. cit.*, ch. 234; J. Aunie *de Archeologia, Storia e Belle Arti*, v. 361-2; *Annotes, apud Petz, M.G.H.* xvii. 315; *Atti, xxxi. II p. XXXVII. n.¹* B. Semaege *De Rebus Genensibus Communitorum, apud Muratori, R.I.S.* xxiv. 559.

¹⁹ *Atti*, i. 73-5; xl. 322; *Giornale Ligure*.

conquered the island of Thasos from the Greeks and received his friend Muntaner and the Infant Ferdinand of Majorea in its castle with splendid hospitality. Six years later, however, the Byzantine forces recovered this island, whence the Zaccaria preyed upon Venetian merchantmen,²⁰ and it was not for more than a century that a Genoese lord once again held his court in the fortress of Tedisio Zaccaria.

Meanwhile, Paleologo, in Chios, had continued the enlightened policy of his father, and reaped his reward in the renewed productiveness of the mastic-plantations. In 1314, when the ten years' lease of the island expired, the strong fortifications, which his father had erected, and his near relationship to the Emperor procured him a renewal²¹ for five more years on the same terms.²² He did not, however, long enjoy this further tenure, for in the same year he died, apparently without progeny. As his uncle, Nicolino, the lord of Phocaea and the next heir, was by this time also dead, the latter's sons, Martino and Benedetto II., succeeded their cousin as joint-rulers of Chios, while Phocaea passed beneath the direct control of Nicolino's former governor, Andriolo Cattaneo, always, of course, subject to the confirmation of the Emperor.

The two brothers, who had thus succeeded to Chios, possessed all the vigorous qualities of their race. One contemporary writer after another praises their services to Christendom, and describes the terror with which they filled the Turks. The Infidels, we are told, were afraid to approach within twelve miles of Chios, because of the Zaccaria, who always kept a thousand foot-soldiers, a hundred horsemen, and a couple of galleys ready for every emergency. Had it not been for the valour of the Genoese lords of Chios 'neither man, nor woman, nor dog, nor cat, nor any live animal could have remained in any of the neighbouring islands.' Not only were the brothers 'the shield of defence of the Christians,' but they did all they could to stop the infamous traffic in slaves, carried on by their fellow-countrymen, the Genoese of Alexandria, whose vessels passed Chios on the way from the Black Sea ports. Pope John XXII., who had already allowed Martino to export mastic to Alexandria in return for his services, was therefore urged to give the Zaccaria the maritime police of the Archipelago, so that this branch of the slave-trade might be completely cut off.²³ Sanudo,²⁴ with his accurate knowledge of the Aegean, remarked that the islands could not have resisted the Turks so long, had it not been for the Genoese rulers of Chios, Duke Niccolò I. of Naxos, and the Holy House of the Hospital, established since 1309 in Rhodes, and estimated that the Zaccaria could furnish a galley for the recovery of the Holy Land. Martino was specially renowned for his exploits against the Turks. No man, it was said, had ever done braver deeds at sea than this defender of the Christians and implacable foe of the Paynim. In one year alone he captured 18 Turkish pirate ships, and at the end of his

²⁰ Muntaner, *I.c.*; Pachymères, ii. 638, who makes them 'sons of Paleologo'; Jean Giomo, *Lettres du Collège*, p. 96.

XXII. *Lettres Communes*, v. 362.

²¹ Cantaeuzene, i. 371.

²³ *Secreta Fulbium Cruris* and *Epistolaris*,

²² G. Adae *De modo Sarracenos extirpandi*, apud Bongars, *Gesta Dni per Francos*, ii. 30. in *Documents Arméniens*, ii. 531-3, 537, 542, 298.

reign he had slain or taken more than 10,000 Turks.²⁴ The increased importance of Chios at this period is evidenced by the coins, which the two brothers minted for their use, sometimes with the diplomatic legend, 'servants of the Emperor.'²⁵ Benedetto II. was, however, eclipsed by the greater glories of Martino. By marriage the latter became baron of Damalâ and by purchase²⁶ lord of Chalandritza in the Peloponnese, and thus laid the foundations of his family's fortunes in the principality of Achaia. He was thereby brought into close relations with the official hierarchy of the Latin Orient, from which the Zaccaria, as Genoese traders, had hitherto been excluded. Accordingly, in 1325, Philip I. of Taranto, who, in virtue of his marriage with Catherine of Valois, was titular Latin Emperor of Constantinople, bestowed upon him the islands of Lesbos, Samos, Kos, and Chios, which Baldwin II. had reserved for himself and his successors in the treaty of Viterbo in 1267,—a reservation repeated in 1294—together with those of Ikaria, Tenedos, Oenussa, and Marmara, and the high-sounding title of 'King and Despot of Asia Minor,' in return for his promise to furnish 500 horsemen and six galleys a year whenever the 'Emperor' came into his own.²⁷ The practical benefits of this magnificent diploma were small—for Martino already ruled in Chios, with which Samos and Kos seem to have been united under the sway of the Zaccaria, while the other places mentioned belonged either to the Greeks or the Turks, over whom the phantom Latin Emperor had no power whatever. Indeed, this investiture by the titular ruler of Constantinople must have annoyed its actual sovereign, who had not, however, dared to refuse the renewal of the lease of Chios, when it again expired in 1319.

But Martino had given hostages to fortune by his connexion with the Morea. His son, Bartolomeo, was captured by the Catalans of Athens in one of their campaigns, sent off to the custody of their patron, Frederick II. of Sicily, and only released at the request of Pope John XXII. in 1318. As the husband of the young Marchioness of Boudonitz, he was mixed up also in the politics of Euboea and the mainland opposite, while he is mentioned as joining the other members of his family in their attacks upon the Turks.

For a time Martino managed to preserve good relations with the Greek Empire. In 1324, the lease of Chios was again renewed, and in 1327 Venice instructed her officials in the Levant to negotiate a league with him, the Greek Emperor, and the Knights against the common peril.²⁸ But by

²⁴ Brocardus, *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*, in *Documents Arméniens*, ii. 457–8, who makes Martino 'nephew of the late Benedetto.'

²⁵ Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, 413–5; *Supplément*, 16; Pls. XIV., XXI.; P. Lámpros, *Νομίσματα τῶν ἀδελφῶν Μαρτίνου καὶ Βενέδικτου Β' Ζαχαρίων, δυναστῶν τῆς Χίου*. 1314–1329, pp. 9–13; *Idem. Μεταιωνικὰ νομίσματα τῶν δυναστῶν τῆς Χίου*, 6–11, Pl. I.;

Promis, *La Zecca di Sirio*, 34–6, Pl. I.

²⁶ *Libro de los Ferhos*, 137.

²⁷ Minieri Riccio, *Saggio di Codice diplomatico. Supplemento*, ii. 75–7, where the year 'MCCCXV' will not tally with 'Indictionis octavac' (=1325). Gittio (*Lo Scettro del Despota*, 18) gives both correctly.

²⁸ Raynaldi *Annales Ecclesiastici* v. 95; *Archivio Veneto*, xx. 87, 89.

this time the dual system of government in the island had broken down; Martino's great successes had led him to desire the sole management of Chios, and he had accordingly ousted his brother from all share in the government and struck coins for the island with his own name alone, as he did for his barony of Damalâ.²⁹ His riches had become such as to arouse the suspicions of the Imperial Government that he would not long be content to admit himself 'the servant of the Emperor'; the public dues of the island amounted to 120,000 gold pieces a year, while the Turks paid an annual tribute to its dreaded ruler, in order to escape his attacks. It happened that, in 1328, when the quinquennial lease had only another year to run and the usual negotiations for its renewal should have begun, that Andrónikos III., a warlike and energetic prince, mounted the throne of Constantinople, and this conjunction of circumstances seemed to the national party in Chios peculiarly favourable to its reconquest. Accordingly, the leading Greek of the island, Léon Kalóthetos, who was an intimate friend of the new sovereign's Prime Minister, John Cantacuzene, sought an interview with the latter's mother, whom he interested in his plans. She procured him an audience of the Emperor and of her son, and they both encouraged him with presents and promises to support the expedition which they were ready to undertake. An excuse for hostilities was easily found in the new fortress which Martino was then engaged in constructing without the consent of his suzerain. An ultimatum was therefore sent to him ordering him to desist from his building operations, and to come in person to Constantinople, if he wished to renew his lease. Martino, as might have been expected from his character, treated the ultimatum with contempt, and only hastened on his building. Benedetto, however, took the opportunity to lodge a complaint against his brother before the Emperor, claiming 60,000 gold pieces, the present annual amount of his half-share in the island, which he had inherited but of which the grasping Martino had deprived him.

In the early autumn of 1329, Andrónikos assembled a magnificent fleet of 105 vessels, including four galleys furnished by Duke Niccolò I. of Naxos, with the ostensible object of attacking the Turks but with the real intention of subduing the Genoese lord of Chios. Even at this eleventh hour the Emperor would have been willing to leave him in possession of the rest of the island, merely placing an Imperial garrison in the new castle and insisting upon the regular payment of Benedetto's annuity. Martino, however, was in no mood for negotiations. He sank the three galleys which he had in the harbour, forbade his Greek subjects to wear arms under pain of death, and shut himself up with 800 men behind the walls, from which there floated defiantly the flag of the Zaccaria, instead of the customary Imperial standard. But, when he saw that his brother had handed over a neighbouring fort to the Emperor, and that no reliance could be placed upon his Greek subjects, he sent messengers begging for peace. Andrónikos repulsed them,

²⁹ Schlumberger, *op. cit.* 326, 415-6, ονικὰ νομίσματα, 12-14, Pl. I.; Ἀτέκδοτα νομί-
Pls. XII-XIII; Promis, *La Zerca di Scio* 36-7, σμάτα καὶ μολυβῖόθυντα τὰν κατὰ τὸν μέσους
Pl. I.; P. Lámpros, *Νομίσματα*, 13-15; Μεται- αἰώνας δυναστῶν τῆς Ἑλλαδὸς, 31-2.

saying that the time for compromise was over, whereupon Martino surrendered. The Chians clamoured for his execution; but Cantacuzene saved his life, and he was conveyed a prisoner to Constantinople, while his wife, Jacqueline de la Roche, a connexion of the former ducal house of Athens, was allowed to go free with her family and all that they could carry. Martino's adherents were given their choice of leaving the island with their property, or of entering the Imperial service, and the majority chose the latter alternative. The nationalist leaders were rewarded for their devotion by gifts and honours; the people were relieved from their oppressive public burdens. To Benedetto the Emperor offered the governorship of Chios with half the net revenues of the island as his salary—a generous offer which the Genoese rejected with scorn, asserting that nothing short of absolute sovereignty over it would satisfy him. If that were refused, he only asked for three galleys to carry him and his property to Galata. Andrónikos treated him with remarkable forbearance, in order that public opinion might not accuse an Emperor of having been guilty of meanness, and, on the proposal of Cantacuzene, convened an assembly of Greeks and of the Latins who were then in the island—Genoese and Venetian traders, the Duke of Naxos, the recently appointed Roman Catholic bishop of Chios and some other Frères Prêcheurs who had arrived—in order that there might be impartial witnesses of his generosity. Even those of Benedetto's own race and creed regarded his obstinate refusal of the Imperial offer with disapprobation; nor would he even accept a palace and the rank of Senator at Constantinople with 20,000 gold pieces a year out of the revenues of Chios; nothing but his three galleys could he be persuaded to take. His object was soon apparent. Upon his arrival at Galata, he chartered eight Genoese galleys, which he found lying there, and set out to reconquer Chios—a task which he considered likely to be easy, as the Imperial fleet had by that time dispersed. The Chians, however, repulsed his men with considerable loss, the survivors weighed anchor on the morrow, and Benedetto II. succumbed barely a week later to an attack of apoplexy, brought on by his rage and disappointment.³⁰

Martino, after eight years in captivity, was released by the intervention of Pope Benedict XII. and Philip VI. of France in 1337, and treated with favour by the Emperor, who 'gave him a command in the army and other castles,' as some compensation for his losses.³¹ In 1343, Clement VI. appointed him captain of the four papal galleys which formed part of the crusade for the capture of the former Genoese colony of Smyrna from Omar Beg of Aidin, the self-styled 'Prince of the Morea'³²—a post for which his special experience and local knowledge were a particular recommendation in the eyes of the Pope. Martino desired, however, to avail himself of this

³⁰ Cantacuzene, i. 370–91; N. Gregorás, i. 438–9; Phrantzès, 38; Chalkokondyles, 521–2; Friar Jordanus, *op. cit.* 57; Ludolphi *De Itinere Terrae Sanctæ*, 23–4; *Continuazione della Cronaca di Jacopo da Varagine*, in *Atti*, x. 510; Brocardus, *i.e.*; *Archives de l'Orient*

Ratin, i. 274.

³¹ Benoît XII., *Lettres closes, patentes et curiales*, i. 182–3. Ludolphi *i.e.*

³² Clément VI., *Lettres closes, patentes et curiales*, i. 150, 171, 182, 431–3.

opportunity to reconquer Chios from the Greeks, and invited the Knights and the Cypriote detachment to join him in this venture, to which his friend, the Archbishop of Thebes, endeavoured to force the latter by threats of excommunication. The Pope saw, however, that this repetition on a smaller scale of the selfish policy of the Fourth Crusade would have the effect of alienating his Greek allies, and ordered the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople to forbid the attack.³³ Martino lived to see Smyrna taken in December 1344, but on January 17, 1345, the rashness of the Patriarch, who insisted on holding mass in the old Metropolitan Church against the advice of the naval authorities, cost him his life. Omar assaulted the Cathedral while service was still going on, Martino was slain, and his head presented to that redoubtable chieftain.³⁴ When, in the following year, the Genoese re-took Chios, and founded their second long domination over it, his descendants did not profit by the conquest. But his second son Centurione, retained his baronies in the Morea, of which the latter's grandson and namesake was the last reigning Prince.

After the restoration of Greek rule in Chios and the appointment of Kalóthetos as Imperial viceroy, Andrónikos III. had proceeded to Phocaea. By this time the Genoese had abandoned the old city and had strongly fortified themselves in the new town, purchasing further security for their commercial operations by the payment of an annual tribute of 15,000 pieces of silver and a personal present of 10,000 more to Saru-Khan, the Turkish ruler of the district. The Emperor, having placated this personage with the usual Oriental arguments, set out for Foglia Nuova. Andriolo Cattaneo chanced to be absent at Genoa on business, and the Genoese garrison of 52 knights and 400 foot-soldiers was under the command of his uncle, Arrigo Tartaro. The latter wisely averted annexation by doing homage to the Emperor, and handed the keys of the newly constructed castle to his Varangian guard. After spending two nights in the fortress, in order to show that it was his, Andrónikos magnanimously renewed the grant of the place to Andriolo during good pleasure. But Domenico Cattaneo, who succeeded his father not long afterwards with the assent of the Emperor, lost, in his attempt to obtain more, what he already had.

Cattaneo, not content with the riches of Foglia Nuova, coveted the island of Lesbos, which had belonged for just over a century to the Greeks, and it seemed in 1333 as if an opportunity of seizing it had arisen. The increasing power of the Turks, who had by that time taken Nicaea and Brúsa and greatly hindered Greek and Latin trade alike in the Aegean, led to a coalition against them; but, before attacking the common enemy, the Knights, Niccolò I. of Naxos, and Cattaneo made a treacherous descent upon Lesbos, and seized the capital of the island. The crafty Genoese, supported by a number of galleys from his native city, managed, however, to outwit his

³³ Raynaldi *op. cit.*, vi. 342-3.

apud Muratori, R.I.S. xii. 417, 914; xiii. 918;

³⁴ Cantacuzene, ii. 582-3; Caresini *op. cit.*; Cortusii Patavini duo; G. Villani, *Historie Fiorentine*, and Stellae *Annales Genuenses*,

xvii. 1081; Folleta *Clarorum Ligurum Elogia*, 90.

weaker allies, and ousted them from all share in the conquered town, whither he transferred his residence from Foglia Nuova. Andrónikos, after punishing the Genoese of Pera for this act of treachery on the part of their countrymen, set out to recover Lesbos. The slowness of the Emperor's movements, however, enabled Cattaneo to strengthen the garrison, and Andrónikos, leaving one of his officers to besiege Lesbos, proceeded to invest Foglia with the aid of Saru-Khan, whose son with other young Turks had been captured and kept as a hostage by the Genoese garrison. The place, however, continued for long to resist the attacks of the allies, till at last Cattaneo's lieutenant prevailed upon them to raise the siege by restoring the prisoners to their parents and pledging himself to obtain the surrender of the city of Mytilene, which still held out, and which the Emperor, fearing troubles at home, had no time to take. Cattaneo, indeed, repudiated this part of the arrangement, and bribery was needed to seduce the Latin mercenaries and thus leave him unsupported. From Lesbos he retired to Foglia, which the Emperor had consented to allow him to keep on the old terms: but four years later, while he was absent on a hunting party, the Greek inhabitants overpowered the small Italian garrison and proclaimed Andrónikos III.³⁵ Thus ended the first Genoese occupation of Phocaea and Lesbos —the harbinger of the much longer and more durable colonisation a few years later. Two gold coins, modelled on the Venetian ducats, of which the first of them is the earliest known counterfeit, have survived to preserve the memory of Andriolo and Domenico Cattaneo, and to testify to the riches of the Foglie under their rule.³⁶

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APPENDIX.

DIGEST OF GENOESE DOCUMENTS.

- 22–24 Aug. 1285. Fourteen documents of these dates refer to the mercantile transactions of Benedetto and Manuele Zaccaria, such as their appointment of agents to receive their wares from 'Fogia' and to send them to Genoa, Majorca, Syria, the Black Sea, and other places.
(*Pandette Richeriane*, *fogliazzo ii. fasc. 10.*)
- 17 April, 1287. 'Benedetto Zaccaria in his own name and in that of his brother Manuele' gives a receipt at Genoa to 'Percivalis Spinula.'
(*Ibid. fasc. 20.*)
- 24 Jan. 1287. 'Nicolino' is mentioned as brother of Benedetto and Manuele Zaccaria.
(*Ibid. fogliazzo i. fasc. 178.*)
- 9 May, 1291. 'Clarisia, wife of the late Manuele Zaccaria, in her own name and on behalf of her sons Tedisio, Leonardo, Odoardo, and Manfred,' appoints an agent for the sale of a female slave.
(*Ibid. fogliazzo ii. fasc. 27.*)

³⁵ Doúkas, 162–3; Cantacuzene, i. 388–90, Jordanus, *op. cit. 57.*

476–95; N. Gregorius i. 525–31, 534–5; 553; Phrantzes, 38; Chalkokondýles, 521; Friar 72.

³⁶ P. Lámpros, 'Ανέκδοτα νομίσματα, 69–70.

- 14 April, 1304. 'Paleologo Zaecaria' is cited as witness to a monetary transaction.
(Ibid. fogliazzo A. fasc. 7.)
- 31 May, 1311. Two documents executed at Genoa. In one Domenico Doria acknowledges receipt of monies from Andriolo Cattaneo, son of Andriolo; in the other Andriolo appoints Lanfranchino Doria and Luchino Cattaneo his agents.
(Ibid. fasc. 7.)
- 13 Aug. 1313. 'Manuel Bonaneus' acknowledges receipt of monies from Andriolo Cattaneo.
(Ibid. fasc. 13.)
- 21, 24 Sept. 1316. Mention of 'the galley of Paleologo Zaccaria, which was at Pera in 1307.'
(Ibid. fasc. 13.)

GENOSE COLONIES IN GREEK LANDS.

I. LORDS OF PHOCAEA (Foglia).

Manuele Zaccaria.	1275.
Benedetto I. ,	1288.
[Tedisio , governor.	1302-7.]
Nicolino ,	1307.
Andriolo Cattaneo della Volta, governor,	1307 : lord, 1314.
Domenico , , ,	1331-40.
[Byzantine. 1340-6.]	
Genoese (with Chios).	1346-8.

(a) Foglia Vecchia :— [Byzantine : 1348-58.] Genoese (with Chios) : 1358-c. 1402. Gattilusj. c. 1402-55 (December 24)	(b) Foglia Nuova :— [Byzantine : 1348-51.] Genoese (with Chios). 1351-1455 (Oct. 31).
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Both Turkish : 1455-1911.

II. LORDS OF CHIOS, SAMOS, AND IKARIA.

[Latin Emperors : 1204-25 ; Greek Emperors : 1225-1304.]

Benedetto I. Zaccaria.	1304.
Paleologo ,	1307.
Benedetto II. ,	1314-29.
Martino ,	
[Byzantine. 1329-46.]	

(a) Chios :— Genoese : 1346-1566. Turkish : 1566-1694. Venetian : 1694-5. [Turkish ; 1695-1911]	(b) Samos :— Genoese : 1346-1475. Turkish : 1475-1832. [Autonomous : 1832-1911.]	(c) Ikaria :— Genoese : 1346-62. Arangio : 1362-1481. [Knights of St. John : 1481-1521] [Turkish : 1521-1911.]
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III. LORDS OF LESBOS.

- [Latin Emperors: 1204–25; Greek Emperors: 1225–1333.]
 Domenico Cattaneo 1333–6.
 [Byzantine. 1336–55.]
 Francesco I. Gattilusio. 1355.
 Francesco II. „ 1384.
 [Niccolò I. of Aenos regent. 1384–7.]
 Jacopo Gattilusio. 1404.
 [Niccolò I. of Aenos again regent. 1404–9.]
 Dorino I. Gattilusio: succeeded betw. March 13, 1426 and October 14, 1428.
 [Domenico „ regent 1449–55.]
 Domenico „ 1455.
 Niccolò II. „ 1458–62.
 [Turkish: 1462–1911.]

IV. LORDS OF THASOS.

- Tedisio Zaccaria. 1307–13.
 [Greek Emperors. c. 1313–c. 1434.]
 Dorino I. Gattilusio. c. 1434.
 [Oberto de' Grimaldi, governor. 1434.]
 Francesco III. Gattilusio. 1444–c. 1449.
 Dorino I. „ again. c. 1449.
 [Domenico, regent. 1449–55.]
 Domenico. 1455. (June 30–October.)
 [Turkish: 1455–7; Papal: 1457–9; Turkish: 1459–60; Demétrios Palaiólogos: 1460–6; Venetian: 1466–79; Turkish: 1479–1911.]

V. LORDS OF LEMNOS.

- [Navigajosi, Gradenighi, Foscari: 1207–69; Greek Emperors 1269–1453.]
 Dorino I. Gattilusio. 1453. (Castle of Kokkinos from 1440.)
 [Domenico, regent. 1453–5.]
 Domenico. 1455–6.
 [Niccolò II., governor. 1455–6.]
 [Turkish: 1456–7; Papal: 1457–8; Turkish: 1458–60; Demétrios Palaiológos: 1460–4; Venetian: 1464–79; Turkish: 1479–1911.]

VI. LORDS OF SAMOTHRACE.

- [Latin Emperors: 1204–61; Greek Emperors: 1261–c. 1433.]
 Palamede Gattilusio. c. 1433.
 Dorino II. „ 1455–6.
 [Turkish: 1456–7; Papal: 1457–9; Turkish: 1459–60; Demétrios Palaiológos: 1460–6; Venetian: 1466–79; Turkish: 1479–1911.]

VII. LORDS OF IMBROS.

[Latin Emperors: 1204–61; Greek Emperors: 1261–1453.]

Palamede Gattilusio. 1453.

Dorino II. „ 1455–6.

[Turkish: 1456–60; Demétrios Palaiológos: 1460–6; Venetian: 1466–70; Turkish 1470–1911.]

VIII. LORDS OF AENOS.

Niccolò I. Gattilusio. 1384.

Palamede „ 1409.

Dorino II. „ 1455–6.

[Turkish: 1456–60; Demétrios Palaiológos: 1460–8; Turkish: 1468–1911.]

IX. SMYRNA.

Genoese. 1261–c. 1300.

[Turkish. c. 1300–44.]

Genoese. 1344–1402.

[Mongol: 1402; Turkish, interrupted by risings of Kara-Djouneïd: 1402–24; definitely Turkish: 1424–1911.]

X. FAMAGOSTA.

Genoese: 1374–1464.

[Banca di San Giorgio: 1447–64.]

SOME GRAECO-PHOENICIAN SHRINES.

[PLATES III., IV.]

WITH but two exceptions, no trace now remains of the shrines with which this paper deals, or at least no trace has been revealed by excavation. Practically the sole record of these buildings is to be found on the coins struck in the district during the period of the Roman Empire, and more especially during the third century of our era. The earlier coins, from the beginning of the coinage towards the end of the fifth century B.C., tell us something about the cults, but little of their furniture. But in the Roman age, especially during the time of the family of Severus and Elagabalus, there was a considerable outburst of coinage, which, in its types, reveals certain details interesting to the student of the fringe of Greek and Roman culture.

The evidence thus provided¹ is necessarily disjointed, and concerns only the external, official aspects of the Phoenician religion. The inner truth of these things, it is safe to say, is hidden for ever: even the development from the primitive religion to the weird syncretistic systems of the Roman age is hopelessly obscure. One can only see dimly what was the state of things during the period illustrated by the monuments.

In an article published elsewhere three years ago,² I dealt with certain matters bearing on this subject, and endeavoured to establish the thesis that the Phoenician Baal and his consort, who is conveniently if loosely called Astarte,³ served their worshippers in a sort of dual capacity, celestial and

¹ In order to avoid overloading this article with references, I may refer generally to the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, *Phoenicia* (1910), where all the Phoenician coins here discussed are described and illustrated, and where numerous other details in the argument, omitted here for lack of space, may be found by anyone interested in the subject. The 34 coins, all for which space could be found in the plates to this article, must not therefore be taken as representing all the available evidence. The periods to which they belong are as follows: 1, 2—late V. to IV. cent. B.C. 24, 33—IV. cent. B.C. 4—II. cent. B.C. 21—9/8 B.C. 26, 28—Domna. 11, 27, 30—Caracalla. 6, 16—Macrinus. 10—Diadumenian. 3, 5, 7, 9, 13–15, 17–19, 29, 31, 32—Elagabalus. 12—

Soaemias. 22—Paula. 20—Severus Alexander. 23—Trebonianus Gallus. 25—Valerian. 8, 34—Gallienus. Nos. 9, 29, and 30 are at Berlin; 33 at Paris; the rest in the British Museum.

² *Church Quarterly Review*, 1908, pp. 118–141.

³ Cumont (in Pauly-Wissowa ii. 1777 f.) may be right in supposing that the name Astarte was often used by the Greeks loosely for other goddesses; but in the age with which we are chiefly concerned there can be no doubt that the inhabitants of the Phoenician towns were no more precise themselves. To deny the name Astarte to the consort of Adonis at Byblus may be correct in theory, but is misleading in fact. Cp. A. Heisenberg, *Grubeskirche und Apostelkirche* i. p. 203.

marine ; there were either two pairs of these deities or, more probably, two aspects or hypostases of a single pair. If some of the same ground is covered in this paper, the excuse must be that few readers of this are likely to have come across its predecessor. There is less excuse, perhaps, for repeating much which will be found in the introduction to the Phoenician volume of the British Museum Catalogue of coins ; but what is collected and summarized here is there scattered about and considered from the point of view of the numismatist rather than the student of ancient religion.

It is well perhaps to state at the outset that, in the Phoenician lands, the lion, as an inhabitant of the mountain rather than the plain, is naturally sacred to the mountain deity. The figures of lions dedicated to the Mountain Zeus, *Διὶ Ὀρείῳ*, mentioned in an inscription read by Renan at Halalieh,⁴ are typical. Further, the mountain-top being in antiquity the nearest approach man could make to the sky, the mountain-deity and the sky-deity are closely allied, if not one and the same. The eagle of course is another natural attribute of the sky-god ; curiously enough, however, though there is a certain amount of Syrian evidence for his employment as such, there is comparatively little from the places which we shall deal with.⁵

We shall take most of our illustrations from the coins of the great Phoenician coast-towns ; and we may begin with the most northern, Aradus. Here we have the good fortune that in its territory, at Huşn Suleiman, the ancient Baitokaike, the remains of a sanctuary have been excavated.⁶ In the port of Aradus itself, Baal Arvad is a sea-god. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. he is represented as a fishy monster (Pl. III., 1, 2, Hellenism civilized him and translated him into a sort of Poseidon. But up on the higher ground, at Baitokaike, the Aradians worshipped no marine god, but θεὸς (or ἄγιος) οὐρανίος Ζεύς. One of the reliefs here shows an eagle holding a caduceus, between figures supposed to represent the morning and evening stars ; a similar subject is seen on the lintel of the 'Jupiter' Temple at Baalbek ; but the caduceus may possibly be held to connect the eagle which holds it rather with the Hermes of the Heliopolitan triad than with Zeus. The Poseidon and the Zeus are represented on two sides of a rare coin of the year 174/3 B.C. Zeus had as consort a goddess to whom, as to the Syrian goddess,⁷ the cypress-tree and lions and oxen among other things were sacred. All three sacred things are represented grouped together on a coin of Aradus (Pl. III., 3). The celestial nature of the god to whom they are dedicated is marked on some specimens of this coin by a star and crescent. Doubtless the Poseidon of Aradus also had a

⁴ Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 397.

⁵ For the eagle and lion as solar, see especially the remarkable coins of Euagoras II of Salamis, on which is represented a lion with an eagle on his back, and a sun in the field (B.M.C. *Cyprus*, p. cv).

⁶ See especially Dussaud, *Rev. Arch.* 1897,

xxx. pp. 319 ff. On the relief mentioned in the text, see Perdrizet in *C.R. de l'Acad.* 1901, p. 182 ; also *Jahrb.* xvii. p. 98 ; *Rev. Arch.* 1903, i. p. 130.

⁷ Lucian, *de Syria dea*, 41 : *Βόες μεγάλοι καὶ ἵπποι καὶ αἰετοί καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ λέοντες.*

consort in a marine goddess. She may be the Tyche-like goddess who is represented riding upon a rudder; but if so she has nothing to distinguish her from an ordinary Tyche.

This difficulty of distinguishing between Tyche and Astarte confronts us in nearly all the cities of the Phoenician coast. The *Tύχη πόλεως* on Greek coins of the Imperial age took two main forms in statuary: either the statue was copied from the famous figure by Eutychides of Sicyon at Antioch, seated on a rock, with the personification of the Orontes at her feet, or it was merely a figure holding a cornucopiae and rudder. Neither of these forms penetrated unmodified into Phoenicia, saving at Ace-Ptolemais, a place which does not fall regularly into line with the other cities, and, exceptionally, at Aradus, the most northern of the Phoenician cities, and therefore most liable to influence from Antioch. The Phoenicians, however, adopted for the chief goddess of their cities certain of the attributes of Tyche, such as the mural crown, and sometimes the cornucopiae; and there can be no doubt that the Tyche-like goddess whom we see endowed in all the maritime cities with maritime attributes, such as the prow of a vessel, a naval standard, or an aphlaston, is Astarte or Baalath, or simply 'the goddess,' serving both in her original capacity and as the city-goddess, the latter in accordance with the requirements which had grown up since the rise of the conception of the *Tύχη πόλεως* in the fourth century B.C. The identification of Tyche with the celestial goddess is also expressed on a coin of Sidon by placing a crescent on one of the towers of her mural crown.

What the temples at Aradus itself were like we do not know; but the coins of the other cities are more communicative. At Berytus we meet again with a similar and more completely symmetrical contrast between the marine and celestial pairs of deities. The Baal of Berytus is again a sort of Poseidon, but instead of terminating himself in a fishy tail, we find him—doubtless because there are no early representations, owing to the coinage beginning late—content to ride in a car drawn by hippocamps (Pl. III., 4). The name Berytus seems to be connected with words meaning 'fish' or 'water.'⁸ The eponymous Beroe, whose connexion with Poseidon (Pl. III., 7) was assimilated in local legend to the story of Amymone, was a water nymph.⁹ Berouth, who we are told was a Phoenician goddess known at Byblus,¹⁰ was probably the same as, or analogous to, Beroe. Here then we have the local marine Baal and his consort. But in the higher land behind Berytus, at *Der-el-Qal'a*, is a sanctuary of the celestial pair.¹¹ The god is

⁸ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Βηρυτός*; Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. 912.

etymology.

⁹ For *Βερόη* see especially Nonnus, *Dion.* bks. xlvi, xliii. The quantity of the first syllable in *Βερόη*, *Βηρυτός* may be different, but there can be no doubt of the connexion between the two in legend and in popular

¹⁰ Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* i. 10, 14, quoting Philo of Byblus; she is sister of Elioun, *i.e.* the 'Highest,' *i.e.* the Baal of Byblus.

¹¹ Renan, pp. 355 f.; references to later literature in B.M.C. *Phoenicia*, p. xlvi, n. 3.

Baalmarcod—Jupiter O. M. Balmarcod, θεὸς ἄγιος Βάλ, Κύριος Γενναῖος, etc. Of his consort we do not know the native name: in the inscriptions she is called θεὰ Ἡρα, Iuno Regina. The epithet Γενναῖος is not merely ornamental. We know it elsewhere, as applied to a Heliopolitan deity, whom one Eusebius of Emesa¹² said he had seen descend as a lion-shaped mass of flame upon a mountain. When the flame disappeared, there was left a round stone with which Eusebius appears to have held a conversation. It told him that it belonged to the god Gennaios. Obviously an aerolite. At *Kafr Nebo*, some twelve or thirteen hours' riding from Aleppo, M. Chapot¹³ found a dedication Σειμίῳ καὶ Συμβετύλῳ καὶ Λέοντι, θεοῖς πατρώοις. Leon is the lion-god: Symbetylos a baetyl, doubtless of meteoric origin. Σειμίος is unexplained; but one of the deities at Der-el-Qal'a was θεὰ Σίμη. All these seem to belong to the same celestial group: and on the coins of Berytus we find our lion deity represented, with a globe on his head (Pl. III., 8). Whether the globe is meant for a round baetyl, such as was so complaisant to Eusebius, I do not know: it may be merely intended to indicate the heavens.

But on the coins of Berytus itself the great city-temples of the marine pair naturally figured more prominently than those of the deities of the hills. Thus we have a large temple (Pl. III., 5) of the marine city-goddess, with cupids on dolphins and two large vases—like the great lavers of Solomon's temple, perhaps—in front; and as the central akroterion, a group of Poseidon ravishing Beroe. The temple of Poseidon is a more ordinary building (Pl. III., 6). We have also a representation of a temple of the goddess with her bust shown inside. We cannot argue from this that the cultus-representation¹⁴ was here a bust, not a figure: probably the artist, if we may so call him for politeness' sake, thought he could do better in detail with a bust than with a whole figure. But we shall see that the portable shrines in Phoenicia sometimes contained busts.

At Byblus—where dedications attest the worship of Ζεὺς Οὐρανίος and Θεὰ Οὐπαρέλα¹⁵—Egyptian influence was strong, and Astarte, or Baalath-Gebal, was inextricably confused with Isis. It would take us too far afield to go into this contamination. But the Byblian coins are of some interest as showing certain details of the temple or temples of the goddess. In one of the temples, the statue stood in what appears to be a shell-niche (Pl. III., 9–12). In another, the roof seems to have been pyramidal (Pl. III., 13–15). It is interesting—and a warning against judging from a single specimen—to note the progressive slovenliness of the rendering of details. The indications of the peculiar roof almost disappear on some of the coins; and yet they were all struck in the short reign of Elagabalus. Heisenberg¹⁶ has used these

¹² Damascius ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 1064 R., 348
Bekker.

¹³ *B.C.H.* xxvi. 1902, p. 182.

¹⁴ On cultus-busts see H. von Fritze, *Münzen von Pergamon* (1910), p. 90.

¹⁵ Renan, pp. 162, 201, 230, 234.

¹⁶ *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche* i. pp. 201 ff.

I owe the reference to this book (as well as many other suggestions) to Miss Gertrude Bell. Small points requiring correction in Heisenberg's

coins of Byblus in connexion with others of Aelia Capitolina to show that the Holy Sepulchre was a building more or less of the same character as the Astarte temples at Byblus and Aelia Capitolina. He explains the type in which Astarte is seen under an arch with a sort of shell-patterra (nos. 9–12) as belonging to the temple with the pyramidal roof (nos. 13–15), but showing, instead of a perspective view, only the two foremost columns with the arch above them. Of this I feel doubtful. The mere fact that in the pyramidal-roofed temple Astarte is represented with other attributes, and without Nike on a column crowning her, seems to indicate that this is a different cultus-figure from the one under the shell-pattern arch. Secondly, when this arch is represented in its full setting, there are always to be seen six columns and an elaborate roof which in no way indicates a pyramidal structure. The two buildings must be distinct.

Peculiarly interesting—and one of the very few representations of a Phoenician temple which have made their way from coin-books into more widely read volumes¹⁷—is the type of a coin of Macrinus, with a precinct or cloister containing a sacred cone (Pl. III., 16). The cone is fenced round, and placed between horns of consecration, as Dr. Evans has pointed out. The star marks the deity as celestial. We know from Lucian that the orgies of Adonis were celebrated in the great temple of ‘Aphrodite’ in Byblus. At Paphos, the other great centre of Adonis-worship, the god’s consort was represented by a cone. Does the cone here and on the various other ‘Adonis-graves’ of Phoenicia represent the god or the goddess? Tacitus’ answer is still the safest: *ratio in obscuro*. Whatever be the truth, it seems clear that we have here yet a third Byblian temple of the Adonis-Astarte cult.

At Sidon Astarte—with whom Europa was contaminated¹⁸—was evidently much more important than her male consort. Zeus or Baal has only a sort of minor *succès de scandale*; he is only represented on the coins in connexion with the Europa affair. (As coming from the sea, *θαλάσσιος* Hesychius tells us he was worshipped at Sidon.) But of the goddess we have first the ordinary marine representation—holding a naval standard and aphlaston, and as usual raising her skirt to step on to the prow of a vessel (Pl. IV., 22). Also we have her in her celestial character, riding on a lion (Pl. IV., 20). I have already mentioned the fact that a head which might otherwise be described as Tyche is differentiated as the celestial goddess by placing a crescent on her mural crown. Among the temples there is one, which—since it occurs in association with the type of Europa on a bull—is perhaps the special temple of Europa (Pl. IV., 21). It stands on a high podium and is flanked by two isolated pillars, which remind us of another feature of

account of the coins are: that the pyramidal-roofed temple does not occur on coins before the time of Elagabalus (his nos. 3 and 4 are rightly catalogued by Babelon under the latter emperor), and that the object held by Astarte on his nos.

4 and 8, which has puzzled him, is an aphlaston.

¹⁷ A. J. Evans, ‘Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult,’ *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 138; Heisenberg, *op. cit.* pp. 208 ff., and many other works.

¹⁸ Lucian, *de Syr. dea* 4.

Solomon's temple, Jachin and Boaz. A pair of sacred pillars of elaborate type stood in the wings of the temple of the Paphian Aphrodite.¹⁹ But we need not be ashamed of being doubtful whose temple this is, since Lucian—who mentions the Sidonian coin with Europa riding upon the bull-Zeus—says the authorities could not agree whether the temple at Sidon belonged to Astarte or to Europa.

But the most remarkable of the Sidonian shrines is one on wheels (Pl. III., 17–19). Philo²⁰ describes a ναὸς ξυγοφορούμενος, used by the Phoenicians for one of their deities at Byblus. We may remember also the ἴεραπήμη or ἀπήνη ἴερά,²¹ in which the figure of the Ephesian Artemis was taken in procession, or the Ἡράκλειον ἄρμα which served a similar purpose for the Heracles of Philadelphia in the Decapolis.²² At Sidon, Egyptian influence is seen in the disk and horns decorating the top of the car in some specimens (Pl. III., 18). The slanting lines in front are perhaps meant to indicate carrying poles for taking the sacred object in and out of the car. The object itself is very puzzling. Sometimes it seems to rest on a draped base, between horns of consecration; sometimes it has a cap or caps, like the cone at Paphos; sometimes it is flanked by supporters which look as if they were meant for sphinxes, like those which flanked the stone of the Artemis of Perga.²³ Most probably the object is a circular baetyl. On one coin the car has a sun and moon beside it, and the whole is surrounded by the zodiacal circle.²⁴ Nothing could more clearly express the celestial claims of the deity represented.

At Tyre the chief god was Melqarth, whom the Greeks called Heracles. One hears of a temple of Zeus Olympios there²⁵; but what is more interesting and important is the bare mention of the fact that Heracles was known and had a temple as Heracles of the Starry Robe (*ἀστροχίτωρ*). Thus we have a celestial Melqarth; but the Melqarth on the coins, especially on the earlier coins, is a maritime Heracles (Pl. IV., 24), riding over the waves on a hippocamp, and armed with a bow. (In the Hellenistic age, Melqarth is watered down into a mere Heracles with lion-skin knotted round his neck.) Here then are the pair of Melqarths, lords of the sky and sea. For the consort of one of them there is the marine Astarte in the usual conventional form; but just as the record of the Heracles Astrochiton is obscure, so we have some difficulty in finding the celestial Astarte on the coins. Still, we are told in legend that Astarte actually picked up and consecrated in a Tyrian shrine an aerolite, an *ἀεροπετῆς ἀστήρ*.²⁶ And on one of the coins (Pl. IV., 25), in a portable shrine depicted with extreme rudeness, we find an object which, so far as it is to be made out, seems to be

¹⁹ B.M.C. *Cyprus*, p. cxxxii.

²⁴ On the significance of the zodiac in connexion with Astarte see Macrobius *Sat.* i. 21. 2.

²⁰ Ap. Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* i. 10. 2.

²⁵ See references for this and Heracles Astrochiton in B.M.C. *Phoenicia*, p. cxxiii.

²¹ *J.H.S.* xv. pp. 87 f. The form with μ for ν seems to be certain.

²⁶ Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* i. 10. 31.

²² B.M.C. *Galatia* etc. p. xc.

²³ B.M.C. *Lycia* etc. Pl. XXIV. 15.

a stone of some kind. The shrine is represented in rude perspective, because the die-engraver was anxious to show that it had a sort of apsidal back. This shrine has no wheels, but only carrying-poles. Another one contains merely the bust of the goddess (Pl. IV., 23); and here, I think, since the shrine is portable and therefore small, we are justified in supposing that the bust represents the actual contents of the shrine, and is not the part for the whole.

Tripolis—a city generally supposed to be a foundation with no history dating before the Greek period—nevertheless certainly falls into line with its neighbours in respect of the worship of the celestial deity. It had a marine city-goddess who was evidently closely connected in cult with the Dioscuri. She is represented standing between them (Pl. IV., 26). Sometimes instead of her complete figure we see a small shrine containing only her bust (Pl. IV., 27). Sometimes again we find the Dioscuri standing with only a crescent between them (Pl. IV., 28). There is thus a curious parallel with the groups of Helen and the Dioscuri which are found on coins of various Lycian and Pisidian cities.²⁷ At Pednelissus, Prostanna, and Verbe, for instance, Helen is replaced by a crescent. The same symbol is thus used in Pisidia and in Phoenicia in the same connexion to indicate the celestial nature of the sister or companion of the Dioscuri.

But of more importance than this group of the goddess and companions is the temple and great altar of Zeus Hagios, conveniently identified for us by the legend ΔΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΥ. This is the only instance of the appearance of this title on the Phoenician coins, although, as we have seen, it occurs in lapidary inscriptions. On some of the Tripolitan pieces (Pl. IV., 30) we see two buildings; one is a temple, the other has always been supposed to be a temple also, but is certainly a great altar, standing beside and outside the main temple, like the altar at Baitokaike. Its details are clearest on coins on which it appears alone, except that there, for some reason, its curious battlements are omitted (Pl. IV., 29). These battlements remind us a little of some of the Persian fire-altars.²⁸ It has a flat roof; or possibly it was a roofless enclosure, the pediment which is represented being a false one. In the tympanum is a radiate bust of the god Ζεύς ἄγιος or οὐρανίος. The altar proper is seen in the middle intercolumniation; in the side spaces are two figures, representing the sun and the moon. A coin now lost, but described by an old writer, apparently represented these two figures on a larger scale, labelled ΗΛΙΟΣ and ΚΕΛΗΝΗ.

I have now given, from all the chief Phoenician cities, a summary—necessarily of the briefest—of the evidence of the way in which the celestial

²⁷ B. M. C. *Lydia*, etc. lvii. Besides the references there given for this cult of Helen and the Dioscuri, see Perdrizet in *B.S.A.* iii. p. 163.

²⁸ But, as Miss Bell points out, this may be a mere coincidence. A closer parallel is afforded

by the battlemented motive on the rock-cut tombs of Petra and Medain Sâleb, which show similarly a half-battlement at each end of the facade (Brunnow u. Domaszewski, *Prov. Arabus*, i. pp. 137 ff.; Jausset et Savignac, *Mission Archéologique en Arabie*, (1909), pp. 308 ff.).

and marine deities work side by side with each other. The relation or opposition between them is most strikingly expressed by a coin of the fourth century B.C. which is certainly Phoenician, but which has not yet been satisfactorily attributed to any mint (Pl. IV., 33). On one side is the sea-god, in the form familiar to us from the coins of Aradus. On the other is a lion on rocky ground, evidently the sacred animal of the mountain-god. This coin is, we may say, a sort of epitome of Phoenician religion.

We have left aside so far what are perhaps the most interesting, certainly the most pleasing, of the coins illustrating the worship of Astarte. These are coins of Arca. Under the Empire this city received the title of Caesarea of Lebanon, and eventually became a Roman colony. Among its sacred places was a temple dedicated to Alexander the Great, in which the emperor Severus Alexander was born. The goddess was worshipped here, but not as sea-goddess, for the place is far from the sea. But as city-goddess she stands with her foot upon the half-figure of the local stream-god. The great sight of the place, however, was a peculiar image of the goddess (Pl. IV., 31): it has been described for us by Macrobius,²⁹ with an accuracy which should fill with joy the hearts of those who—as most archaeologists do—have to spend their time in fruitless efforts to reconcile literary evidence with the actual remains of antiquity. ‘There is,’ he says, ‘an image of the goddess in Mount Lebanon fashioned with veiled head and sorrowful countenance, leaning her face on her left hand within her cloak; if you look on her, it seems as if the tears were flowing down her face.’ The tears—which the engraver of the coin has quite honestly left to our imagination—remind us of the rock-cut Niobe of Mt. Sipylus. Macrobius’ words indeed—*simulaerum huius deae in monte Libano fingitur*—suggest that here, as elsewhere in Phoenicia, we have to do with a rock-cut figure. Then the arch above, supported by curious iconic pillars, and the balustrade in front, if that is what it is, were built round the figure for its protection. The wide-spreading polos and the sceptre topped by a bird—a cuckoo or a dove probably—are interesting features omitted by Macrobius. On some varieties of the coin a star and a crescent appear on either side of the goddess’s head.

We may close with a note about a city which takes us from Phoenicia proper farther southwards, where other influences and forms of religion begin to come into play. There were more than one strange deity to be found by the curious worshipper at Ace-Ptolemais (*St. Jean d'Acre*). The coins of this place are unfortunately almost always badly preserved, so that some of the details on the two specimens which illustrate one of the deities are obscure (Pl. IV., 32, 34). He seems, however, to hold a double-axe in one hand and a *ἀρπη* in the other. He stands between two bulls; or perhaps

²⁹ *Sat.* i. 21. 5. This passage has been quoted à propos of sculptures at *Ghinch* and *Mashnaka*, with which—except that Astarte is

mourning—it has no connexion. It is inter- esting to note that Selden, wishing to connect the passage with the Astarte of Aphaca, un- warrantably emended ‘Architis’ into ‘Apha- citis.’

they are only bucrania. Egyptian influence in the shape of uraeus-decoration seems to be visible on the architrave. We also see two carrying poles projecting in front of the shrine. The cults of Gaza bear witness to the close relations between the coast of Palestine and the Aegean basin. Is this another instance in point? The association of the double-axe deity with the bucrania is suggestive; but the question may perhaps be left until a better preserved specimen comes to light. That he is not meant for the Zeus of Heliopolis is proved by the fact that that god is represented in his usual form and with his usual attributes on a coin of Ptolemais in Col. Massey's collection.

G. F. HILL.

A NEW PARTHENON FRAGMENT.

[PLATES V., VI.]

THE pedimental heads of the Parthenon are lost. The only one that holds, that of the 'Theseus,' magnificent in its pose and mass, is in utter ruin.



FIG. 1.—HEAD OF ATHENA FROM THE WESTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON,
ATHENS. (Smith, Pl. XIV. A, 17.)

The fragment of Athena, recently discovered, is no more than part of the helmet with one ear and this not entire (Fig. 1).¹ Of the other fragments we

¹ A. H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, p. 18, Pl. XIV.A. 17.

hardly may hope ever to be mathematically certain that they belong to these pediments, as one may be with fragments of the metopes or the frieze, when break fits upon break.

Still one is generally inclined to accept Laborde's head as a remnant of the Parthenon, even if no agreement has as yet been reached as to its original place, Sauer's² theory, acceptable as it looks, not being necessarily convincing.

Smith gives three or four more fragments, Plate XIV A, 15, 16, 19 and perhaps 20. The first two found by Ross before the western front of the Parthenon³ have long been known. But the one, a veiled head, is a nearly formless block (Fig. 2); the other, only a left cheek, with an ear and locks of hair (Fig. 3). The third, a right cheek, with mouth-corner and eye, some hair and part of a hair net, seems to have suffered; the last, rather well preserved, is perhaps a relief, and thus uncertain.

Add to these the fragment (Fig. 4) Sauer⁴ has made a strong case for with its finely sculptured hair, and the quadruple row of holes for an elaborate crown. It is true that its great likeness in both respects to the fragmentary head of Agorakritos' Nemesis (Fig. 5) warns us to be prudent, as this fragment too might come from a temple statue, if it were not for the material, the place where it was found, and the dowel-hole that removes all doubts.

I cannot give the like security for the assignment to the Parthenon pediments of a colossal head known at Stockholm as 'Deianeira' (Pl. V., VI.).⁵

The history of this head does not bring us much further. It came, as Mr. Georg Göthe kindly informs me, to the Swedish National Museum, whose directors I have to thank for the gracious gift of a cast, from Queen Luise Ulrike, sister of the Prussian king, Frederick the Great, and is mentioned in her collection at the royal castle of Drottingholm, as early as 1749. We know no more, but as this princess was married and came to Sweden in 1744, and began forming the famous collections of Drottingholm before she was a queen in 1751, it seems probable that she got this fragment in Sweden. To this land, as well as to Venice or Copenhagen, a fragment of the Parthenon may have come as early as 1688, by means of Graf Königsmark's countrymen.⁶

The marble, I learn, is Greek. The way it has splintered off, in particular beside the nose, from the eye to the mouth, seems to characterise it as Pentelic, but I cannot give any certitude in this respect from personal examination. So it is not without slight misgivings in this matter that I propose my view. Still the affinity to what we possess of the pediment-heads is so great, that I do not doubt my proposition will meet with a favourable reception.

² *Der Weber-Labordesche Kopf und die Giebelgruppen der Parthenon.*

³ De Laborde, Pl. LVIII. 7 and 6. Michaelis, Pl. VIII. 8 and 9.

⁴ *Festschrift für Overbeck*, Taf. iii. 1. c. p. 30.

⁵ The cast has been photographed somewhat from below to make visible the remnant of the original upper-lip.

⁶ Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 63.

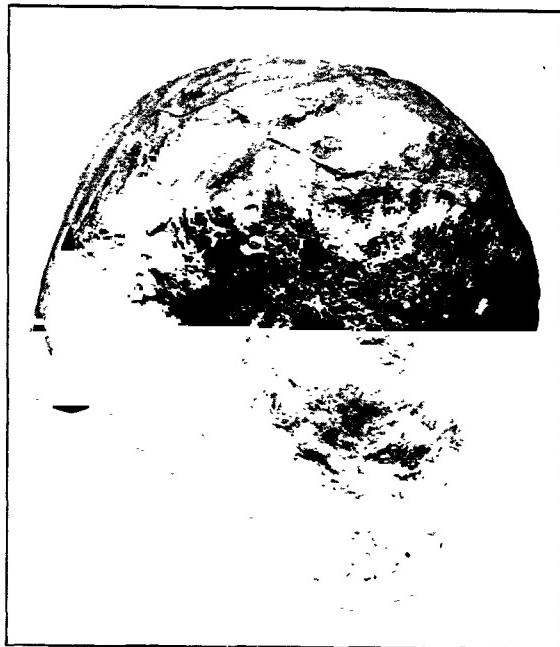


FIG. 2.—FRAGMENTARY HEAD FROM THE PEDIMENTS OF THE PARTHENON,
ATHENS. (Smith, Pl. XIV. a, 15.)

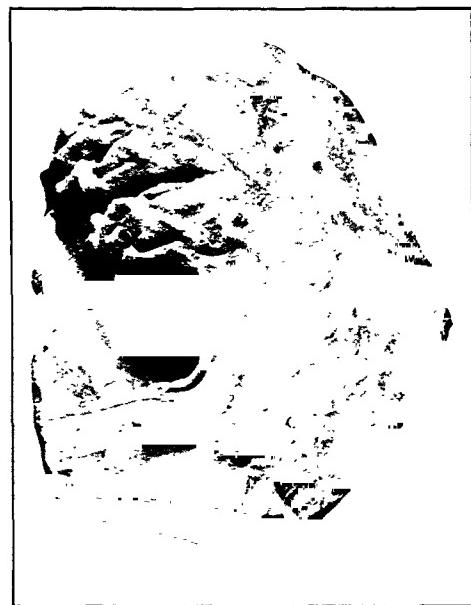


FIG. 3.—FRAGMENT OF A HEAD FROM THE PEDIMENTS OF THE PARTHENON,
ATHENS. (Smith, Pl. XIV. a, 16.)

The head was first published in this *Journal IX.* (1888), Pl. IV. (right) by L. R. Farnell, who takes it to be of the beginning of the third century, afterwards by Arndt in a series of photographs of the Stockholm Museum by Lagrelius, after which our Pl. V. has been taken, the restored parts being covered by parallel lines.

To reduce the extent of ground in which the origin of this head may be sought, one has but to compare it with that of the Nike of Paionios, as known by the replica Amelung had the good luck of finding in the Herz Collection.⁷

The net that holds the hair gives a superficial likeness. Still even this is differently held, by more than one band. The severe, but rigid and harsh forms and lines of chin and cheek and brow and waving hair stand aloof from the Attic charm that emanates from our fragment.

We light on no such disparities in comparing it with the Parthenon fragments mentioned above, but find all forms akin and the accessories similar.

To begin with these. Of the crown that adorned this head in front, it is true, only three holes indicate the former existence, but these are so placed that they form a double row as in the Laborde head. Sauer's Acropolis fragment (Fig. 4) has a much more elaborate crown of four rows of holes, running all round. That head was larger. Sauer calculated the height from 38 to 39 cm., whereas he measured 33 cm. for the Laborde head on the unrestored cast. 31 for the 'Theseus.' The only other measure he gives to compare is 17 cm. for the width of the neck in diameter. If I have, as I hope, taken the same measure, I find 32 cm. for the height of the restored head. The well-preserved neck has 16 cm., so that the head appears to have been a trifle smaller than the Laborde head, and thus probably somewhat further from the middle of the pediment.

A comparison with the latter head is not without some difficulty, as it lacks nose, mouth, and chin, and ours is not much better off, though the left half of the chin subsists with part of the under-lip, and even a narrow stretch of the original surface between the nose and the upper-lip. In our fragment the left ear is partly covered by the hair, partly broken away: what remains intact is only the rim of the earhole. Now this is very different from the left ear of the Laborde head, but no more than this is from the right ear of the same head. The latter looks pretty well as if it had exactly the same form, but it is not intact at the only place where ours is. If one may judge from the reproductions, the rather well-preserved ear of the fragment at Athens (Fig. 3) and the ear of Athena (Fig. 1) look akin, considering that part of the rim that stands up in the hole seems broken in both these fragments.

There is a small hole in the broken earlobe, fit for an earring or a small rosette covering the earlobe, just as in the Athena fragment, and this teaches us that this ear has not been masked in the position occupied by the head, so that it must either have been seen *de face* or have shown its left side in the right half of the composition.

⁷ *Röm. Mith.* ix. Taf. 7. *Olympia*, in. pp. 188-9.

What remains of the face is just this left side, the cheek, the eye, part of the forehead, very nearly allied in the general form and in details, as the position of the eye and the build of the eyelids, to the Laborde head; similar too in the strongly marked corner of the mouth seems the only other fragment that shows this (Smith, Pl. XIV. A, 19). There remains indeed some difference, the eye itself being longer and flatter. But this is, I think, explained easily enough, if we consider how different the position of our head, of that of Laborde, and of the fragment just mentioned will have been;



FIG. 4.—FRAGMENT OF A HEAD FROM THE PEDIMENTS OF THE PARTHENON, ATHENS.

ours standing straight on its neck, but more inclined than the others, the Laborde head tossed somewhat aside by a twist of the neck.

Finally the hair at the side of the head, much worn, the surface broken off in some places, but still showing clearly enough those strongly waved mellow lines that we know from the Nemesis of Agorakritos, the Laborde head, and the other fragments at Athens. These locks so varied in their movement, undulating in broad and deep masses, are so peculiar that I do not think they are easily rivalled in any other ancient sculpture and go far to prove our presumption.

What remains of the hair above the net is more severe in style than

in the Laborde head, resembling in this Sauer's fragment, which shows the same difference between the hair beneath and above the band that wore the crown. The neck, the only part that remains of the right half, is preserved on the left as far as the collar, on the right somewhat less far.

The fragment of a right side of a head at Athens (Smith, Pl. XIV. A, 19) has too much left of the neck behind to fit to ours. It has moreover, as I have said, a different shape of eye and, if I see aright, a different hair-net.



FIG. 5.—FRAGMENT OF THE HEAD OF THE NEMESIS OF AGORAKRITOS.
(British Museum.)

One would be inclined to ask if this neck could not fit on to some subsisting torso. I have not here the means for a thorough examination, but I doubt very much if it does. As the head stands straight on the neck nearly all the statues we know from the remains or from Carrey's sketch are excluded. In the western pediment Carrey shows us only Q, the so-called Leukothea, with her head upright or nearly so. A slight bend to the left

is not excluded by our head.⁸ Seen at three quarters from below, as Carrey saw it, the hair would cover almost entirely the hair-net, even more surely than it does seen as it is in the restored state.

I need hardly add that other possibilities remain especially if the east pediment too might have contained this fragment. Though it looks more probable that it comes from the western, we cannot exclude this case entirely.

Even in the western, judging by Schwerzek's reconstruction, C, the supposed Amphitrite, would do as well, but I fear that what remains of her neck does not fit to ours.

Let us be content to have a fragment belonging to these sculptures that, poor as it may be, helps us to reconstruct in our fancy the lovely beauty of the heads missing from the glorious torsos of the Parthenon.

The full oval of the face, set off by the luxuriant mass of hair, the widely open child-like eye, so different from the haggard eyes of later art, the charming expression of an almost imperceptible smile, given to the cheek by the dimple at the mouth corner, are so many traits in this picture of cheerful innocence and placid loveliness befitting well the godlike forms of eternal youth we are used to wonder at and admire in those bodies and limbs of superhuman structure.

J. SIX.

⁸ In Schwerzek's restoration, too, it stands nearly upright, with only a very slight bend to the left.

KOTHONS AND VASES OF ALLIED TYPES.

THE vases to be discussed in this article have as their common element a flat body and the turned-in rim that we now associate with an unspillable inkpot. The question of their name and use has already been the subject of much indecisive discussion, the fullest and ablest statement of the problem being given by E. Pernice, *Jahrbuch* 1899, pp. 60–72, where he maintains that the vases were all censers. Pernice had before him, however, a comparatively small number of typical vases, those he actually quotes being only 20. The fact that at Rhitsóna we had excavated 112 such vases¹ suggested to us that it was worth while to see what light could be thrown on the problem by statistics dealing with all the vases extant.² The new evidence does not definitely solve the problem. It does, however, emphasise and increase the serious objections already raised by Kourouniotes³ to Pernice's theory; and makes it not improbable that some, at least, of these vases were lamps, a view which has never yet been argued, either for or against.⁴ Our object in the present article is not to prove a theory but to state evidence.

Material.

The vases fall into three main classes.

¹ See *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 226–318, *J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 308–353. We include also five vases from our unpublished graves 3, 2, and 5; 3 belongs to our Group A, 2 and 5 to our Group B (*B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 305–7).

² Our figures deal with 416 vases (including the 112 from Rhitsóna but not vases without turned-in rim of n. 104, nor certain others where we have no exact details (n. 18 and 27)). They cannot hope to be exhaustive, and we shall be grateful to be informed of vases we have missed and of new acquisitions. We wish to acknowledge the courtesy of the Museum Directors from whom we have sought information either personally or by correspondence at Athens (Nat. Mus.), Baii, Berlin, Bologna, Bonn, Boston, British Museum,

Brussels (Mus. du Cinquantenaire), Cambridge (Fitzwilliam), Candia, Cassel, Copenhagen, Corneto, Dresden, Dublin (Nat. Mus.), Eleusis, Geneva, Genoa, Lausanne, Leeds, Leiden (Ryks Mus. van Oudheden), Manchester (Ancoats Art Museum), Milan, Munich, Naples, Odessa, Oxford (Ashmolean), Paris (Cabinet des Médailles and Louvre), Parma, Rouen, Ruvo, St. Petersburg, Schimatári, Syracuse, Thebes, Thera, Trieste, Turin, Wurzburg.

³ *Eph. Ápx.* 1899, p. 234.

⁴ Except for a short paragraph by Dragendorff (*Thera* ii. pp. 117–8, substance given below, p. 86 § 1), there are only *obiter dicta* of Loscheke's and Böhlau's for it (*ion. Nek.* p. 39) and of Pernice's (*op. cit.* p. 61, n. 5) against it.

Class A.

The so-called kothon,⁵ distinguished by absence of both stem and lid⁶; for section see Fig. 1: 290 examples (22 A. I.; 244 A. II.; 24 A. III.).

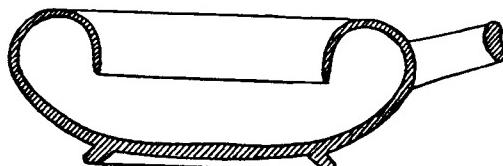


FIG. 1.—BERLIN, F. 1106. SECTION. (1 : 3.)

A. I.⁷ With three equidistant cylindrical attachments like knuckle-bones, in most examples completely bored⁸; in some, however, e.g. Brit. Mus.

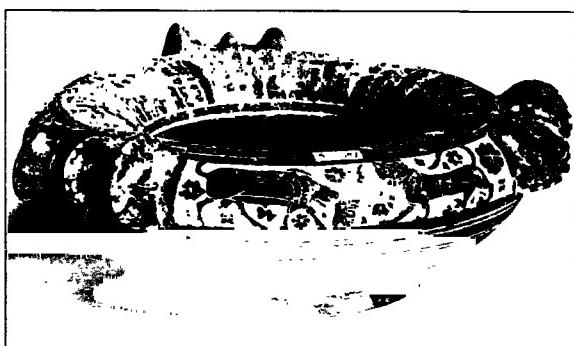


FIG. 2.—BRIT. MUS. A 1387. (1 : 3.)

A 1387 (Fig. 2), we find one or more of them only partially bored or not

⁵ The name Kothon is admittedly wrong: cp. *Athen.* xi. p. 483, *κάθων*, *Δακωνικὸν ποτήριον*. One cannot drink out of an unspillable inkpot. For origin and full discussion of mistake see Pernice, *Jahrb.* 1899, pp. 60, 61.

⁶ Five A. II. vases (Thebes, not Rhitsóna, unnumbered; Lausanne, 3685; Syracuse, 2 from Akrae; Brit. Mus. A 1567), and 1 A. I. (Brussels, Mus. du Cinq. A 252) are exhibited with lids, though none of them can be proved to belong. Two A. II. (Dresden 176 and unnumbered) were once exhibited with lids now rightly removed. One A. III. at Candia (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 32) is said to have had a lid now lost. The external evidence is here weak, and in most cases the internal also. The Brit. Mus. vase (as also Bari 2921) has a moulding round mouth, but scarcely such as might keep a lid in position. Even if these lids all belonged, the

ratio would still be 278 to 9. Rhitsóna, with its 86 lidless A. II. vases, sufficiently establishes the character of the type.

⁷ Berlin F 1108 (Nola), F 1109 (Corneto), F 1110 (Nola), F 1111 (Nola), V. I. 3328 (Attica), V. I. 3706 (Rhodes); Brit. Mus. A 1387 (Kameiros), A 1388 (?); Brussels, Mus. du Cinq. A 252 (?); Candia 2067 F (Praesos); Copenhagen, unnumbered (?); Naples 85840 (Cumae), 85847 (Cumae); Oxford, Ashmolean, 121 (Kameiros); Paris, Louvre, A 431 (Rhodes); St. Petersburg Inv. 2735 (?); Syracuse, five unnumbered (Syracuse, Gela (Sep. 81), Akrae, Akrae, Akiae); Wurzburg, H. 4228 (?) [= uncertain provenance].

⁸ For what are perhaps remains of suspensory wire in one example see Pernice, *Jahrb.* 1899, p. 63, n. 11, who, however, apparently thinks they belong to a metal handle.

at all.⁹ Usual decoration Corinthian animals, rosettes, etc.: inner rim decorated in nearly every case, generally with broad horizontal bands of black and purple.¹⁰

A. II.¹¹ With a single ribbon handle¹² with curling extremities shaped as in Figs. 3¹³ and 4.¹⁴ Decoration, thin dark bands on a pale buff.¹⁵ Besides this, most examples have (round upper part just outside the top of turned-in rim) either rough tongue pattern (Fig. 4), or double row of degenerate leaves (Fig. 3), or two thin rows of dots (Fig. 4)¹⁶; inner rim has in nearly every case thick horizontal bands of black and purple. Seven examples have a frieze of animals like A. I.¹⁷

A. III.¹⁸ With a single handle in the same position as that of A. II., but without the characteristic extremities. The group is not homogeneous. Two examples¹⁹ have frieze of animals as in A. I. and 7 of A. II., and differ from A. II. in nothing except the handle extremities. The bulk have handle

⁹ Two partly, one not; also Berlin F 1109, two bored, one not; Oxford, one partly, two not; Syracuse (Gela), one bored, two not. See below, n. 168. One example (Candia 2067) has three attachments, and what is apparently, to judge from a cast kindly sent us by Dr. Hatzidakis, remains of an A. II. handle. [Undoubtedly so, *pace B.S.A.* xii. p. 34, R.M.B., Candia, 1.4.'11.]

¹⁰ Cp., however, Fig. 2 and similar Syracuse from Gela; Wurzburg (white circles); Berlin, V.I. 3328 (rays), F 1110 (white lines and zigzags), F 1109 (animals); Oxford (plain).

¹¹ Bari Museum has 2; Berlin 8 (3 Kameiros, 1 Bari); Bologna 1; Bonn 2 (1 Thebes); Boston, Mus. of Fine Arts, 2 (1 Plataea); Brit. Mus. 12 (5 Kameiros, 1 Rhodes); Brussels, Mus. du Cinq. 1; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam, 1 (Boeotia); Cassel 1 (Samos); Copenhagen 3 (1 Cumae, 1 Corinth?); Dresden 2; Dublin, Nat. Mus., 1; Eleusis 1; Geneva 5 (4 Thebes, 1 Lake Copais); Lausanne 1 (S. Italy); Leiden 2 (1 Athens); Manchester, Ancoats Art Mus., 1, Priv. Coll. 1; Milan, Castello Mus., 1 (Agrigentum?); Munich, Alt. Pin., 4; Naples 9 (8 Cumae); Odessa 1 (Olbia); Oxford 3 (2 Kameiros); Paris, Louvre, 6 (3 Rhodes, 1 Nola); Rouen 1 (Coll. Campana); Ruvo 1; St. Petersburg 4 (2 Kertsch, 1 Olbia); Coll. Scheuerleer 1 (Argos); Schimatári 28 (all Tanagra or district); Syracuse 41 (36 Akrae, 2 S. Mauro, 2 Gela, 1 Megara Hyblaea); Thebes 87 (86 Rhitsóna); Thera 6; Trieste 1; Turin 1; Upsala, Coll. Kjellberg, 1; Wurzburg 1.

¹² Flat sectioned in all but a few round sectioned (cp. A. III!) examples such as Syracuse (from Akrae), where also the extremities are smaller, and Brit. Mus. A 1013, unusually decorated with rings of white dots and thin bands

of white on heavy black and purple bands.

¹³ Brit. Mus. A 1570.

¹⁴ Rhitsóna, Grave 5, Nos. 16 and 17.

¹⁵ Exceptions to buff ground are Brit. Mus. A 1624 (Kameiros) and Bonn 806 (Thebes) and 1519, where it is red.

¹⁶ Eleven combine two of these three motives. Further variants (only two or three existing of each) are: zigzags; wavy lines; meanders; knotted rope as in 'Cyrenaic' (Bonn 1519; Geneva, H.O. 0775, along with rays, zigzags, and pothooks; Manchester, Ancoats Art Mus.; Syracuse from Akrae): swastika (Paris, Louvre, E.D. 1264); rosettes; palmettes (Bonn 806); open and shut lotus buds (Brit. Mus. A 1568; Dublin, Nat. Mus., 310-03); spirals (Brit. Mus. A 1567). Of the 86 Rhitsóna A. II., 83 have either plain bands or the three main motives or their combinations: 2 (Graves 31, No. 141, and 26, No. 76), rings of dots and short cross lines: 1 (Grave 49, No. 245) check pattern.

¹⁷ Brit. Mus. A 1039; Brussels, Mus. du Cinq., R 216; Cassel (*ion. Nek.* p. 39); Paris, Louvre, E 551; St. Petersburg, Steph. V. I. 171; Syracuse 3 examples (Akrae).

¹⁸ Bari Museum has 7; Bologna 1; Brit. Mus. 1; Candia 2 (Praesos; *B.S.A.* xii. p. 28, Fig. 3 and p. 32; *ib.* p. 25, Fig. 1 and p. 27); Lausanne 1; Leeds, Municipal Museum, 1; Leiden 1; Naples 2; Paris, Louvre, 1; Ruvo 1; Syracuse 6 (Lie. Eub. 2, Syrac. 2, Gela 1, Meg. Hyb. 1); also Nauplia, numerous miniature vases from Hera dedication at Tiryns.

¹⁹ Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea Sep. 165 figured *Mon. Ant.* i. p. 863, diam. '18 m., and Gela, Sep. 49 *Mon. Ant.* xvii. p. 45, diam. '08.

less ribbon-like, and turned-in rim shallower²⁰; decoration either bands



FIG. 3.—BRIT. MUS. A 1570. (2 : 5.)

(with sometimes in addition leaves or dots) on buff ground (see Fig. 5²¹): or completely black glaze.²²

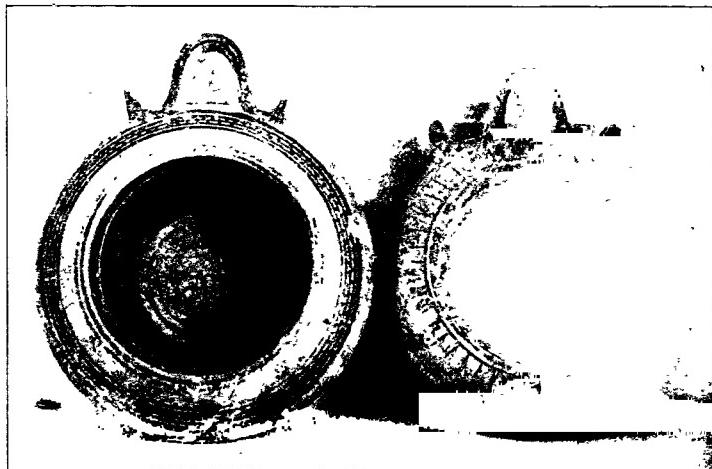


FIG. 4.—RHITSÓNA, GRAVE 5, NOS. 16 AND 17. (1 : 3.)

²⁰ In A. II. normal depth of inner rim is from .40 to .50 of total inner depth; in characteristic A. III. vases, only .30; in 4 A. III. (Bari 212, Leeds, Louvre A 408, Ruvo 105) less than .25.

²¹ Louvre, A. 408, diam. .09 m., dep. .03, int. rim .006, reproduced with M. Pottier's kind permission.

²² Bari 1674, Bologna No. *Uner.* 760, Leiden II. 113, Naples 83558.

Class B.²³

Distinguished by possession of lid²⁴ and central stem, and by absence of handle. See Fig. 6²⁵; 65 examples: of these, 50²⁶ are covered with black glaze, including turned-in rim, except for a band of tongue pattern in black or black and purple on ferruginous round top of body, sometimes repeated round lid: one (Fig. 6) has similar decoration on buff. Apart from 5 toy vases of the type²⁷ there are thus only 8 variants from the normal decoration: of these, 2 have human or animal figures²⁸; 1, black bands on buff²⁹; 1, stem black glaze, body ferruginous³⁰; 1, black bands, and bands of black dots on buff³¹; 2, zones of palmettes and ivy leaves³²; 1 (Candia 2064), black bands, dots and ivy garland on buff; 1, Trieste, unnumbered, from Crete, is entirely clay colour. Most of these 8 are unusual in form as well as decoration, particularly Trieste, hgt. ·35 m. (with lid ·49), int. dep. ·085, of turned-in rim ·01, diam. of body ·22, of mouth ·06, stem very thin. On this last see below p. 87.

Class C.

Tripods; 28 examples: of these 22 have feet in form of panels³³, 5 in that of moulded lions' paws³⁴, 1 in that of stags' feet³⁵; 10 have loop-shaped supports³⁶ joining inside of feet to centre of bottom of body. Only 7 have

²³ The name *πλημοχόν*, suggested for this class by Rayet (cat. of his own collection) and adopted by Pottier (*Lévythes Blanches*, p. 67) is certainly wrong. Pottier suggests that the turned-in rim allowed only the purest part of the liquid to be poured out. In point of fact it prevents any pouring out at all. The name *συγματοθήκη* (suggested B.M. *Cat. Vases* iii. p. 407) would not be inappropriate on the toilet vase theory (see below, p. 86) but only supposing the *συγμάτα* to be solid, and not liquid (see below, *ibid.*).

²⁴ Extant in 42 out of 52 where facts are sure; all, excluding toy vases, have a ledge for one. Cp., however, Athens vases, p. 78, n. 44.

²⁵ Rhitsóna, Grave 31, No. 157, greatest diam. ·145 m. (usually it is about ·20 m.)

²⁶ Ten Athens (1 Thebes, 1 Marathon soros); 3 Berlin (2 Attica); 1 Boston; 2 Brit. Mus. (1 Corinth); 1 Dresden (Corinth ?); 1 Leiden (Tanagra); 1 Manchester, Priv. Coll.; 1 Munich; 1 Naples (Cumae); 2 Nauplia; 1 Odessa; 1 Paris, Cab. des Méd. (Sicyon); 2 Paris, Louvre (1 Melos); 1 Schimatari (Tanagra or near); 3 Syracuse (S. Mauro, Grammichele=Catania, Ragusa); 19 Thebes (Rhitsóna); 1 Wurzburg. See also p. 78 n. 47. Some have dots in addition to tongue pattern. Odessa, III. 437, has rays on lid.

²⁷ Athens 11734 and Brit. Mus. A 494, A 511 (bird friezes); Berlin F 2105 (late b.-f.,

human and animal, see *Berl. Vas.*); Schimatári (purple bands and dots on buff). There are toy B and D vases at Eleusis of which we have no exact details.

²⁸ Thebes, Rhitsóna Grave 31, No. 157 a; Munich, Alt Pin., 2291.

²⁹ Athens 2257 (Boeotia).

³⁰ Boston, Mus. Fine Arts, 99. 531.

³¹ Ruvo 214.

³² Berlin F 3621 (Pomarico), F 4152 (Bari).

³³ Athens 351, 933 (Tanagra), 12037, 12685, 12687 (Nicole, Pl. V.; see n. 76), 12688; Berlin V. I. 3329 (Attica?), 3364 (Thebes), 4859 (Boeotia); Bonn 550 (Boeotia); Boston 98. 915; Brussels, Mus. du Cinq. A 3 (Thebes); Munich, Alt. Pin., 420 (four feet), 2239, unnumbered (Attica); Odessa (Berezani); Paris, Louvre, C.A. 683, 616, 927 (2 Thebes, 1 Aegina); S. Petersburg Inv. 10119, (Boeotia?); Wurzburg 4231 (Boeotia); Thebes, Rhitsóna, Grave 50, No. 263.

³⁴ Athens 350; Berlin F 1727 (Tanagra); Boston, Fine Arts Mus. 01. 8110; Cassel, *Arch. Anz.* 1898, p. 190, No. 6 (this and Boston practically panels); Thebes, Rhitsóna, Grave 49, No. 219.

³⁵ Bonn 601.

³⁶ Athens 350; Berlin F 1727, V.I. 4859; Bonn 550, 601; Boston 98. 915; Cassel, see n. 34; Louvre, C.A. 683; Odessa; Thebes, Rhitsóna, Grave 50, No. 263.

lids extant,³⁷ but of the rest all but 6³⁸ have a ledge on which a lid could fit more or less well. 21 have no handles, 2³⁹ a class A. II. handle, 3 three cylindrical knuckle-bone attachments like those of Class A. I.: in the case of

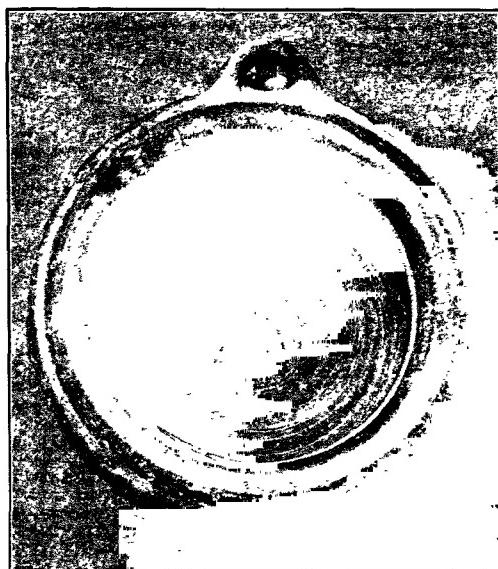


FIG. 5.—LOUVRE, A 408. (2 : 3.)



FIG. 6.—RHIISÓNA, GRAVE 31, NO. 157.
(1 : 3.)

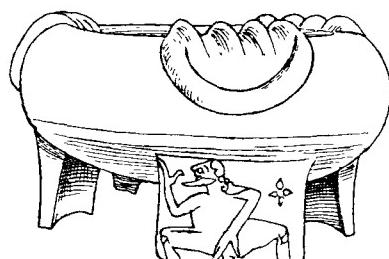


FIG. 7.—ATHENS, NAF. MUS. 938.
(2 : 7.)

2 of these last⁴⁰ the knuckle-bones have immovable moulded rings connected with them as in Fig. 7.

³⁷ Berlin F 1727, V. I. 3329, V. I. 4859; Boston 98, 915; Cassel, see n. 34; Louvre C.A. 927; Thebes, Rhiisóna Grave 50, No. 263.

³⁸ Athens 938, 12037; Berlin V.I. 3364; Bonn 601; Munich, Alt. Pin., 420, unnumbered. Contrast A. II., where only Bati 2921

and Brit. Mus. A 1567 have one. Our Russian information is incomplete on this point.

³⁹ Athens 12687; Munich, Alt. Pin., 420.

⁴⁰ Athens 938, 12037; Berlin V. I. 3364 (no rings).

The decoration appears to be always late Corinthian or early black-figure. The inner rim is in 17 examples plain, in 11 decorated with rays,⁴¹ tongue pattern,⁴² lotus buds,⁴³ or bands.⁴³

Besides these three main classes there are certain other small groups that must be considered along with them.

Class D.

Under this heading we have classed 22 vases that are intermediate between or variants from any of our main classes—A. I., A. II., A. III., B. and C.

Two⁴⁴ have class B shape but no lid or ledge for one, and Corinthian decoration. So a third (Sammel. Vogell),⁴⁴ but with low stem and a ledge suggesting a lid.

Two⁴⁵ are practically A vases, except for having the foot a little higher than usual (cp. Fig. 9) and no handle.

Four⁴⁶ have central stem, but handle like A. II. No lids. Round mouth Berlin has no moulding; those round mouth of Bonn and Rhitsóna (Fig. 8)⁴⁹ hardly suggest a lid. Decoration, Athens and Berlin same pattern as Bonn 1519 (n. 16), Bonn and Rhitsóna black with red or purple bands or zones.

Two⁴⁷ differ from B only in having practically no stem.

Seven⁴⁸ are plain black glaze (some with purple lines) with no handle, no lid or ledge for lid and little or no stem, e.g. Fig. 9⁴⁰; so one other,⁵⁰ but with ledge round mouth, hardly however for lid; one⁵¹ is a stemless black glaze vase with one A. II. handle and shallow turned-in rim recalling A. III.; one⁵² combines two A. I. handles with 3 small grooved feet.

One⁵³ has two A. II. handles, a lid with knob familiar in Class B, the shallow turned-in rim of A. III., (·25 total inner depth, cp. n. 20), no stem, and Hellenistic stamped decoration.

Three vases with spouts (Class E), 4 of stone (Class F), and 4 of metal (Class G), will be described and discussed below pp. 84, 96 (E); 87 (F); 82, 97 (G).

⁴¹ (i) like Fig. 12, Athens 938, 12037; Berlin F. 1727; Boston 01. 8110; Rhitsóna, Gr. 50, No. 263; (ii) tongue pattern, Athens 12688, Louvre C.A. 683, St. Petersburg 10119; (iii) double row of rays (like *Ath. Mitt.* 22 Pl. VII., 3), Bonn 550.

⁴² Brussels A 3.

⁴³ Athens 12687.

⁴⁴ Athens 279, 12554 (Nicole, Pl. IV., see n. 76); *Sammel. Vogell Cat.* p. 10 Abb. 5 (body of last angular sectioned; inside rosettes; lid, but not belonging).

⁴⁵ Berlin V.I. 3127 (Vurva), F 3946 (ordinary A. II style).

⁴⁶ Athens 12578; Berlin, V. I. 3709; Bonn 1151; Rhitsóna, Grave 31, No. 152 (Fig. 8).

⁴⁷ Athens 9725; Candia 3581.

⁴⁸ Athens unnumbered (Hermione), 9726; Bonn 856; Louvre C.A. 606; 2 Schimatári (Tanagra or near, diams. ·16 m., ·06 m.); Thebes, Rhitsóna, Grave 31, No. 151 (Fig. 9). Several of these vases are extremely heavy.

⁴⁹ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 274. Fig. 8, hgt. ·14 m., int. dep. ·085, dep. int. rim ·035; Fig. 9, ·105, ·06, ·035.

⁵⁰ Athens 2472 (Tanagra).

⁵¹ Turin 1885, diam. ·11 m., of mouth ·08, dep. ·05, of int. rim ·015.

⁵² Louvre E.D. 4954.

⁵³ Munich, Alt. Pin. 3075, diam. etc. (n. 51), ·145, ·10, ·08, ·02.

Evidence from Rhitsóna.

(a) *Dating.* Class A vases at Rhitsóna are found all through the black-figure,⁵⁴ and extend into the early red-figure period.⁵⁵ None was found in the twenty or so Hellenistic graves,⁵⁶ though they contained a great variety of shapes, and showed survivals of both black-figure (floral kylikes, etc.) and proto-Corinthian (pyxides). None too was found in any of the Corinthian or proto-Corinthian graves.⁵⁷ These earlier graves, however, contained much fewer vases, nearly all aryballoï or small lekythoi, so that inferences from the absence of kothons must be used with caution.

Class B vases are contemporary with Class A II.,⁵⁸ but are always less numerous. Both get commoner towards the end of the b.-f. period. Out of a total of 1173⁵⁹ vases in our group A graves, with a centre point of about B.C. 540, there were 11 Class A II. vases and 3 Class B, while out of 1152⁶⁰ in



FIG. 8.—RHITSÓNA, GRAVE 31, NO. 152.
(1 : 4)

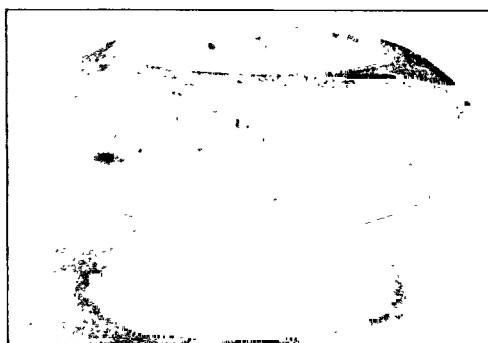


FIG. 9.—RHITSÓNA, GRAVE 31, NO. 151. (2 : 7.)

our group B graves, dating about B.C. 500, there were 74 Class A II., 2 Intermediates and 18 Class B. The only 2 Class C vases from Rhitsóna were both found in Group A graves.⁶⁰ No A. I. nor A. III. vases were found at all.

(b) *Indications as to use.* In none of the graves that contained A, B, or C vases was the sex of the person buried determined either from the bones,⁶¹

⁵⁴ *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 252, 260, 268, 273, 283, 288; *J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 318, 323.

⁵⁵ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 288 (ep. 294) *ibid.* p. 300 (ep. 301).

⁵⁶ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 228, to be published later. Cp., however, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 42.

⁵⁷ *J.H.S.* xxx. pp. 342 f.

⁵⁸ They are not confined to end of b.-f. period, as stated by Furtwangler, *Samml. Sabouroff*, Taf. 52, followed by Pernice, p. 68.

⁵⁹ Including the 60 vases of the unpublished grave 3 in group A, and the 4 and 34 of Graves 2 and 5 in Group B. See above, p. 72, n. 1.

⁶⁰ *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 252, No. 249=Pl. IX. i, *ib.* p. 260, No. 263=Pl. X. c, d, e.

⁶¹ See *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 256, 264, 270, 281, 287 (ep. *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 309, n. 5); *J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 316, 320, 329. One grave 12 kothon was full of fine dust, a sample of which, analysed by H. B. Dixon, F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry in Manchester University, shows the following percentage of constituents—CaO, 26·0; MgO, 8·5; CO₂, 25·0; Fe₂O₃ and Al₂O₃, 21·8; SiO₂, 13·9; P₂O₅, 1·5; Free Carbon, .6; Moisture, 2·7. Under the microscope Prof. Dixon found unmistakable traces of bone ash and of wool charcoal. Cp. *Deltion*, 1888, p. 35 (Tangra) ἀγγεῖον μέλαν μετὰ πλατελας βίσεως ἔχον τὰ χείλη πρὸς τὰ ξινά ἐστραμμένα πλῆρες τέφρας.

The presence of bone seems to lead to no

incised inscriptions,⁶² or the general character of the contents.⁶³ Pernice's impression (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 61) that kothons are found only in women's graves is not disproved, but it is certainly not confirmed.⁶⁴ It might be argued that Grave 40 (*J.H.S.* xxix. p. 310), the one Boeotian kylix grave that has no vases of Class A, B, or C, is a man's grave⁶⁵ and the others women's, but this explanation does not account for the further absence of black-figure from Grave 40.⁶⁶

Were all these Vases used for the same purpose?

Pernice, laying stress on the points that our principal types have in common, and taking the differences between them to be mainly a matter of date,⁶⁷ argues that all were used for the same object (namely, as censers). He would find an additional argument for this view in the various intermediate vases that we have grouped under Class D.⁶⁸ But even if it could be proved that all vases with a turned-in rim were developments of a single idea, it would not necessarily follow that they were all used for the same purpose. Pernice himself remarks incidentally⁶⁹ that he has noticed similar rims both in ancient lamps and ancient sieves.

In the case of our vases it is to be observed that intermediates and variants are comparatively few.⁷⁰ The really significant point brought out

positive conclusions: cp. the very variously shaped vases in which bones (some those of animals) have been found by Orsi in Sicily, e.g. *Mon. Ant.* i. (Megara Hyblaea) Sepp. iv. xvi., cv., cxix; *ib.* xiv. (Camarina) Sepp. 379 (Fig. 61), 413, 428, 476 (Fig. 83). Cp. also Dragendorff, *Thera* ii., p. 91.

⁶² All the names incised in full—Δάπης (?), Λευφων, Ὀνησίδας, Αγνοσθέμηνς, Σωσανδρίδας (?), Αιτίχαπος (Graves 50, 50, 50, 31, 26, 40, *J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 338 f.); Φιλόχοσενος (Grave 49, on a black kantharos recently mended)—are men's names, except perhaps Δάπης (non-Boeotian Genit. of Δάπη? Cp. *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 341, n. 119). But even if they have any funeral significance, they probably refer to the mourners rather than the dead. Otherwise we must suppose at least three interments in Grave 50 alone, against which assumption see *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 245 f. and cp. *J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 338 f.

⁶³ The female masks in Graves 26 (No. 241, *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 286), 18 (No. 265, *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 296), 46 (No. 159, *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 327), might suggest a woman's grave, but Nos. 368 (female figure with baby), 369 (ithyphallic Silenus) and 378 (mounted cavalier) of a single interment Grave like 31 (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 280) show that it is dangerous to infer the sex or character of the person buried in a grave from the figurines buried in it.

⁶⁴ He is scarcely justified in one (p. 61, n. 9)

of his two references. Note also that Athens, No. 2172 (above p. 78, n. 50) is incised with the man's name Διονύσιος; so Berlin V.I. 4859 (n. 33) Πολυτριάδας καλὸς Πανχύτος, καλὸν ταέ; V.I. 3364 (n. 76) Σάμων.

⁶⁵ See Mr. Hawes' report, *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 316 and cp. his reports on other graves.

⁶⁶ See further *J.H.S.* xxx. p. 340 n. 34. If graves with kothons, etc. belong to women, and we happen to have been digging a group of women's graves, it is natural to assume that men's graves had also some distinguishing feature, such as weapons, but we have not noticed either at Schimatáti Museum, Athens Museum, or elsewhere any type of object that would answer to this hypothesis: bronze weapons should be well preserved, and iron ones moderately so (see Fig. 10 iron vase and bronze tripod from Grave 26).

⁶⁷ See below p. 81.

⁶⁸ Above p. 78.

⁶⁹ *Jahrb.* 1899, p. 67.

⁷⁰ The small proportion of them shown by our statistics is particularly noteworthy considering the tendency of Museums to buy unusual and to reject ordinary vases (note, e.g., absence of ordinary A. II. from Athens, Nat. Mus., and cp. *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 262 n. 1 on supposed rarity of plain black glaze kantharoi before the Rhitsóna excavations). Out of 408 extant examples in clay, only 25 cannot be placed in our three large classes.

by our statistics is the large total and uniformity of decoration of the main types, particularly A. II. and B. They almost certainly served some simple use or uses of daily life. Considering, too, that these two particular types were in the main contemporary,⁷¹ and that one is lidless, the other lidded, it is *a priori* probable that their uses were different.⁷² Whether this means that the vases were completely different articles, or merely varieties of the same article, is a question upon which we can form no *a priori* opinion. We must review the evidence as a whole, and consider what use this or that type would serve most effectively. The turned-in rim, which is the distinguishing feature of our vases, suggests scent vases, lamps, and perhaps censers as offering the most probable explanations to choose from. What we have to look for is not a single explanation that will do more or less well for the whole of our material, but completely adequate explanations for each particular type.

The Censer Theory.



FIG. 10.—IRON VASE WITH BRONZE HANDLES AND TRIPOD,
RHITSÓNA, GRAVE 26. (1 : 3.)

In discussing this theory we naturally start from Pernice's paper in the *Jahrbuch*. His argument is briefly this. Maintaining that G (metal vases), C, A. I., A. II., B are chronological developments of a single type, he argues that Berlin B. I. 8617 (the only G vase known to him), with its body half bronze (upper part), half iron (lower part), can only be satisfactorily explained as a brazier censer. He explains class B as the immediate predecessor of the long stemmed censer (with oval top, of which the upper part is detach-

⁷¹ Above p. 79.

⁷² This argument does not of course apply to cases like A. I. and A. II., where the differences can probably be explained on chronological or (cp. n. 77) local grounds. Nor is it sup-

ported by the fact that both lidless and lidded unspillable vases are found in all our graves. The organisation of ancient grave furniture may have been as arbitrary as that of modern wedding presents.

able for inserting incense and perforated to let out the smoke) frequently represented on r.-f. vases, e.g. Fig. 14, 1.⁷³ C, A. I., A. II. are the intermediate stages between G and B.

The new evidence seriously affects this line of argument.

The only G vase that we have evidence for dating is Rhitsóna Grave 26, No. 244=Fig. 10; this vase, which is of iron with bronze handles and a bronze tripod so much like that of Pernice's Berlin metal vase that they are not likely to be of very different dates, comes from a grave that cannot be much earlier than 500 B.C. It is possible that the vase is much older than the grave, but a date comparatively late in the sixth century is the most probable.

We are able to notice here two other class G vases, one in the British Museum,⁷⁴ with two weak ring handles without knuckle-bone attachments, and the other, Fig. 11, at Bari,⁷⁵ with no attachments or handles at all. These new metal vases make the relationship of G to C very problematical. Three out of the four G vases now known to us have handles or knuckle-bones or both, arranged in twos or fours. This arrangement does not occur even once in a total of twenty-eight C vases. Three⁷⁶ of the twenty-eight do indeed show knuckle-bones arranged in threes, but the difference in number may be of some significance; and, as is shown by the style of their black-figure decoration and the inscription on one of them,⁷⁶ even these three cannot be dated early in their class. More than that, C does not appear to be our earliest clay type. A I seems on stylistic grounds to begin earlier, and the stylistic evidence is perhaps confirmed by the absence of A I and occurrence of C in early black-figure graves at Rhitsóna,⁷⁷ as also by the late dating of the three knuckle-bone vases from C. A. I therefore cannot be derived from G through C, as Pernice holds, nor is there any ground for thinking it, with its tripodless form and invariable three handleless knuckle-bones, to be derived from G direct. Pernice's theory takes no account of the fact that these knuckle-bones, though no doubt of metal origin, are not only common (Halbherr, *Mus. Ital.* 1888, p. 738) and presumably of extended use in metal, but occur on other sorts of clay vases besides ours. They are found, e.g., on an early Aeginetan lamp (below p. 92), on plates (Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. p. 673; Böhlau, Ion. Nek. p. 150, Pl. VIII. 2) and, with ring handles, on an archaic krater, *Mon. Piot* i. Pl. IV. It would be at least as reasonable, on

⁷³ From Brit. Mus. E 88 (r.-f. kylix), from a drawing by Mr. Anderson.

⁷⁴ W. T. 730 (Ruvo), diam. '21 m., of mouth '12 m., int. depth '06 m., depth int. rim '035 m.

⁷⁵ Nos. 3063, 3064 (vase and tripod); same meas. '17 m., '09 m., '06 m., '03 m. [Rhitsóna (Fig. 10) measures '16 m., '11 m. (where traces of ledge appear). '05 m., '03 m.; Berlin '17 m., '085 m., '045, '028; Berlin has two knuckle-bones with handles but not the handleless unbored pair of Rhitsóna.]

⁷⁶ Athens 938=Coll. Couve Pl. XXV. No.

616, and 12037=Nicole, *Cat. Vas. Ath. Suppl.* 1911, Pl. V. (ref. kindly sent us by Dr. Nicole), both with ring handles as well; Berlin V.I. 3364=Pernice Fig. 4, without ring handles, but bored; for inscr. *ib.* p. 63, n. 12, on which Dr. Zahn writes to us (27.2.'11): 'Der Name ist eingeritzt, wie überhaupt die ganze Zeichnung. Die Ritzung macht durchaus den Eindruck, dass sie von derselben Hand gemacht ist, die auch die Zeichnung gravierte.'

⁷⁷ Note, however, that 15 out of 17 A. I. vases of known provenance come from Rhodes, Sicily, or Italy; 10 out of 12 C from Boeotia.

the evidence before us, to suggest that the occasional knuckle-bones of C, in which Class they are meaningless, and of G, where they are plainly not essential, are sporadic survivals of the invariable knuckle-bones of A. I, that have a practical use for suspension. [For very occasional unbored examples see above n. 9 and below n. 168.]

A. II and B, the two most frequent types of the series, were both at their commonest at the same period.⁷⁸

Further, though the long stemmed censer of Fig. 14, 1 (the only undisputed Greek type) cannot be proved to have been used on the Greek mainland before 500 B.C., its use at least in Ionia as early as the sixth century is proved by its representation (reproduced Fig. 14, 2) on a sherd from Clazomenae⁷⁹; and it has been plausibly argued by von Fritze⁸⁰ that its absence from b.-f. vases is due to the limited subject range of b.-f. painters, and that it probably found its way to Greece in the sixth century along with incense itself. Pernice's implied question 'where are our sixth century censers?' therefore loses much of its point.



FIG. 11.—BRONZE VASE AND TRIPOD,
BARI, 3063, 3064. (1 : 4.)

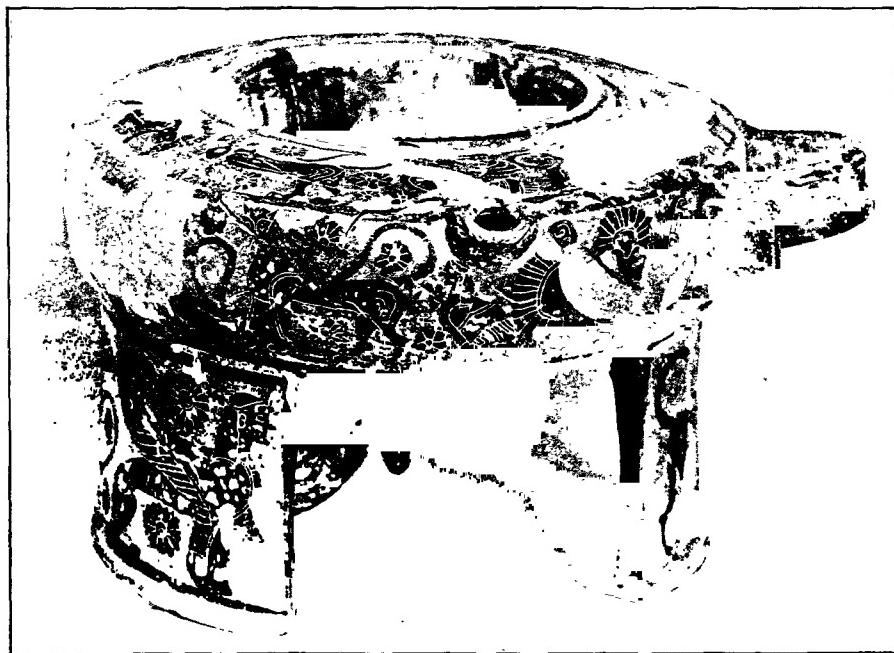


FIG. 12.—ATHENS, NAT. MUS. 12924. (1 : 2.)

⁷⁸ Above p. 79.

⁷⁹ *Ath. Mitt.* 1898, Taf. vi.

⁸⁰ *Rauhhopfer bei d. Griech.* p. 44.

It is of course possible that Pernice's chronology is faulty and yet his main contention correct, and one new piece of evidence that lends the latter some support has just come to light. Incense has probably been discovered by Mr. Evans in Minoan Crete,⁸¹ and the vessels used for it seem to have been clay chafing-pans.⁸² In spite of Homer's probable silence about incense,⁸³ this discovery throws a certain amount of doubt on von Fritze's position, and makes chafing-pan censers, whether of metal or clay, distinctly less improbable as the earliest classical form. The form is suited for clay. That of Fig. 14, 1 is not, in spite of isolated examples (probably only models) like Athens 2399. Our vases might provisionally be explained as forms of censer that prevailed for a time on account of their cheapness, but were ultimately driven out by the superior merits of the classical type. In any case, brazier censers of both materials are far too common and widely distributed⁸⁴ for us to exclude them on *a priori* grounds from sixth century Greece. It is only when we take the vases class by class that the real difficulties of the censer theory become apparent.

The case for classes A and C has been rendered almost untenable by the three spout vases (Class E, above p. 78). Of these the only one already published⁸⁵ is a variant from A. II., the only unusual features being the elaborate terminations of the handle, and the spout, which is about '005 m. diam., opens upwards, and is placed high up near the handle. The second, Fig. 12,⁸⁶ is a perfectly normal C vase except for the spout, diam. about '01 m. The third, Fig. 13,⁸⁷ is altogether abnormal. For its general proportions cp. black glaze D vase Turin, No. 1885.⁸⁸ There can be no doubt that these three vases were all meant to hold liquids. The Würzburg vase is so abnormal that it is almost impossible to argue from it; but the other two are so normal apart from their spouts, that they raise a very strong presumption that A. II. and C contained liquids.⁸⁹

The case for B depended on a false notion of its chronological relationship to the censer of the undisputed classical type.

The new metal vases weaken Pernice's positive arguments for that class. The Grave 26 example (Fig. 10) with body entirely of iron would indeed do better as a brazier censer than as either a lamp⁹⁰ or a scent vase.⁹¹ But the

⁸¹ In a tomb (Late Min. I.) near Knossos, *Times*, Sept. 16, 1910.

⁸² Mr. Evans writes to us (24.1.'11) that the incense (which he believes to be such from feel and smell, but has not yet had analysed) was found loose, but may originally have been in one of the chafing pans found in the same tomb.

⁸³ See v. Fritze, *Rauchopf*, p. 2 on Aristarchus' statement that in Homer θῦσαι = θυμιᾶσαι.

⁸⁴ E.g. Atchley, *History of Incense*, pp. 33, 63, 319.

⁸⁵ Kouromiotes, 'ΕΦ. 'ΑΡΧ. 1899, p. 234, diam. etc. (n. 51), '20, '14, '08, '04.

⁸⁶ Athens 12924, reproduced with the kind permission of Dr. Stais, diam. etc. (n. 51), '19,

'10, '07, '035.

⁸⁷ Würzburg H 934, reproduced with the kind permission of Dr. Bulle, diam. etc. (n. 51), '12, '08, '075, '012.

⁸⁸ P. 78, n. 51.

⁸⁹ Note also, as against censer theory for A and C, almost invariable decoration of inner rim in A and frequent in C. This may show lid, where existent, was often off; but who would look at the rim of a burning censer?

⁹⁰ At least if the handles (=B.S.A. xiv. p. 236, No. 243) are restored the right way up. It is not certain from the traces of juncture that they should not be placed vertically downwards.

⁹¹ Note, however, that the slight ledge round

Bari and British Museum examples both have the body entirely of bronze. If therefore there is any significance for the censer theory in the material



FIG. 13.—WURZBURG, H 934. (1 : 3.)

of the Berlin vase, then the probability is against the two bronze vases being censers. If there is not, then we have little positive evidence for the censer

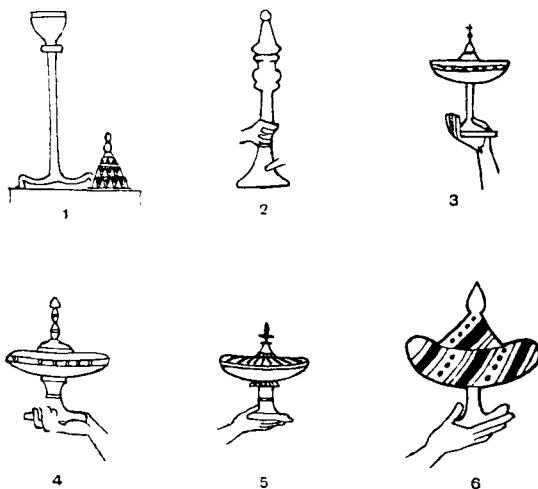


FIG. 14.—VASES DEPICTED ON WHITE LEKYTHOI (3, 4, 5), RED-FIGURE VASES (1, 6), AND A VI CENT. SHERD FROM CLAZOMENAE (2).

theory even for our metal vases, though we may still think it probable⁹² for some of them on *a priori* grounds.

mouth (n. 75, not discernible in Fig. 10) suggests a possible lid and leaves scent theory a possibility.

⁹² This view appears to receive support from an ‘early Ptolemaic small silver incense altar with bowl shaped like a kothon,’ mounted on a

stand that terminates downwards in three short legs, published by Mr. C. C. Edgar, *Musée Egypt.* ii. Pl. XXIV and p. 59, to which we have been referred by him, unfortunately too late to make full use of the reference. See below p. 99, Addendum B.

The Scent Theory.

The three spout vases confirm for the classes A and C the first impression that we get from the turned-in rim as such, that it is a more natural invention to prevent the spilling of a liquid than of a solid. They are not numerous enough to invalidate the further inference that the main types would naturally be used for a liquid which was used up in situ. Such a liquid could be either scent or (as argued by Dragendorff, *Thera* ii. pp. 117–8) oil.

It is just Classes A and C, however, that are most difficult to imagine as scent bottles, A being invariably lidless and C frequently so.⁹³ The only explanation⁹⁴ for lidless vases being used for scent would be a custom of leaving scent bowls about a room, like dried rose leaves in modern times. Such a custom is possible, but we have no record of it or analogies for it. If the scent were merely wanted for use on occasion, a lid would have been essential to prevent it evaporating.⁹⁵ The same is true of semi-solid scent or unguent.

For the invariably lidded Class B vases, this objection does not apply. They would serve admirably as liquid scent bottles: or if there should ever be found to be more evidence for unguent than for liquid scent in Ancient Greece, the turned-in rim could in that case be explained as a device for getting a small portion neatly off upon the finger.

Those⁹⁶ who argue that Class B in particular served for scent, identify them without question with a number of vases depicted, nearly always in the hands of women,⁹⁷ on white lekythoi⁹⁸ and red-figure vases.⁹⁹ It should be noticed that Class B vases are generally earlier in date than these representations,¹⁰⁰ and differ from most of them both in decoration and shape,¹⁰¹ the depicted vases showing much the greater variety. Cp. Fig. 14, 3–6.¹⁰² It is possible that Class B continued to flourish during the V and IV

⁹³ Above, p. 77.

⁹⁴ Suggested to us by Mr. E. J. Forsdyke.

⁹⁵ Pace Robinson, *Boston Museum Report*, 1899, p. 76.

⁹⁶ Furtwangler, *Sammel. Sabouroff*, zu Taf. 52 (discussing Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1860, p. 19, and Benndorf, *Gr. u. si. Vasenb.* p. 41); Pernice, p. 68; Kourouniotes, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1899, p. 235; Robinson, *Boston Mus. Rep.* 1899, p. 74.

⁹⁷ Note, however, pictured vases held by male figures on Athens 1113 (b.-f. skyphos from Tanagra) and on a r.-f. fragment at Bologna, Room X.

⁹⁸ E.g. Athens, 1760, 1775, 1821, 1823, 1843, 1845, 1922, 1936, 1943, 1946, 1955, 1963, 1987, 12784, 12785, 12789, 12790; Brit. Mus. D 65, Murray and Smith, *White Vases*, Pl. XXVII.

⁹⁹ E.g. Athens, 1172, 1340, 1344, 1636; Brit. Mus. E 376; Louvre, *Jahrb.* 1894, p. 57.

¹⁰⁰ So Pernice, p. 68. Robinson (p. 74),

misled by the pictures, dates our normal B as V cent. On dating of pictures see Fairbanks, *White Lekythoi*, p. 202. Note, however, pictured vases on b.-f. επίνητροι Dum. and Chap. I Pl. XIX. 6 (quoted Kourouniotes, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1899, p. 236), and on b.-f. skyphos, Athens 1113.

¹⁰¹ Pictured vases often have a moulding at top of stem, e.g. Fig. 14, 4, 5; B. M. E 103, E 376; Fairbanks, Figs. 51, 52. Contrast above, Fig. 6. Note also peculiar knob (?) or conical hd. of many pictured vases, e.g. Fig. 14, 3, 5, 6 and Fairbanks, Fig. 50. For an actual vase with something like this feature see Boston 81.318, high stemmed variant of class B shape but with practically no turned-in rim.

¹⁰² 3 = Madrid. Mus. Arch. 11189, Fairbanks Pl. VIII.; 4 = Boston 8440, ib. Pl. XII.; 5 = Cassel ap. *Arch. Anz.* 1898, p. 193, Fig. 13; 6 = de Witte, *Cat. Hôtel Lambert*, Pl. XXII, and Dar. Sagl. Fig. 2450 (*Διός κρέδιον*).

centuries, and grew more varied in type, and that vases like Berlin F 3621¹⁰³ and the Trieste vase described at the end of Class B represent two of many such variations. It is possible too that the pictures are not all of clay vases: the long narrow stems of some of them, e.g. Fig. 14, 3, recall not only the clay Trieste vase just referred to, but also three V or IV century stone vases of Class F. See Fig. 15.¹⁰⁴ It is significant that Berlin, Skul. Inv. 1460 (= Pernice, Fig. 9), the only F vase that resembles in shape the ordinary B, is itself probably late VI century, since it is reported¹⁰⁵ to have come from the grave of Aristion. It looks as if the marble vases were throughout parallel to class B, either serving the same use, or being expensive copies for some purely ornamental purpose. They are often made, bodies included, in various pieces with nothing but their weight and shape to keep them together.

In spite therefore of uncertainties it seems on the whole probable that Class F should be associated with the latest phases of B, and that the pictured representations are drawn from both. Though the depicted vases occur on funeral¹⁰⁶ as well as toilet scenes, they are more naturally explained as holding scent than as either censers or lamps, and their identification with Class B would, if certainly proved, strengthen the case for Class B being used for scent.

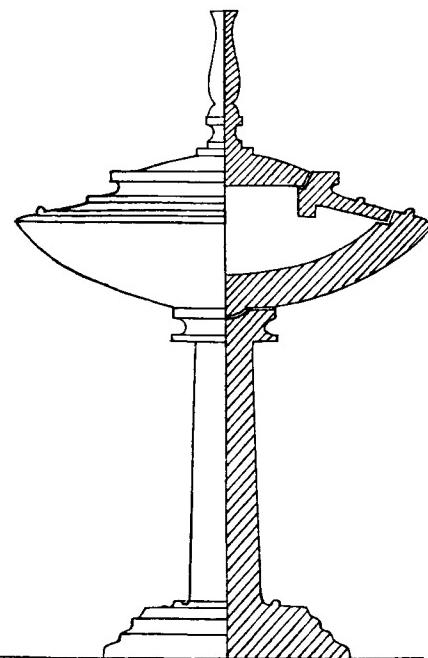


FIG. 15.—BOSTON, MUS. FINE ARTS, 81. 355.
(1 : 3.)

¹⁰³ Pernice, p. 70, Fig. 8. Note moulding round top of stem (so also Munich n. 28, which is, however, early) and ep. above n. 101.

Athens 2257 (n. 29) may be another late variant. It is something like knob of B.M. E 773, r-f. pyxis with toilet scene.

¹⁰⁴ Boston 81. 355. total hgt. 257 m., reproduced from a drawing kindly sent us by Mr. Fairbanks. Cf. Athens 11368, 12292.

On dating of class F see P. Hermann, *Arch. Anz.* 1898, p. 131, and refs. *ad loc.*

For same shape with little or no turned-in

rim see—in stone, Athens 11362, 11365, Berlin M.I. 6466, 7347, and (with handles and shorter stem) Bib. Nat. 4694; in clay, Candia 1237, 2065, 2066, 2965; Boston 81. 317, 81. 318 (Crete); Athens 2224 (Megara). Latter two with conical knob; see n. 101.

¹⁰⁵ Aus einer recht guter Quelle, Dr. Zahn in a letter to us, 27.2.'11. See also Kekule, *Arch. Anz.* 1893, p. 78.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. Fairbanks, Figs. 50 and 52 and Pl. XII.

The Lamp Theory.

The main difficulty in accepting the view that any or all of our vases are lamps is the absence of any provision for a leaning wick. The simple device of leaving the wick to project over a side spout had been known from Minoan times¹⁰⁷ and is the feature by which ancient lamps have hitherto been recognised.¹⁰⁸ None of our vases can have been made for such a wick, as their round and broad top, slightly sloping downwards and outwards, would have caused the oil to drip down the side.¹⁰⁹ They could be used only for a wick that either floated on the oil or stood on the bottom of the inside of the vase. A tin over cork float holding a small wick is used to-day in one kind of sanctuary lamp; it is conceivable that something similar was used in antiquity. Or it is possible that there was some way of getting the wick to stand at the bottom of the vase, e.g. by having either a wick lighter than the oil and anchored to the bottom by a small plate of metal, or a heavy wick arranged in stiff coils of sufficient weight not to spread or float, and allowing the top coil from time to time to be straightened, so as to protrude above the oil to the height required for lighting.¹¹⁰ In either case the light would not be brilliant. But on the other hand the vertical position of the wick would enable it to give the modicum of light with the least possible expenditure of oil.¹¹¹ It would not be a πότης λύχνος,¹¹² requiring τῶν παχειῶν θρυαλλίδων,¹¹³ but it might be στίλβη τις, ἥτις μὴ πότις.¹¹⁴ A modern sanctuary wick of the floating kind, floating in a Class A vase of .045 m. inner depth on only .015 m. of olive oil, so that spilling was impossible, showed up prettily the decoration round the interior rim,¹¹⁵ and gave enough light to read print by. See Fig. 16, p. 90.

We have evidence that such central wicks were used in Egypt. τὰ δὲ λύχνα, says Herodotus,¹¹⁶ describing a festival at Sais, ἐστι ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα ἀλὸς¹¹⁷ καὶ ἐλαίου, ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἔπεστι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον, καὶ τοῦτο καίεται παννύχιον.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. from Palaikastro alone *B.S.A.* viii. p. 291 and Pl. XVII. Figs. 1 and 3, and p. 296; *ibid.* ix. p. 326, Fig. 27, 1 and 4 and pp. 327-8.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. Dar.-Sagl. p. 1321 ‘abstraction faite des variétés, la lampe antique orientale, grecque ou romaine, était formée d’un récipient et d’un ou de plusieurs becs.’ Cp. however below, n. 117.

¹⁰⁹ Otherwise we might compare Petrie and Quibell, *Nuqada and Ballas*, Pl. V. 23 and pp. 14, 15, if, as burnt stain down one side of inside suggests, wick was *not* a floating one.

¹¹⁰ The principle would be the same as that of the modern coiled wax bougies (hgt. .055 m., diam. .045 m.) used by workmen who need safe and portable lights; with the difference of course that the bougies are themselves wick and wax, whereas in the other case the coil would be all wick, and the surrounding oil would take the

place of the wax.

¹¹¹ A central wick would consume less oil than a leaning one. The advantages of an upright wick in steadiness and economy must have been realised by the ancients, as is shown from their use of candles, though the problem of securing a satisfactory one for lamps was only solved with the invention of the modern safety lamp.

¹¹² Aristoph. *Nubes* 57.

¹¹³ *ib.* 59.

¹¹⁴ Plato *Comicus*, Meincke, p. 257, fr. 16.

¹¹⁵ This decoration of the inner rim and the inside generally would be equally appropriate for scent vases, but scarcely so for censers (*pace* Pernice, p. 67, cp. above, n. 89).

¹¹⁶ ii. 62.

¹¹⁷ For the use of the salt see Hdt. ii. ed. Wiedemann *ad loc.* and Toutain, Dar.-Sagl

That we appear to have no literary evidence for their use in Greece need not surprise us. We have little in regard to any kind of lamp, and if, as the statistics suggest, our vases¹¹⁸ were common only in Boeotia and the sphere of Corinthian influence and during the 'Corinthian' period, they would have little chance of impressing themselves on Attic literature. That lamps should be found in graves, as they are at Rhitsóna if our vases are such, is what we should naturally expect. Undisputed lamps have been found in use as grave furniture throughout antiquity,¹¹⁹ most commonly perhaps in Roman times, but frequently also during the Greek period,¹²⁰ both in Sicily,¹²¹ the East Mediterranean islands,¹²² Naukratis,¹²³ and on the mainland of Greece.¹²⁴

Apart from the want of provision for a leaning wick, there is in fact no feature in our Class A. vase, neither size, nor shape of body, nor shape of handles, which cannot be paralleled in undisputed ancient lamps.

p. 1322. ἐπιπολῆς and αὐτὸν are surely against Toutain's identification of the ἔμβάφιον with the open 'Punic' shell or saucer shaped lamp.

For possible representations of Egyptian lamps both with one and with several floating wicks see Davies, *El Amarna* Pts. II. Pl. XVIII-XX, pp. 19, 20; III. Pl. VII. p. 7; IV. Pl. XV. p. 13. The identification is uncertain: *ib.* II. pp. 19, 20, IV. p. 13. In more than one of the frescoes Akhenaten is pouring or sprinkling something on to the bowl, an odd proceeding if they are lamps. Possibly they are censers. The conjectured flames recall the hieroglyph for incense (pointed out to us by Mr. C. C. Edgar) and not that for fire. Actual plain bowls have however been found with apparent remains of wicks, e.g. v. Bissing, *Metallgefasse* pp. ix, x (*Raucherlampen*); Professor Petrie writes to us, Mar. 6, 1911, that he has found them at Tell el Amarna with marks of burning and smoke at the side: cp. above n. 109.

¹¹⁸ At least A. I., A. II., and C, which show 219 from Corinthian sphere out of 237 of known provenance.

¹¹⁹ Evidence for censers of undisputed type found in graves is scanty and weak. *Notiz. d. Scar.* 1889, p. 336; *Antiquary*, 1880, Pl. XI. Fig 1. Few have been found anywhere. For examples see *Arch. Anz.* 1899, p. 142, No. 14. On Pernice's theory, frequent occurrence of censers in sixth century graves might be explained by saying censers were then unusually cheap (owing to vogue of a form that could be made in clay) and grave furniture unusually elaborate. For use of incense at Roman, Egyptian, Babylonian, Jewish, and Christian funerals see Atchley, *Hist. of Incense*, references in index. Cp. Korte, *Gordium*, p. 72 Abb. 50, and pp. 85, 231.

¹²⁰ Pace Walters, *Anc. Pottery*, i. p. 106; ii.

p. 397 and Toutain *ap.* *Dar.-Sagl.* iii. p. 1338.

¹²¹ *Rom. Mitt.* 1898 ('Sicilian' cemetery of Licodia, but in same graves with Greek ware, 500 B.C. or earlier, Orsi, p. 323) pp. 315, 318, 319, 323, 331; *Mon. Ant.* i., Megara Hyblaea *Sepp.* lxix., clxxxii.; *ib.* ix. Camarina, Necrop. orient. (end of fifth century and whole of fourth, Orsi, pp. 245-6) *Sepp.* 8, 16; Necrop. metid. (B.C. 339-258, Orsi, p. 272) *Sepp.* 4, 12, 37, 39, 43, 45, 49, 54, 60, 72; *ib.* xiv. Camarina, in over 30 different graves, four of which, 374, 444 (see *ib.* p. 873), 476, 503 contained r.-f.; *ib.* xvii., Gela, pp. 67, 71, 72, 422, *Sepp.* 90 (with b.-f.), 107, 113 (fifth century), 38.

¹²² Thera, Dragendorff, ii. p. 75; Melos, *B.S.A.* iii. p. 6; Rhodes, *Brit. Mus.* F 111 (=Fig. 17a, Kameiros, with b.-f.); Cyprus, *Jahrb.* i. p. 151 (fifth century), *ib.* ii. pp. 87-88, *Antiquary* 1880 p. 136, *J.H.S.* xii. pp. 310, 311 (two tonubs, one with b.-f.), xvii. p. 154 (Hellenistic); Crete, *Mon. Ant.* xi. p. 378 (with late r.-f.).

¹²³ *Naukratis* ii. p. 29 'lamps of various periods and shapes, including most of the prevalent Greek types.' Unfortunately Prof. Gardner thought it would be 'tedious to carry this enumeration into further details.'

¹²⁴ Sparta, *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 162-3 and Fig. 6, Hellenistic; Delphi, *Fouilles* v. pp. 163-5, end of fifth (fourth?) century; W. Locris, *Πρακτ.* 1906, pp. 130-3, fourth-third century; Rhitsóna, two of latest Hellenistic graves, to be published later; Tanagra, Δελτ. 1888, pp. 106, 107, 128, and Chalcis, *Πρακτ.* 1900, p. 63, apparently Hellenistic.

The evidence is mainly Sicilian, but it should be remembered how much more completely the Sicilian cemeteries have been excavated, and how fully and excellently the excavations have been recorded.

The size of our Class A. vases, with their average external diameter of .175 m. in A. I., .147 in A. II., and their average diameter of mouth of .098 in A. I. and .081 in A. II. is obviously larger than that of the common types of

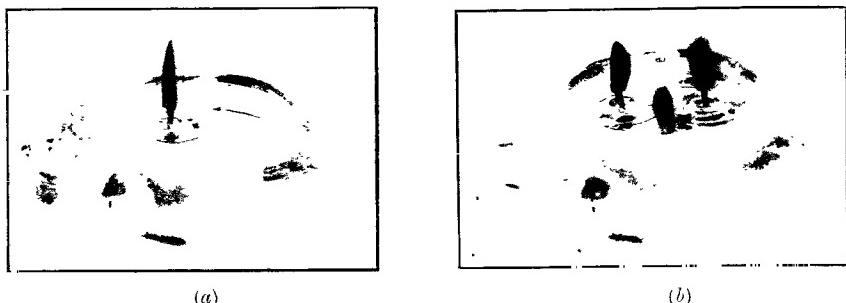


FIG. 16.—A. II VASE WITH (a) ONE AND (b) THREE BURNING WICKS. (About 1 : 3). See p. 88.

lamps with leaning wicks, and has probably done much to prejudge the question as to whether they served a similar purpose. In point of fact, however, the size of the Polledrara lamp (below Fig. 20) and of some of the flat open lamps of the primitive Punic type¹²⁵ shows that .14 m. is not a very

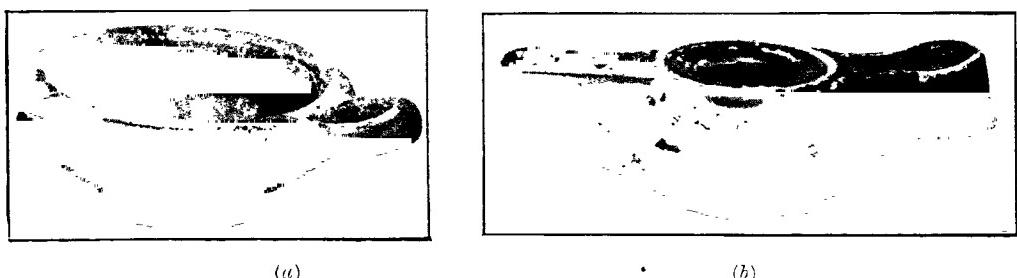


FIG. 17.—BRIT. MUS. LAMPS FROM (a) KAMEIROS, F 111, (b) KALYMNOS. (1 : 2). See p. 91.

surprising diameter for an early lamp. A lamp from Naukratis in the British Museum with a dedication that is possibly early V century¹²⁶ actually has diameter .158 m., of mouth .12 m., interior depth .03 m. For lamps of large

¹²⁵ E.g. (i.) clay—Bologna, No. Palagi 301¹, diam. .12 m.; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., Cyprus, Arsinoe Cemetery, .11 m., Cyprus, gift H. Bulwer, .135 m.; Cesnola, *Cypriote Antiqs.* ii. 2, Pl. CXXXVIII., 1907, .14 m., 1002², .16 m., 1003², .18 m.: Louvre A 228, 227², Cyprus, .145 m., .13 m.; Rouen, Carthage, Fouilles Gauckler 1899², .13 m.; Turin 2151², .10 m.; (ii.) bronze—Brit. Mus., Cyprus, Enkomi .16 m. (breadth); Cambridge, Fitzw., Arsinoe Cemetery, .13 m.; Cesnola, *Cypriote Antiqs.* iii. 1, Pl. XLIV. 3², .125 m. [²=2

nozzles].

Note also Tsountas-Manatt, p. 80, Mycenaean lamp 8 in. (.20 m.) long.

¹²⁶ B.S.A. v. Pl. IV. No. 57. Prof. E. Gardner writes to us (28.2.'11) that there is no reason to place it later, though it may be slightly so.

Cp. also Etruscan lamp, Cortona Mus., Dar. Sagl. p. 1332, diam. .84 m.

For a suggested explanation of large size of our hypothetical sixth century lamps see below, pp. 93, 94.

size cp. also Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. pp. 87–89, largest examples '185 m. long (diam. about '11 m.); *Notiz. d. Scav.* 1904, p. 134, *bella lucerna attica diam. '115 m.* Lamps of the size and capacity of ordinary kothons or even bigger are by no means unknown in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹²⁷

If we turn to *shape of body* we find that the so-called Attic lamp has the same flat round body and comparatively open top as our vases. Frequently too we see a distinct tendency towards the turned-in rim,¹²⁸ as in Fig. 17a (about 500 B.C.)¹²⁹ This was essentially the shape of many Roman lamps as well, as can be seen by looking at broken specimens that have lost the nozzle and central medallion.¹³⁰

In regard to *handles* it is precisely the early Attic lamps that frequently have a horizontal handle in the position the handle occupies on our Class A. II. and III. vases.¹³¹ The probably IV century lamp from Kalymnos illustrated Fig. 17b¹³² has the ribbon handle of our Class A. II. One at Turin¹³³ has also the curling extremities. These latter must have been useful for steadyng the vase with the thumb and second finger while the first finger

¹²⁷ E.g., Athens 3112 (late Greek), diam. '13 m., lgth. '26 m., hgt. '06 m.; 3113⁴ bdth. '13 m., diag. '26 m., hgt. '07 m.; 3299⁸, lgth. '28 m., bdth. '12 m.; Bari 2696¹, diam. '15 m.; Brit. Mus. from Pozzuoli, boat shaped,²³ '60 × '16 m.; Corneto, Mus. Municip. 370³, diam. '34 m.; Genoa, Palaz. Bianche, Scavi di Libarna, '13 m., '12 m.; Leeds (Lanuvium), diam. '13 m., hgt. '05 m.; Parma,⁷ semi-circular, bdth. '13 m.; Rome, Mus. d. Terme, Antiq. Rom., 39268, diam. '13 m.; Rouen, horse-head medallion,² diam. '16 m.; Ruvo,³ centre like Dar.-Sagl. Fig. 4578, from nozzle to nozzle '26 m.; York (Miss Hutton, 1848), diams. '13 m., '14 m.

Lamps '10 or '11 m. diam. are more numerous still, e.g. Athens 3109², 3116², 3154,² 3285; Bari 1581, 1693², 1840; Bologna, Nos. Università, 79, 197; Parma, 1845; Ruvo, 34, 35, 1649; Turin 424 (bronze).

[2, 3, etc] = No. of nozzles: rest one nozzle.]

For Hellenistic (?) cp. also Deonna, *B.C.H.* 1908, p. 141, 'Class iv. mainly fourth-third century.' 'Quelques lampes à tube se distinguent . . . par plusieurs particularités: les dimensions en sont beaucoup plus grandes.' It is to be regretted that M. Deonna gives no instances and measurements.

¹²⁸ Cp. Pernice himself p. 67, so hat man bei offenen Lampen den Rand eingebogen, damit das Öl möglichst sicher in dem Gefäß blieb.

¹²⁹ Above n. 122. Depth '032 m. Inner rim '01 m.; diam. '085 m.; Reproduced by kind permission of Mr. A. H. Smith. So also

Delos, *B.C.H.* '08 p. 141, type not anterior to 3rd cent., les bords en sont fortement recourbés vers l'intérieur: Priene, Zahn, *Priene* p. 449, Fig. 555, No. 169; Athens 3361; B. M., 55, 12–20. 11 (Catania); Bari 1250, 1251, 1693; Ruvo 1139; Bologna Nos. Univ. 188, 189, *Palugi* 647, 650, 651, 652, 653.

¹³⁰ E.g. Athens, 3100; Bari 3737; Genoa, Scavi di Libarna; York, a lamp in grey clay with 3 nozzles.

¹³¹ The form generally approximates to our A. III. e.g. Aegina, Thiersch *op. Furtw.* p. 488 class 5; Athens 3292; Delphi *Fouilles* v. p. 165 Nos. 311–4; Genoa, Palazzo Bianche Nos. 59 and two others (Sardinia); Bologna *Palagi* 645; Bari 1250, 1251, 1567, 1577; Ruvo No. 110, and one without number; Calais, one of 4 numbered 445 ('from S. France'); Rouen two unnumbered from Campana coll.; B. M. one from Sardinia, another from Kertsch. The same shaped lamp left in pale clay colour and producing much the impression of an A. III. vase (on which, however, see below p. 95) is frequent in Italian Museums, e.g. Bari 1563, 2342–2346, 3333 (diam. '085–'105 m.); Ruvo, 110; Trieste, 1148 (Tarentum); ep. Aegina Taf. 122, 44 and 45 (*pace* Thiersch's Cretan parallels *ib.* p. 467). Cp. below n. 143.

¹³² Brit. Mus. 4th vase room. Acquired by Newton 1856. Reproduced by kind permission of Mr. A. H. Smith. Hgt. '0375 m. Cp. Bologna *Palagi* 325; Brit. Mus. 56, 8–26. 346 (Kalymnos), 08, 5–17. 5 (Ephesus), 52, 6–19. 24.

¹³³ Grave of Tharros a Phoenician Colony in Sardinia.

was inserted in the handle from above. They would thus serve much the same purpose as the 'ailettes' of the ordinary Attic lamp.

The three horizontal attachments of our A. I. vases seem not to occur on any Attic lamps, but something very similar is seen on a fragment from Aegina,¹³⁴ hand-made, in grey clay, with body of the characteristic Attic shape. It is probably a degenerate variety of this arrangement that we find on many Roman lamps.¹³⁵ That these attachments on Roman lamps were originally meant for suspension is shown by such bronze lamps as Turin No. 427,¹³⁶ which has three similar attachments, bored, and with remains of wire in them.¹³⁷ Some Roman terra-cotta lamps have two of these attachments, and an ordinary back handle¹³⁸ representing a type that could be either carried or hung.¹³⁹

Apart from these points of detail which Classes A. I. and A. II. have in common with undisputed lamps, a natural place can be found for them in the general history of the ancient lamp. The unbridged spout lamp seems^{139a} to have developed into the bridged spout lamp in Minoan times,¹⁴⁰ and it is just possible that Thiersch is right in claiming that both survived into Classical times, though his only evidence is thirteen Aeginetan lamps,¹⁴¹ nine bridged, four unbridged, of coarse local fabric that belongs at the earliest to the Geometric period. Such local ware, however, as Furtwangler himself observes,¹⁴² is often much later than its appearance suggests. In shape all thirteen might well be VI century.¹⁴³ It is *a priori* probable that the far superior bridged spout would have driven out the unbridged in Minoan times if progress had not been interrupted: the use

¹³⁴ Taf. 121, 51 = No. 2 of Thiersch's list. For dating see below n. 143.

¹³⁵ E.g. Genoa, Palazzo Bianche, 2430, 2432, 2433, and two others; Parma, antie. romane raccolte nella prov. di Parma, sev. exx: others from Velleia; Ancona 2 exx.; Bologna, Nos. Univ. 9, 18, 28, 38, 39, Palagi 353, 359, 363, 371, 376, 379, 382; Ronen, signed Crescens, found at Rouen 1862; ib. signed Ulpie, found ib. 1872. A Brit. Mus. lamp of this type from Mutina has the three attachments bored.

¹³⁶ Cp. Mau, *Pompeii*, 1902, pp. 372, 374; Brit. Mus. 2530 (chains complete); Turin No. 431 (wires attached respectively to a small ring above the (single back) handle, and the moulded decoration on either side of nozzle); cp. n. 138.

¹³⁷ Cp. above n. 8.

¹³⁸ E.g. Bologna Univ. 30; Parma, lamp Velleia with 2 nozzles; Bari 254.

¹³⁹ Cp. Candia, 2067, above n. 9.

^{139a} See however p. 97, Addendum A.

¹⁴⁰ B.S.A. ix. p. 326, Fig. 27, and 327, quoted by Deonna, B.C.H. 1908, p. 140, who, however, *pace* Waec's unfortunate eulogy, *Year's Work*, 1909, p. 49, does not face the problem

they raise.

¹⁴¹ Ap. Furtw. *Aegina* p. 468 'Handgemachte' 1 and 3. His claim that a lamp from Phaestos, *Mon. Ant.* 1902, p. 101, Fig. 34-5, is the prototype of the VI. century lamp with central tube is very doubtful. Dr. Hatzidakis has most kindly sent us a cast. The central tube is connected by a hole in its side with the interior of the vase, and can scarcely have been used to put on a spike. It seems rather as though the central tube was connected with the oil and wick, and that this particular lamp is an instance of some Minoan device or other (? reservoir and piston) that did not come down to the Greeks.

¹⁴² Ib. p. 441; Cp. J.H.S. xxx. p. 346, n. 59.

¹⁴³ The majority (9 bridged) are precisely the Attic shape. For the four unbridged cp. our VI. cent. Fig. 18. All Thiersch's numerous lamps of certain date are classical, the oldest (see his Class 7) being Attic-shaped Corinthian. The knuckle-bones of his one other hand-made example (above n. 134) finding as they do their closest parallels in our A. I and C, distinctly suggest VI. century.

in Cyprus and Phoenicia during the dark ages of the open shell or saucer type looks as if the invention had been lost. There were probably few lamps of any kind in Greece during that period: no actual examples can be suggested except the problematical thirteen from Aegina. *οὐ παλαιὸν εὑρῆμα λύχνος*, says Athenaeus,¹⁴⁴ φλογὶ δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῆς τε δαδὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξύλων ἔχρωντο. The end of the VII and beginning of the VI century, just the period when our A. I and early A. II vases were being made, seems to have witnessed great developments in the use of lamps, which resulted towards the end of the VI century¹⁴⁵ in the dominance of the bridged Attic type. That the type was re-invented at that period we cannot be sure, but it is at least as probable an hypothesis as that of Thiersch. In any case we know that lamps with unbridged nozzle like Thiersch's Aeginetan examples did exist in the VI century. One from Eleusis,¹⁴⁶ Fig. 18, is of Corinthian fabric. One from Delos¹⁴⁷ is of the oldest type found there, but is doubtless classical like the rest of the numerous Delian lamps. A second Eleusis example (unnumbered) is of black glaze and plainly not earlier than the VI century: it may well date from the latter half of it. Was this unbridged type crushed out of the market, as even on Thiersch's hypothesis it must have been, not by one single line of improvement, but by two competing ones?

Now we need only compare our Fig. 18 with Figs. 3, 4, and 5 to see that its general resemblance to Class A. II and III is as striking as that which it shows to the earliest classical lamps with bridged nozzle. The natural inference is that 'kothons' were another development of the Fig. 18 type of lamp, and that they present another solution of the problem¹⁴⁸ of how to avoid spilling, which at first gained great popularity, especially in the sphere of Corinthian influence,¹⁴⁹ but was driven out when Athenian influence became dominant. The large size of the Class A. vases can be accounted for. Hitherto there had been obvious reasons for reducing the supply of oil in the lamp to the minimum possible. When this necessity was removed



FIG. 18.—LAMP AT ELEUSIS. (2 : 3.)

¹⁴⁴ 700 e.

¹⁴⁵ Orsi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1898, p. 315; 1909, p. 69. Note also *Arch. Anz.* 1910 pp. 226-7, Abb. 26 (v. Stern's Excavations at Berezani), clay lamp with 6th cent. incised inscription. Thiersch's Attic-shaped Corinthian lamps (see n. 143), being so very few, are not against this dating; it is not clear from his account whether the nozzle is ever preserved so as to show presence or absence of bridge, and it is im-

possible to identify them in his confusing Taf. 130. 9.

¹⁴⁶ Diam. '055 m. Reproduced by kind permission of Mr. A. N. Skias.

¹⁴⁷ *B.C.H.* 1908, p. 139, Fig. 1.

¹⁴⁸ The small cup with bridged spout, hgt. '05 m., *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 258 Fig. 9 (from Grave 50, circ. 550 B.C.) may possibly be yet a third attempt at the same problem.

¹⁴⁹ Above, p. 89, n. 118.

by the invention of a safety lamp, people naturally went at first to the opposite extreme.¹⁵⁰ The possibility of using more than one wick may also have made a large size convenient.¹⁵¹

The parallels from undisputed lamps that affect the characteristics of Classes C and B are less distinctive. None the less it is worth noting that neither tripod foot, lid, nor central stem, is unknown for them.

Although *tripod feet* for undisputed terra-cotta lamps seem not to be known, there is in the Naples museum (inv. 72198) a bronze lamp¹⁵² with flat cylindrical body like some of our vases¹⁵³ and three nozzles, resting on a tripod¹⁵⁴ of lion's claw feet like that of our Class C vase from Rhitsóna Grave 49.¹⁵⁵ This seems the only lamp with such feet (and it, as the inventory numbers show, is not a quite certain example¹⁵⁴), but numerous bronze lamp-stands with three moulded lion's feet¹⁵⁶ have been found at Pompeii¹⁵⁷ and one at Bosco Reale.¹⁵⁸ The last has cross pieces joining the three feet like those of many of our Class C vases.¹⁵⁹ The resemblance is noted by Pernice himself¹⁶⁰ in his publication of the Bosco Reale bronzes at Berlin.

A *lid* (to cover nozzle as well as body but not fitting closely over the former) is seen on a black glaze lamp at Eleusis (Fig. 19).¹⁶¹ A lamp from Tarentum at Trieste No. 1127 in red clay has a round lid with a knob. Note also an open Attic black glazed lamp from Catania, Brit. Mus. 55. 12–20. 11, with a ledge that could receive a lid like the ledges that receive the lids of our Class B.¹⁶²

A *central stem* is also common. ‘Les lampes à pied sont, on l' a vu (p. 1320, Fig. 4564), aussi anciennes que la lampe elle-même.’¹⁶³ The early Hellenic lamps with a central hole¹⁶⁴ for placing on an upright rod or spike

¹⁵⁰ It is possible that at least in Boeotia the kothon manufacturers were beginning at the end of their period to diminish the size of their vases. Of 86 found at Rhitsóna (*B.S.A.* xiv. and *J.H.S.* xxix.) 7 are distinctly smaller than the rest. Of these, one, diam. '11 m., is from the early Grave 49, but the other 6 (diam. '07–'08, which would not be exceptional for a moulded lamp) come from graves of the later group (one from 26, two each from 18 and 46, the two latest of our large Boeotian-kyllix graves, one from unpublished Grave 2).

¹⁵¹ There would be no need to imagine only one wick in each, though it would be economical to be able to use only one: see above, Fig. 16.

¹⁵² *Dar.-Sagl.* p. 1324, Fig. 4578 (de style très ancien et qui rappelle les poteries noires étrusques) and *Mus. Borbon.* xv. Pl. XXII. Diam. '128 m.; of mouth 086 m.; int. depth '02 m.

¹⁵³ E.g. *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. X. c.

¹⁵⁴ Inv. No. 72324. The Director writes:

non è affatto sicuro fosse il piede della lampada di cui sopra.

¹⁵⁵ *B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. IX. i.

¹⁵⁶ Cp. note 34, and also above, Figs. 10 and 11.

¹⁵⁷ Mau, p. 374, Fig. 203; Brit. Mus. W.T. 859; for possible iron lamp stand with tripod foot found in sixth century Cyprian grave see Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Jahrb.* ii. pp. 87 and 88.

¹⁵⁸ Pernice, *Arch. Anz.* 1900, p. 182, Nos. 6 and 7, and Fig. 7.

¹⁵⁹ Above, p. 76, n. 36.

¹⁶⁰ *Arch. Anz.* *ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Reproduced by the kind permission of Mr. A. N. Skias. Diam. '08 m.

¹⁶² Cp. also Toutain *ap.* *Dar.-Sagl.* 1328; Mau, *Pompeii*, p. 370, and Figs. 195 and 196; Berlin 8466 (= *Arch. Anz.* 1894, p. 120, No. 26).

¹⁶³ J. Toutain *ap.* *Dar.-Sagl.* p. 1335.

¹⁶⁴ E.g. *Dar.-Sagl.* p. 1336, Figs. 4610 and 4611.

show that the essential idea of a central stem was a familiar one during our period,¹⁶⁵ quite apart from any question of a Minoan predecessor.¹⁶⁶

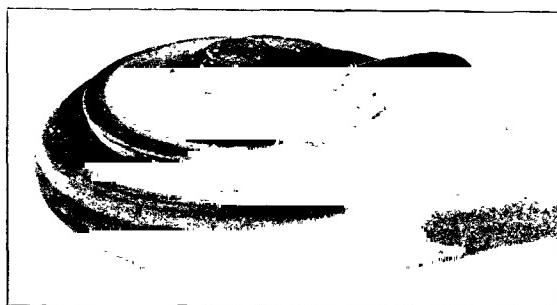


FIG. 19.—LIDDED LAMP AT ELEUSIS. (3 : 4.)

Conclusions.

As is inevitable where there is no external evidence and many lines of argument of varying importance and plausibility have to be balanced, our conclusions can only be tentative and provisional. We believe that the balance of probability is that Classes A. I. and A. II. and the deep rimmed specimens of A. III.¹⁶⁷ are lamps for central wicks. Most A. III. vases are separated from the rest of Class A by the shallowness of their turned-in rims. These shallow-rimmed A. III. vases could be emptied, a fact which makes many uses conceivable for them that are out of the question for the rest of Class A. The striking resemblance, however, of such specimens as Bari 514 (diam. '105 m.) and 756 (diam. '10 m.) to such lamps as Bari 2342, 2346, 3333 (diam. '10m., '095 m., '085 m.; cp. also above Fig. 17*a*) inclines us to put them with the rest of Class A.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ For actual stemmed lamps, mainly Hellenistic, see *B.C.H.* 1908, p. 144, Fig. 5, and cp. pp. 142-4 and refs. *ad loc.*; *ibid.* 1909, p. 394, No. 356 (478 M I O); Dar.-Sagl. p. 1335, Fig. 4606; Athens 3149; *ibid.* 9781, black glaze, horizontal handle, fairly open top; Louvre, Salle A, No. S 337; open top, three nozzles; *ibid.* Salle H. Case O-P. deep saucer-shaped receptacle.

¹⁶⁶ Above n. 141.

¹⁶⁷ Above, p. 74.

¹⁶⁸ Pernice has apparently (Walters-Birch, i. 141, n. 1) found one or more Class A vases blackened as with burning. The one in the Castello at Milan undoubtedly is. There are none blackened or otherwise showing obvious signs of use from unburnt graves at Rhitsóna, and on the whole it seems most probable that the blackened vases come from burnt graves, or else that the blackening was done in modern

times (possibly by *τυμβωρύχοι*, who sometimes use common vases from the graves they are robbing as lamps or candlesticks to aid them in their necessarily nocturnal operations). Though it cannot be maintained that all grave furniture was bought expressly for the occasion, it is *a priori* probable that much of it was new. Some of it certainly was (cp. *μήτε πράμενον μήτε στκφ* ap. *J.H.S.* xxix. p. 342). Do unbored A. I knuckle-bones point to special funeral ware, or rather, as Candia n. 9. suggests, that suspension was giving way to carrying?). If these traces of burning could be proved to be due to use in antiquity, they would, combined with the evidence for liquid contents, be a strong point in favour of the lamp theory.

At Camarina, lekythoi often showed traces of oil (Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xiv. pp. 902-3). We have noted such traces in no Rhitsóna kothon vase.

On the whole it seems most probable that the Class C vases are also lamps. That is the only explanation that can be applied to the whole class; for the lidless examples can scarcely be scent vases,¹⁶⁹ and the censer theory is extremely unlikely for the spout vase Fig. 12, which except for the spout is a normal Class C vase. The decorated inner rims of the lidless Athens 938, 12037 (n. 41) support for them the lamp theory as against the censer theory, though their imitation ring handles (n. 40) do not seem at all appropriate for lamps, and never occur in A. I. (nn. 7-9). Most vases of this class would not make such good lamps as the normal A. I. or A. II., since the turned-in rim is generally deeper in proportion to the width of the mouth than in the characteristic A vase. The class is not so homogeneous as A and B, and possibly the vases we have grouped under it were not all used for the same purpose. It seems to us more probable, however, that this variety is due to their being a more elaborate article. The proportionate depth of turned-in rim to width of mouth is only slightly greater in the most extreme Class C vases than it is in the corresponding cases for A. I. and A. II.

Class B is sharply marked off from A and C by the plainness of the inner rim and the fact that the lid seems an essential¹⁷⁰ feature of the vase.¹⁷¹ Our discussion of all three theories leaves the scent theory the most probable one both for Class B and also for Class F.

In Class D (intermediate and variant vases) the main intermediate groups¹⁷² appear most probably to be lamps.¹⁷³ The variants would have to be taken one by one. The Munich vase at least¹⁷⁴ is so divergent that its use may well have been different from that of any of our main types. We take it to be a pyxis.

Of the three Class E (spout) vases, we have already¹⁷⁵ classed two ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1899, p. 234 and above Fig. 12) with A. II. and C respectively. Their spouts may have been intended either to receive a wick¹⁷⁶ or for replenishing the lamp without disturbing the burning of a central wick, or, more probably, for emptying dregs. The spout of Fig. 13 cannot, from its size¹⁷⁷ and the angle at which it is set, have been used for a wick. It is also so low down that a central wick would have been too much buried in the vase to give a reasonable light. It is possibly, as Dr. Bulle suggests, a sauce tureen. Note, however, that its lion's face spout, set a quarter of the way round from the handle, recalls one type of black glaze askos.¹⁷⁸

¹⁶⁹ Above, p. 86.

¹⁷⁰ Pernice's explanation that they are extinguishers is therefore not adequate. The lidless lamps quoted p. 94, are for the same reason scarcely an argument for B being lamps.

¹⁷¹ And also perhaps by the comparative narrowness of the mouth in proportion to the total width.

¹⁷² P. 78, n. 45, 46, 48.

¹⁷³ Lidlessness excludes scent theory.

¹⁷⁴ Above n. 53.

¹⁷⁵ P. 84.

¹⁷⁶ In which case for Fig. 12 ep. perhaps Fig. 20; and, for position of spout in relation to handle, for Kourouniotes' vase ep. saucer lamps with spout on either side of handle (e.g. Cesnola, *Cypr. Antiqs.* ii. Pl. CXXXVIII. 1002, 1003), for Fig. 12, cp. Fig. 17a, B.M. F 111.

¹⁷⁷ Which also renders impossible a comparison with similar shaped brazier ventilators. *Jahrb.* v. p. 134.

¹⁷⁸ E.g. Bari 1127, 2400, 3605; Ruvo 308. Brit. Mus. G 84.

For the iron Fig. 10 and Pernice's half iron vase there is a possible *a priori* case for the censer theory. On the other hand the Naples bronze lamp, n. 152 (diam. 128 m.) and the British Museum bronze lamp Fig. 20¹⁷⁹ (diam. 14 m.) lend a certain amount of contemporary support to the lamp



FIG. 20.—BRIT. MUS. BRONZE LAMP FROM POLLEDRARA. (3 : 7.)

theory, at least for the bronze vases.¹⁸⁰ Possibly the iron vases were censers, the bronze vases lamps. Neither can well be meant for scent: but other uses, e.g. as mere chafing-pans or as cooking vessels for some special unknown purpose, are not inconceivable.

R. M. BURROWS.
P. N. URE.

ADDENDA.

A.—*Minoan Lamps.*

Since the printing of this article, fresh facts¹⁸¹ about the Minoan lamp have come to our notice, that have important bearings on our discussion above, pp. 92–4) of the history of the lamp in early classical times.

Not only are the lamps with bridged nozzles that have been assigned to the Minoan period very few in number, but even of these few several may possibly have been assigned to it wrongly. The lamps from Palaikastro, *B.S.A.* ix. p. 326, Fig. 27, 2 and 3, are very possibly Hellenic.¹⁸² That is the impression produced by their shapes,¹⁸³ quite apart from the

¹⁷⁹ From Polledrara grave about 600 B.C.: *J.H.S.* xiv. pp. 206 f. Micali, *Mon. Ind.* p. 69 No. 8, and Tav. viii. 8, places it as a standard lamp on B.M. 50. 2–27. 40. It looks insecure there, and he gives no evidence.

¹⁸⁰ Above, p. 82, nn. 74, 75, and Fig. 11.

¹⁸¹ Communicated to me by Professor Burrows from Candia in a letter of Mar. 25—P. N. U.

¹⁸² Professor Bosanquet writes (4/4/11) that this is his view. Mr. Dawkins, however, writes (Melos, 4/4/11), 'I thought them at the time Late Min. and can now say no more. The temple (p. 98, l. 1) does make them a little uncertain, but I do not know that they were found near it.'

¹⁸³ More like the normal early classical

than *B.S.A.* ix. Fig. 27 suggests. Professor Bosanquet suggests (letter, 4/4/11) that the *B.S.A.* drawings may be accurate, and that Mr. Burrows and Sig. Halbheir (n. 184) were examining not the Fig. 27 lamps but two similar ones. He points out that only a very small proportion even of the whole vases found in the excavations are to be seen in the Museum cases. It is to be regretted how seldom either excavators or museum curators yet realise the great importance of presenting their material in a way that makes correct statistics possible. In the present case, however, the small number of Minoan lamps with bridged nozzles seems to be beyond dispute. If Professor Bosanquet is right in his suggestion, it

bridge, and strengthened by the fact that remains of a Hellenic temple were found above the site.¹⁸⁴ The Phaestos lamp, *Mon. Ant.* xii. p. 102, Fig. 34 (above, p. 92, n. 141), is altogether too problematical in shape to be quoted in this connexion. The only clay example that appears to be unquestionable¹⁸⁵ is a Zakro¹⁸⁶ lamp, *B.S.A.* vii. Fig. 41 (referred to ix. p. 327, n. 1).

Against these few and for the most part doubtful bridged examples there can be set 80¹⁸⁷ small clay lamps with unbridged nozzles from Palaikastro, Zakro, Chamaizi, Koumasa, and Phaestos, besides stone lamps¹⁸⁸ and the large clay lamps from Gourniā.¹⁸⁹

In fact, even if all the doubtful examples are Minoan, lamps with bridged nozzles are so rare in Minoan times and unbridged examples comparatively so abundant, that it would appear that the bridged nozzle had hardly got beyond the experimental stage. Even assuming therefore that the main features of the Minoan lamp survived through the dark ages, it is yet distinctly improbable that this particular feature was preserved.

Of the 80 lamps just referred to, only two (Phaestos, 3548, 3553) have the horizontal handle that is characteristic of the early Classical period. The rest have either some form of vertical handle (*e.g.* *B.S.A.* ix. p. 326, Fig. 27, 1 and 4), a straight stick handle like a saucepan or warming-pan (*e.g.* *Gourniā*, Pl. II. No. 55), or no handle at all.

Lids (above, p. 94) are fairly common in small clay Minoan lamps. *E.g.* Palaikastro¹⁹⁰ 5641, 5612, 5623; Zakro¹⁹¹ 2242 and unnumbered; Chamaizi¹⁹² 3511, 3516; Hagia Triada¹⁹³ 26-3-1900.

Lamps of large size (above, p. 90) are quite common in the Minoan period. *E.g.* (1) stone, *B.S.A.* ix. p. 294, diam. .30 m.; xi. pp. 279, 280 diams. .33, .24; *Gourniā*, p. 30, No. 69 (Late Min.), .21: p. 36, Nos. 26-29, .43, .36, .36, .40: Vaphio, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889, p. 154, int. diams. .16, .14; (2) clay. *Gourniā*, p. 30, Nos. 68 (M.M.), 73 (M.M.), 75 (L.M.), .26, .32, .23.

These facts about handles, lids, and dimensions are also against a direct Minoan pedigree for the Attic lamp. They show that the features of the

only means that four lamps with bridged nozzles instead of two out of the small number of reputed Minoan examples are possibly Hellenic.

¹⁸⁴ Sig. Halbherr tells Mr. Burrows that the clay also does not seem to him to be Minoan.

¹⁸⁵ Professor Bosanquet writes (4/4/11) that he remembers no post-Minoan objects from the Zakro pits. Mr. Dawkins writes to the same effect.

¹⁸⁶ Professor Burrows writes that of the 'occasional' instances of bridged nozzles from Zakro vaguely referred to *B.S.A.* ix. p. 327 he can find in the Museum only one, and that that one is exactly like the numerous Hellenic lamps from Gortyn.

¹⁸⁷ Counted by Mr. Burrows in Candia Museum.

¹⁸⁸ *E.g.* *Gourniā* (Hawes), Pl. II. Nos. 69, 76, 77, V. Nos. 26-29; *Pseira* (Seager), pp. 31-33 (22 exx., all apparently with unbridged wick cuttings); *Phylakopi*, pp. 209-211 (5 exx.); Vaphio, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889, p. 154, Πιν. 7, 20 (2 exx.).

[Mr. Burrows counted 40 in Candia Museum.]

¹⁸⁹ *Gourniā*, Pl. II. Nos. 68, 73, 75. For unbridged clay lamps, *ep.* also *Phylakopi*, pp. 209-10 (4 exx. and fragments); Vaphio, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889, p. 152, Πιν. 7, 13 (3 exx.).

¹⁹⁰ Not actually on lamps; shaped for spouts; 5623 blackened at nozzle.

¹⁹¹ Both on lamps.

¹⁹² 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1906, Πιν. 10. Found in position by Mr. Xanthoudides; blackened where it abuts on blackened nozzle.

¹⁹³ Standard lamp: hgt. without lid, .35 m.

Minoan lamp that are most likely to have been remembered through the dark ages are the unbridged nozzle and the frequent large dimensions. Such a tradition, if it existed, would completely harmonise with our view that kothons, in spite of their size and lack of nozzle, are lamps, derived from the unbridged type of our Fig. 18, and that the Attic lamp with bridged nozzle is a rival development from the same type.

B.—*The Silver Ptolemaic Kothon Vase from Toukh el Qarmous.*

Mr. C. C. Edgar has kindly sent photographs of this vase,¹⁹⁴ and further references to the literature that concerns it.¹⁹⁵ It rests on three short feet and has a fluted stem narrowing upwards, and certainly bears a distinct general resemblance to the series figured by Schreiber, *Alexandrinische Torerutik*, p. 444, Fig. 131, and discussed *ad loc.* These latter are shown by originals with the bowls burnt (*e.g.* Petrie, *Hawara*, Pl. 15, 4, 6, 8 = Schreiber, Fig. 131, 4, 5, 6), as also by representations of them with a fire (>< lamp flames) burning in the bowl (*e.g.* Schreiber, *Reliefbilder*, Taf. 75 = *Alex. Tor.* Fig. 131, 3), to have been incense-burners, or at any rate braziers. Only, if Mr. Edgar's vase belongs to the series, it appears to be the only one with the turned-in rim.¹⁹⁶

Mr. Edgar assigns to this vase a tall perforated lid (hgt. '12 m.). This lid he is undoubtedly right in connecting with censer lids like our Fig. 14, 1, rather than with the perforated lamp lids that he also quotes.¹⁹⁷ But it does not seem quite¹⁹⁸ certain that the lid belongs. There is apparently nothing to keep it in position. Two such lids were found at Toukh el Qarmous, and also a second similar silver vase (hgt. '20 m.), of which Mr. Edgar kindly sent a sketch. This second vase, which has a high external rim round the mouth but apparently no turned-in rim, is admirably suited for keeping a high lid in position, and appears to be the regular type¹⁹⁹ for which such lids were intended.

To judge therefore from a hasty examination of the literature and without having seen any of the originals, the Toukh el Qarmous vase seems hardly to be an indisputable instance of a censer with kothon rim, though on the whole the censer explanation seems the most probable²⁰⁰ for it, as it did also for our iron Fig. 10 and Pernice's half-iron vase.

¹⁹⁴ See above p. 85, n. 92. Hgt. '19 m.; diam. of bowl, '16 m.

¹⁹⁵ Mr. Edgar's letters unfortunately arrived after Mr. Burrows' departure for Crete.—P. N. Ure.

¹⁹⁶ Mr. Edgar, who quotes Pernice (*Mon. Egypt.* ii. p. 59) as having proved kothons to be censers, naturally regarded this feature as confirming the censer theory for this vase.

¹⁹⁷ *Phylakopi*, Pl. XXXV, 7 (red clay); *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alexandrie*, No. 8, Fig. 18 (alabaster).

¹⁹⁸ Mr. Edgar's own words are 'no doubt belong'—*loc. cit.*

¹⁹⁹ Cp. *Notiz. d. Seac.* 1896, p. 379, Fig. 4, Hellenistic, from Tarentum, hgt. '185 m. (fragments of lid, *ibid.* Fig. 8, de Villefosse, *Mon. Piolt.* v. p. 81, n. 1); relief on Bosco Reale cup, *Mon. Piolt.* v. p. 208, Fig. 51, and Pl. XV. 2. Mr. Edgar's further reference *loc. cit.* to Cesnola, *Salamis*, p. 249, seems to be a misprint.

²⁰⁰ Silver is a well attested material for V and IV cent. censers, *C.I.G.* 140, 141, 150, 151 (v. Fritze, *Rauchopgr.* p. 44).

STRAY NOTES ON THE PERSIAN WARS.

THE scope of the present article is restricted to a few disconnected points concerning the Great Persian War, and its edges have been carefully left untrimmed. Recent publication on the same subject has been so voluminous as to impose conciseness upon future writers: and the success with which many outstanding problems have latterly been discussed, notably by English scholars, leaves a comparatively narrow field for future research. Yet it may be of interest to revert to particular topics which invite renewed consideration, and to reaffirm certain conclusions which appear to be falling into undeserved disrepute.

A.—*Marathon.*

(1) *Topography*.—Two important landmarks for determining the site

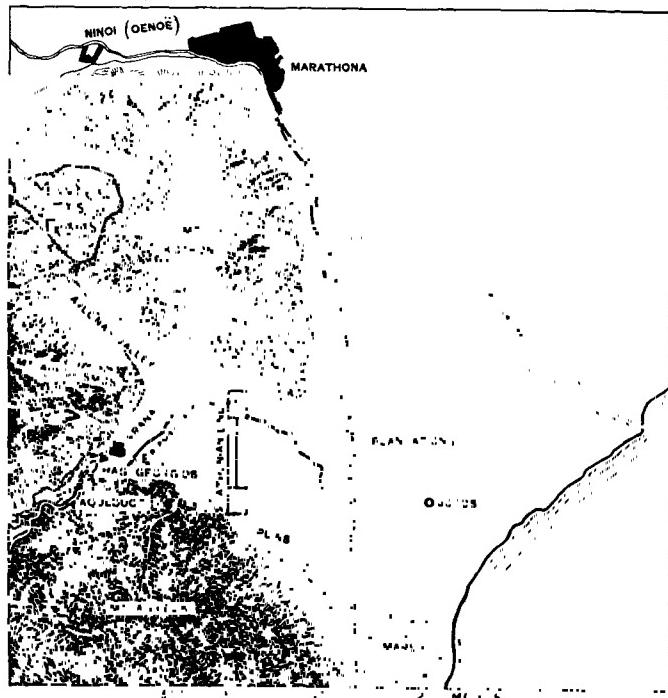


FIG 1.—NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MARATHON (AFTER CURTIUS-KAUPERT).

of the battle, the township of Marathon and the precinct of Heracles in

which the Athenians took station,¹ have been located diversely by modern scholars according as they have adopted the theories of Leake² or of Lolling.³ Leake identified Marathon with the modern village of Vrana, and placed the Athenian encampment on the southern edge of the Vrana valley; Lolling transferred the Heracleum to the side-valley of Avlona and the site of ancient Marathon to that of modern Marathona. The views of the German scholar have met with the greater measure of favour, especially in this country. Yet it may be contended that the balance of evidence is distinctly against them.

(i) Lolling's arguments on behalf of accepting Marathona as the site of ancient Marathon are twofold:—Marathona is a good centre for communications between the East Attic plain and the rest of Attica, and it retains the name of the earlier town. As regards the former of these statements, its bearing on the subject at issue is doubtful. The formation in the early days of Athenian history of a separate Tetrapolis in the plain of Marathon suggests that this district developed as a self-contained unit of territory, and stood in no connexion with the rest of the country. Good communications with Attica in general were thus of little importance, and so far as the present argument goes there is no reason to locate the capital of the ancient Tetrapolis on the site of modern Marathona.

The identity of names is likewise inconclusive. It is not unusual for modern Greek places to occupy a different site from that of their ancient namesakes. New Corinth is some miles distant from Graeco-Roman Corinth, Kalamata from Calamae, Chryso from Crisa; and the identification of Thiaki with Homeric Ithaca is by no means certain.⁴ In the present instance a transference of the name of Marathon to another site can be readily explained. Ancient Marathon disappeared as a settlement in the days of the Roman Empire,⁵ and its historic name being left ownerless was liable to be appropriated by settlers in Vrana or any other part of the plain.

On the other hand, the cogency of Leake's reasoning has never been seriously disputed. Against the Marathona site he urges that this place is situated far too close to the hamlet of Ninoi (which can be securely identified with ancient Oenoë) to represent any constituent town of the Tetrapolis; and his argument must be accepted unless we are to suppose that ancient Marathon and Oenoë stood within a mile of each other, which is altogether unlikely. Moreover, Marathona lies hidden away in a remote corner of the plain, at a point where the capital of the Tetrapolis would hardly be looked for. Worse still, it contains no ancient ruins worth speaking of in its neighbourhood. On the other hand, Vrana occupies a commanding site on a terrace of rising ground which is at once readily accessible and highly defensible, and thus constitutes a natural centre for the plain of Marathon.

¹ Herodotus, vi. 108.

² *The Topography of Athens* (2nd ed. 1841), vol. ii. pp. 89–92, 211.

³ *Athenische Mitteilungen*, vol. i. pp. 71–6, 88–9.

⁴ Similarly modern Capua represents, not ancient Capua, but Casilinum.

⁵ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iv. 7 (11), describes Marathon as a mere speck ('locus').

Furthermore, remains of ancient buildings are as common here as they are rare near Marathon.⁶

The last-named argument is almost sufficient by itself to settle the whole controversy, and in conjunction with the points previously touched upon should definitely establish Leake's view as against Lolling's. It is interesting to note that Lolling himself eventually abandoned his own hypothesis,⁷ which none the less may still be considered the prevalent one.

(ii) The theory which places the precinct of Heracles within the valley of Avlona rests on still more slender evidence and is open to several decisive objections. The most substantial arguments of Lolling are that Avlona being situated in the centre of the Tetrapolis was a convenient meeting place for the worshippers at the local festival, and that traces of the ancient enclosure are to be found in a circular wall of undressed stones, popularly known as the *Máνδρα τῆς Γραιᾶς*, which can still be seen within the valley and on its adjacent slope. But the central situation of Avlona within the Tetrapolis only remains a fact so long as Lolling's general topography of the district is accepted. It has been seen, however, that his reference of ancient Marathon to Marathona is probably wrong, and his identification of Probalinthus with Vrana has been disputed by Milchhöfer,⁸ who would transfer this ancient village to a site considerably farther south. On this showing the centre of the Tetrapolis would be shifted from Avlona to the Vrana district. Lolling's archaeological reasoning leaves out of account an inscription on an entrance gate to the *Máνδρα* which proclaims that enclosure as the work of Herodes Atticus.⁹ As no evidence has ever been brought to show that the gate was built into the wall at a later date, the whole ring of stones must be attributed to the age of Herodes and therefore cannot represent Herodotus' Heracleum.

The positive grounds of objection to Lolling's case have been summarised by Milchhöfer as follows¹⁰: (1) The Athenians in the Avlona valley would find their view of the Persians obscured by the intervening ridge of Kotroni, and therefore would be in a bad position for marking them.¹¹ (2) Their rear would have been threatened by a Persian advance up the valley of the Charadra past Oenoë. (3) They would have lain too far away from the all-important defile at the southern edge of the plain by which the main road is carried to Athens. (4) They would have perished for lack of water.

The site of the Heracleum therefore should be sought with Leake in the valley of Vrana. Leake's own suggestion, which has been endorsed by Ross¹¹ and Milchhöfer, is that the sanctuary lay on the southern edge of the valley under Mt. Agrieliki. But this district is almost as waterless as Lolling's site, and the ruins which line the base of the mountain are so extensive that they cannot be referred to an isolated *τέμενος*: it is more

⁶ Ross, *Erinnerungen*, p. 186.

⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 52.

⁷ Iwan-Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. iii. (1889), p. 119.

¹⁰ Two leading German critics, Delbrück and Ed. Meyer, have pronounced this argument to be fatal to Lolling's view.

⁸ *Karten von Attika: Erläuternder Text*. Heft iii.-vi. pp. 40, 52.

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

probable that they represent the town of Marathon in general. Perhaps the most suitable position for the Heracleum will be found by the chapel and ruined convent of Hag. Georgios, on the spur of Mt. Aphorismos above Vrana. This site commands a fine panoramic view of Marathon plain, and is well provided with water from an old aqueduct fed by the Rapetosa torrent. The existing sanctuary is admittedly of high antiquity, and it contains Hellenic remains on the strength of which Ross surmised that it was formerly consecrated to pagan worship. If such be the case, there is no need to accept Ross' conjecture that the cult belonged to the local hero Marathus. The person of the present saint rather implies for his predecessor some champion like Heracles¹²; and the great importance of his annual festival, which is attended by worshippers from all Attica, suggests that it is the Christian counterpart of the national Athenian festival of the Marathonian Heracles.

(2) *The Tactics.*—The outstanding problem in regard to the actual battle is the attenuation of the Athenian line in the centre. The usual explanation is that the Athenians were afraid of being outflanked and therefore extended their wings at the expense of the middle line. But to deplete the centre excessively would have exposed the Greek army to a still greater danger, which in fact was almost realised, of being cut in two. Perhaps the risk which the Athenians took by making their centre more shallow may be explained in reference to the locality of the battle. The plain of Marathon at the outlet of the Vrana valley contains plantations of vine and olive irrigated by the waters of the Rapetosa; and the existence of these copses in ancient times is expressly mentioned by Cornelius Nepos.¹³

If the Athenians, as is now usually held, charged straight down the Vrana valley, the patches of orchard land lay right in the path of their centre. But a hoplite column, whose power of attack depended mainly upon its cohesion, could hardly have maintained its array among the trees and vine-stocks: indeed, the more massive the formation, the greater would be the risk of confusion.¹⁴ It may therefore be suggested that the centre was attenuated because the Athenian commander foresaw its failure and decided to mass all available men on the wings, which had a more open country before them.

(3) *The Strategy.*—The transition of the Athenians from defence to

¹² Lieut. Rhediades (*Αρχαιολογική Έφημερις*, 1906, pp. 239–44) locates the Heracleum whence Xerxes watched the battle of Salamis hard by a church of St. George. Other such transferences of Heracles' sanctuaries to St. George might be discovered by further investigations on the spot.

¹³ Miltiades, ch. 5: *regione non apertissima proelium commiserunt: namque arbores multis locis erant rarae* (so the archetype: not

'stratae').

A telling illustration of this important feature of the battle-site will be found in Grundy's *Great Persian War*, p. 187.

¹⁴ The difficulty of manœuvring hoplites on such obstructed ground led Milchhofer to transfer the entire battle to quite another site (*loc. cit.* pp. 51–3). But the solution of the problem as given above is more in accordance with the data of ancient texts.

attack is usually explained either as a counter to an offensive movement of the Persians or as the result of a division of forces by the enemy. The former view, although backed by the authority of Nepos and of the chief German critics,¹⁵ is involved in two grave perplexities. Why did the Persians offer battle at all in an unfavourable position, and why did their cavalry take no part in the action?¹⁶ Since no adequate answer has been given to these questions, the presumption lies in favour of the alternative theory, which has been adopted by the leading English historians. A fresh argument may here be adduced to show that the Persian armament was divided at the time of the battle.

Not the least striking feature of the campaign of Marathon is the precipitous haste with which the victorious Athenians marched home in order to anticipate a Persian landing in the Bay of Phalerum. The distance from the battlefield to the Athenians' new camping ground in Cynosarges was 23 miles. Men walking 'as fast as their feet could carry them' over an easy course should not need more than 7–8 hours for such a journey. Allowing an interval for rallying the troops after the pursuit, we may suppose that the Athenians arrived home within some 10 hours of the battle.¹⁷ But, on the theory by which the Persian armament which hove in sight at Phalerum was the same as that which suffered defeat at Marathon, this mad haste on the Athenians' part becomes inexplicable. The distance by sea from Marathon to Phalerum measures about 70 miles. The defeated armament, retarded by the slow-moving horse-transports and burdened with a heavy cargo of troopers, can hardly have kept up a speed over 5–6 miles an hour: it would thus require at least 12–14 hours for the journey. In addition to this, some hours must be allowed for sorting and marshalling the routed force at Marathon and for embarking the Eretrian captives on the island of Aegileia. At the lowest estimate the Persian fleet needed some 15 hours to make Phalerum: it may have required 20 hours or more. Now, if the Athenians, as may be safely assumed, kept themselves informed of the Persians' movements by means of scouts, they must have known that they could march back at their full ease and yet have several hours in hand. Their heroic effort can only be explained on the supposition that the Persian

¹⁵ Delbrück, Ed. Meyer and Busolt follow Nepos' account in this matter.

¹⁶ The Persians were at perfect liberty to shift their position, and a more advantageous fighting ground would have been worth more to them than the eventual accession of a Spartan reinforcement would be to the Athenians.

The absence of the Persian horse is attested by the tradition embodied in Suidas' gloss on the proverb *χωρὶς ἵππους*, the historic value of which has been successfully upheld by Milchhofer and Macan.

Those who assume the presence of cavalry at the scene of action are quite at a loss to explain why it failed to assist the hard-pressed Persian

infantry or how it managed to re-embark in face of the Athenian pursuit. The attempt of Delbrück (*Gesch. d. Kriegskunst im Altertum*, i. p. 59–62) to explain away these difficulties verges on the comic.

¹⁷ Cf. Plutarch, *Aristides* 5: ήνυσαν αὐθήμερον. Lysias, *Epitaphius* 76, and Isocrates, *Panegyrius* 86 sq. preserve the same tradition in an inverted form when they make the Athenians march *out* and defeat the Persians on the same day. From these passages it may be inferred that the extreme rapidity of the Athenians' march was one of the most persistent elements in the current story of the battle.

corps at Phalerum was merely a containing force, and that the main attack upon Athens had been entrusted to a flying squadron which set sail previous to the battle.

(4) *The Μαραθωνομάχια in the Στοά Ποικίλη*.—The historical value of this monument depends largely on the date at which it was executed. On the authority of Pausanias,¹⁸ Pliny,¹⁹ and Aelian²⁰ it is usually referred back to the middle of the fifth century. But the traditional dating has been called into question by Macan,²¹ who puts forward the following reasons for doubting it.

(i) The name of the artist is mentioned only by writers of a late age; and the discrepancies in their respective accounts suggest that their attributions were guesswork.

(ii) The record of events in the picture does not tally with that of Herodotus: each authority omits some features which are present in the other.

(iii) The gallery in the Stoa was in any case not completed in the fifth century, for one of the subjects represented therein, the battle of Oenoé, was an event of the Corinthian War (395–386 B.C.). The *Μαραθωνομάχια* might then be of quite as recent a date.

To each of these objections an answer can be given.

(1) The absence of early references to the artist need not cause misgivings. Antiquarian curiosity and museum catalogues were a product of the Alexandrine and Silver Ages of Greece. It is probable that an absolute majority of those ancient paintings and sculptures to which the name of an artist can still be attached would remain unattributed but for the descriptions of Pliny and Pausanias.

Again, it matters little that the picture is variously ascribed to Panaenus, Micon, and Polygnotus. The school and date remain none the less well attested, for Pausanias at least was a perfectly competent judge on broad questions of style and workmanship. It does not follow that because a picture is claimed alike for Raphael and for Perugino, or for both at once, therefore it cannot be safely attributed to the Umbrian school.²²

(2) *a.* A great deal of the archaeological evidence at the disposal of Herodotus was never utilised by him: indeed it is exceptional for him to illustrate his story by reference to works of art. In Attica alone many important monuments are never mentioned by him—the temples of Peisistratus, the statues of the Tyrannicides, the walls of the *ἄστυ* and of the Peiraeus, the sword of Masistius.²³ The fact that Herodotus does not seem

¹⁸ i. 15. 3.

¹⁹ *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 57.

²⁰ *De Natura Animalium*, vii. 38.

²¹ *Herodotus* iv.–vi., vol. ii. pp. 228–230.

²² Prof. E. A. Gardner has kindly brought to my notice the parallel case of the statue of

Nemesis at Rhamnus, which is variously ascribed to Alcamenes and Agoracritus, but like many other such unattributed sculptures can be referred with absolute certainty to the school and age of Pheidias.

²³ Pausanias, i. 27. 1.

to have consulted the picture in the Stoa before writing his account of the battle therefore does not deserve to carry much weight.

b. The absence in the painting of details included in Herodotus' narrative is not even established as a matter of fact. Pausanias in his summary account implies that he is merely quoting a select list of the figures portrayed.²⁴ It is probable that in his day some of the names which no doubt were originally painted over the figures had become effaced, as perhaps also the signature of the painter. Moreover a complete congruence between the historian's and the artist's presentation is out of the question owing to the simplicity of technique and grouping among the painters of the fifth century, none of whom ever attempted a comprehensive and realistic composition of a battle subject.²⁵

(3) *A priori* it is difficult to believe that two spaces on the wall of the Stoa were left blank till the fourth century; still more so that 'old masters' of the fifth century were whitewashed in order to make room for some nameless Michelangelo of a later date. But the foundation of Macan's third argument is withdrawn if the date of Oenoë can be thrown back to the fifth century. On historical grounds this reference has already been made by Busolt;²⁶ and recent investigations made by Pomtow among the ruins at Delphi show that the monument which was erected on that site in commemoration of Oenoë belongs to the age of Pericles.²⁷

The conclusion therefore is that there are no adequate reasons for departing from the traditional date of the picture in the Stoa, which should still be regarded as a work of about 450 B.C., and as the oldest piece of evidence for the reconstruction of the battle of Marathon.

B.—*Thermopylae-Artemisium.*

Some light may be thrown upon the general strategic position in this double battle by an episode in Herodotus' narrative,²⁸ which on the face of it is mere anecdote but perhaps contains a kernel of important truth. After the action of Thermopylae Xerxes is recounted to have invited all his navy to take a day's holiday in order to inspect the site of the land army's prowess, the ground having meanwhile been carefully 'salted' so as to give the impression of a great and bloodless victory of the Persians; and the sailors in obedience to this summons requisitioned all available small boats to make the trip from Artemisium. The motive ascribed to Xerxes in this story is acknowledged by Herodotus himself to be absurd; yet the fact that innumerable lighters were seen plying between the positions of the navy

²⁴ Pausanias in this context ignores the portrait of the poet Aeschylus contained in the same picture (Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 137 Pausanias, i. 21. 2).

²⁵ The arrangement of the picture in the Stoa may readily be inferred from the vase paintings

of the so-called 'fine r.-f. style,' or from the reconstruction of Polygnotus' work in Robert, *Die Nekuia des Polygnot.*

²⁶ *Griechische Geschichte*, iii. p. 323, n. 3.

²⁷ *Klio*, 1908, pp. 190-1.

²⁸ Hdt. viii. 24-5.

and the army can hardly be an invention. It may be suggested that the real purpose of these movements was to *virtual* the army, which had been separated from the fleet for a fortnight and had only the scanty supplies of the conquered mainland to draw upon.

The incident as interpreted above brings into relief a cardinal factor in the Persian plan of operations—the dependence of the army upon the fleet for supplies. This circumstance provides the key to several problems of the campaign in Central Greece. It explains the extreme impatience of Xerxes at his failure to force Leonidas' position, for so long as this was barely maintained the Persian army and fleet perforce remained apart, and the Greeks were thus in a position to compel a Persian retreat by mere lapse of time, without risking an action against superior numbers. Another consequence of Xerxes' commissariat difficulties is that he could not afford to wait for the result of a flanking march by way of the Asopus and upper Cephissus valleys;²⁹ this circuit would have taken several days, and could not have been effected in time to dislodge Leonidas before the Persian army's supplies had given out.

C.—*Salamis.*

A recent essay by Beloch³⁰ has threatened to invalidate most of the work of reconstruction undertaken in regard to Salamis by transferring the site of Psyttaleia from the entrance of the strait to the channel opening on Eleusis bay. This revolutionary theory has since been controverted by Kallenberg,³¹ who may fairly claim to have knocked the bottom out of Beloch's case. But there remains one argument of Beloch which requires further consideration. Plutarch relates that on the day of battle a fresh breeze was blowing up-channel³²; but if the Persian force on Psyttaleia was there for the purpose of intercepting the wreckage, as Aeschylus and Herodotus testify, then Psyttaleia cannot be located at the inlet of the sound, for the battle was certainly fought to leeward of this position.

The fact contained in Plutarch's story is worthy of credence, for it is corroborated by Herodotus, who narrates that after the engagement the wind stood to west.³³ This is undoubtedly a reference to the sea-breeze which sets in daily in the Saronic gulf until October,³⁴ and about noon tide blows from the S.W. so as to ricochet with considerable force from the outspurs of Mt. Aegaleos up the sound of Salamis. Nor is there reason to doubt Plutarch's statement that this breeze hampered the Persians more than it did the Greeks. If the fleets were drawn up in the positions indicated by Macan the Persians would certainly have had to traverse a choppy piece of

²⁹ This route was subsequently used by a Persian column (Hdt. viii. 31). Xerxes' failure to use it sooner can hardly be explained save on the above hypothesis. Munro's suggestion (*J.H.S.* 1902, p. 313) that a garrison of Locrians at Heracleia at first barred the Persian advance is invalidated by the same author, who

shows that the position at Heracleia could be circumvented.

³⁰ *Klio*, 1908, pp. 477–486.

³¹ *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1909, pp. 60–3.

³² *Themistocles*, ch. 14.

³³ viii. 96.

³⁴ *The Mediterranean Pilot*, vol. iv. p. 59.

water,³⁵ whereas the Greeks were partly sheltered by the headland of Cynosura.

But there is less certainty as to the motive of the occupation. If the reason assigned by Aeschylus (and Herodotus) is indeed correct, it may be surmised that Xerxes was misled by the land-breeze which blows *down* the straits by night, but gives way to the up-channel breeze in the forenoon. Yet it is doubtful whether the current explanation can stand. Aeschylus is no doubt an authoritative witness as to facts, but he was none the less liable to misinterpret intentions, and in refutation of his own theory he mentions that the detachment on Psyttaleia was a veritable corps d'élite, which surely would never have been told off for longshore service. Beloch's argument from the direction of the wind to the position of Psyttaleia cannot therefore be regarded as conclusive.

If the object of the blue-blooded band of Persians was no mere salvage operation, what other business could it have had?³⁶ As their landing on the island is mentioned by Herodotus in one breath with the mobilisation of the blockading squadrons at midnight,³⁷ it may be conjectured that they were the staff which directed the evolutions of these flotillas.³⁸ Psyttaleia would be the most convenient signalling station from which the movements of the three lines of ships could have been controlled.

The jeopardy in which the Persians on Psyttaleia stood after the battle will perhaps serve to explain another doubtful point in the story of Salamis—the building of Xerxes' mole or bridge.³⁹ It is true that the reason assigned by Herodotus is far from absurd: Xerxes may well have invented such business for his troops in order to hide his own perplexities and keep their courage up. But a more obvious and effective way of achieving this would have been to dispatch them to the Isthmus. Should some other explanation be preferred, it may be pointed out that when once the force on Psyttaleia had been isolated by the rout of the fleet the only means of saving it would be by throwing a bridge across from the mainland. There is nothing to prevent our supposing that the starting-point of the bridge was opposite Psyttaleia,⁴⁰ and the prospect of its reaching the island betimes may not at first have been altogether hopeless. Indeed Ctesias⁴¹ relates that the Greeks had to bring up a special corps of Cretan archers to check the progress of

³⁵ The swell even on ordinary days is sufficient to raise crests on the waves.

³⁶ *Persae*, ll. 441–4.

³⁷ viii. 76.

³⁸ *Persae*, ll. 382–3: καὶ πάνυχοι διά πλοον καθίστασαν ναῶν ἄνακτες πάντα ναυτικὸν λεών. Of all modern critics Prof. Goodwin (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xvii. (pp. 81–2) alone seems to have firmly grasped the fact that the Persian squadrons *were kept mooring through the night*. This fact is important as showing that the Persian fleet after sailing up-channel in the afternoon (Hdt. viii. 70) issued back into the open water and did

not re-enter the straits till the morning of the battle. It also helps to account for the defeat of the Persians: the exertion and mental strain of this cruise must have been quite exhausting.

³⁹ Herodotus, who is our best witness on this matter (viii. 97), represents this work as mainly if not wholly a bridge of cargo boats. The 'mole' version is a later improvement.

⁴⁰ Ctesias places the work at the narrowest point of the straits. This is probably a guess, for no traces of the building seem to have remained even to Herodotus' time.

⁴¹ *Persica* (ed. Gilmore), § 57.

the work, which implies that the builders were engaged in some purposeful strategic operation.

D.—*Plataea.*

The crucial problem of the campaign of Plataea is to account for the advance of the Greek army to an exposed position on the Asopus ridge. Fortunately there seems no longer to be much doubt as to the general reasons for this movement. The suggestion that Pausanias was attempting a flanking march upon Thebes may now be regarded as obsolete.⁴² The rival hypothesis, which represents the Greek movement as an attempt to lure the Persians into a pitched battle, may fairly claim to have conquered the field. It only remains to inquire why the Asopus range was the particular position which Pausanias selected as the most suitable for the Greeks.

The usual explanation is that he played for a battle in which the Persians should have the Asopus in their rear, with a view to the same sort of result as Blücher achieved at the Katzbach. But this theory commits the error of supposing that the Asopus was a formidable military obstacle. As a matter of fact its strategie importance is singularly small. Its banks are unusually level and shallow, and even at the time of the melting snows its volume of water is not enough to impede an army. At the time of the battle—in the middle of August—the Asopus may very well have run dry altogether.⁴³

A better reason for Pausanias' choice of ground is perhaps revealed in the natural features of the ridge itself. The gradient of the slope, averaging about 1 in 25,⁴⁴ is eminently favourable to a rapid but steady advance by a hoplite column. The land is almost treeless, and its rich loam affords an infinitely better foothold than the scrub and rolling stones of most Greek hillsides. When once the Greeks had drawn the Persians in force to the foot of the ridge they could have driven home their attack with a momentum far exceeding that of an ordinary hoplite charge. Nor yet can the tactics here attributed to Pausanias be regarded as foreign to Greek warfare. They were adopted by Epaminondas at Mantinea and by Philip V of Macedon at Cynocephalae. Nay more, they had been employed with conspicuous success by the Athenians at Marathon; and the conditions for the same type of attack were still more favourable at Plataea. No further explanation for the Greek advance to the Asopus ridge is needed beyond the desire to execute a massive charge *ex aequissimo loco*.

M. O. B. CASPARI.

⁴² See especially the damaging criticisms by H. B. Wight, *The Battle of Plataea*, p. 55.

⁴³ Ed. Meyer found the Asopus waterless in

early June (*Gesch. des Altertums* iii. p. 409, n.).

⁴⁴ The rise from the Asopus level amounts to about 200 ft. in a mile.

MINOAN POTTERY FROM CYPRUS, AND THE ORIGIN OF THE MYCENEAN STYLE.

THE recent enthusiasm of English explorers for the prehistoric antiquities of Greece, if involving some neglect of things 'merely Hellenic,' has at least resulted happily in the enrichment of our museums. The Minoan civilisation can at present be studied only in Crete, England, and America; and while the journey to Crete is always necessary for an adequate understanding of the subject, the introductory idea can be better acquired at home, where the material is limited by selection and less bewildering in bulk and variety. Crete and Minoan art are naturally associated with the Ashmolean Museum; and it is perhaps overlooked that the British Museum has at the same time acquired, by gift of excavators and of the Committee of the British School at Athens, a collection of originals and reproductions not indeed comparing with the splendour of Oxford, but valuable in representing most of the important sites, and especially useful to students in possessing an arranged series of sherds of every period.

In reviewing an accession of this kind, it is interesting to note what pieces of earlier acquisition are brought into their proper context by the new material. In 1868, when the first vases arrived in London from Biliotti's excavations in the Ialyssos tombs, Mycenean pottery was already known. Several false-necked jars from Athens had been acquired in the early years of last century, probably with the Elgin Collection, and there were other examples, presumably from Egypt, which remained with the Egyptian collections when the old Department of Antiquities was divided. In a large museum most phases of art are somewhere represented; and it is remarkable that so few Minoan objects had appeared before the present opening of Cretan sites. A large *pithos* decorated with moulded rope-pattern was given to the British Museum in 1884 by the appropriately-named Minos Calocherinos, who had sunk a shaft through one of the Magazines of the Palace at Knossos. This was naturally assigned to a late period until its companions were brought to light by Mr. Arthur Evans. Another Minoan piece was the bowl with painted design of nautilus and seaweed which Greville Chester brought from Erment in Egypt in 1890. Not long before the Cretan discoveries came Professor Petrie's find of Kamares sherds in Twelfth Dynasty rubbish heaps at Kahun. These early specimens of Minoan polychrome ware, so acutely appreciated by their discoverer, will continue to hold a prominent place as supplying a fixed point in Minoan chronology.

Accidental finds of Cretan pottery of less importance occurred in Cyprus, in the British Museum excavations of 1895-7. The earliest of these (Fig. 1, No. 1), from Curium (Site D, Tomb 101), was duly published at the time, but was not connected with the more elaborate examples of the same fabric from Kamares and Kahun.¹ It is a sherd of good Kamares ware (M.M. II.): fine reddish clay worked very thin; blackened by fire on the interior, and on the exterior painted with regular dots of thick white pigment on a ground of lustrous black varnish. The dots are arranged



FIG. 1.—MINOAN SHERDS FROM CURIUM AND LARNAKA. (About 1:2.)

in patterns, zig-zags or triangles, which can hardly be restored from this fragment. Two narrow lines of white paint and a row of dots divide the design into bands. The other furniture of the tomb consisted of a thin bronze bracelet with twisted fastening, two painted bowls of Cypriote base-ring ware, and two Mycenaean vases—a globular *pseudamphora* with hatched pattern on the shoulders, and a three-handled jar with design of spiral coils.² There is nothing among these which will bear such an early date as 2000 B.C., and the presence of a single fragment of Kamares ware must be regarded as purely accidental.

The other sherds (Fig. 1, Nos. 2 and 3) were a surface find on the Hala

¹ British Museum, *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 81.

volume of the Catalogue of Vases which will shortly appear: C 173, C 174, C 438, C 522: the Kamares sherd is A 231.

² These bear the following numbers in the

Sultan Tekke site, near Larnaka. They are Cretan products of the period Late Minoan I. The clay is of light reddish colour, with a lustrous pale yellow slip on which the free floral design is painted in red-black varnish. Both pieces are from the same vase, apparently a three-handled bowl with flattened shoulder; but the shape is uncertain.

Of more importance is the next Minoan piece (Fig. 2, No. 1), a complete vase from a grave at Maroni (Tomb 1). The results of these later excavations were not published with those of the Turner Bequest; but the contents of the tomb are given as follows in the manuscript record:—a jug of primitive type, thick red ware without foot; a small double bottle and two jugs of base-ring ware, the jugs decorated with incisions; a jug of Cypriote *bucchero*; a bowl and three jugs of white slip ware; an *askos* in the form of a bull; a terracotta model of a boat; an alabaster bowl on stem, cylindrical shape with horizontal mouldings; and three Mycenean vases—a large bowl of *krater* form, with main design of birds and perhaps an altar in dull white paint on a band of black varnish, and a three-handled jar with scale-pattern, and a small *pseudolamphora*.³

By the side of this bowl is shewn a shallow cup, which was given by Mr. Evans for the purpose of comparison (Fig. 2, No. 2.). It was found in the Palace at Knossos (L. M. I-II.), and is of identical fabric with the Cypriote example. Both are made of fine yellow clay with lustrous slip, and are decorated with a curious stippled pattern in black varnish, with broad and narrow bands at foot and lip. The bowl is thus of earlier date than the Mycenean vases with which it was found; but its unbroken condition precludes the possibility of an accidental connection, and it must be regarded either as a survival, preserved with care from an older generation, or as belonging to a previous burial in the same tomb. One of the Cypriote jugs is certainly of primitive type, but if it is assigned to a primitive period it will be much too early for a parallel with Knossos. There was no trace of disturbance in the tomb. On the present material, therefore, no conclusion can be based: but Cypriote chronology is far from being fixed.

The subsequent Cretan period (Late Minoan III.) is represented by two finds in Cyprus. Two fragments from Enkomi (Fig. 3) were apparently part of a large *pithos*: very thick ware composed of coarse, stony clay with a smooth slip and painted decoration in the usual black varnish. Slip and pigment have both perished, but the pattern can still be made out as a square trellis of linked spiral coils, the angles filled with close concentric arcs. This type of design occurs commonly in Crete, especially on the terracotta chests and bath-tubs which were used as coffins at this time; a *larnax* with almost identical decoration was excavated in the cemetery of Zafer Papoura,⁴ and similar examples appeared at Gournia⁵ and Palaikastro.

³ Numbers of vases in the forthcoming Catalogue: C 11, C 120, C 151, C 152, C 208, C 240, C 251, C 253, C 256, C 332, C 474, C 510; the Minoan bowl is A 371, and the cup from Knossos A 370.

⁴ Evans, 'The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos' (*Archæologia*, vol. lix. 1906), p. 91, Fig. 102a.

⁵ Harriet Boyd Hawes, *Gournia*, Pl. X. 45, 46.

It represents the ultimate development of native Cretan art, strongly influenced by the architectonic formalism of the Palace Style, in which the craftsmen were inspired by the grandeur of the decorative wall-paintings.

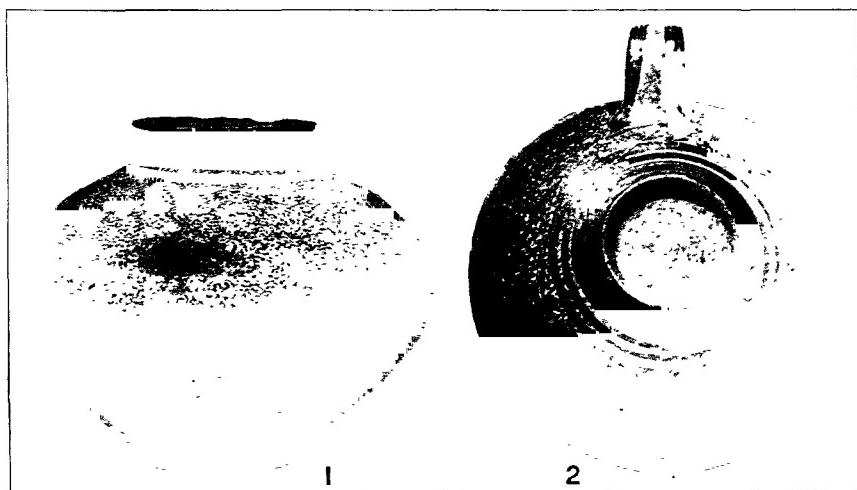


FIG. 2.—VASES FROM MARONI AND KNOSSOS. (1 : 2.)

In marked contrast is the conventionality of the octopus on a large false-necked jar from Curium in Cyprus (Fig. 4); yet this vase too is Cretan.

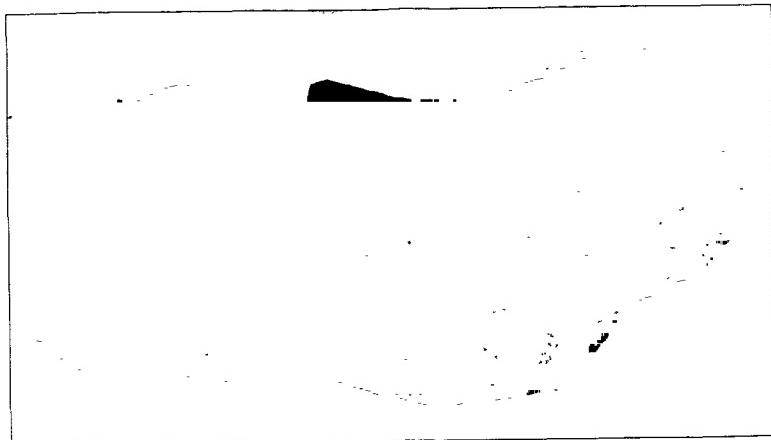


FIG. 3.—MINOAN SHERDS FROM ENKOMI. (1 : 3.)

The peculiar design and technique were recognised by Mr. Walters in the original publication,⁶ and numerous parallels have since been found.⁷

⁶ *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 74, and p. 79 (*Tomb 50*), where the contents of the grave are given. Catalogue, C 501: the sign \perp is cut on

each handle of this vase.

⁷ E.g. *Gournia*, Pl. X. 12; *B.S.A.* ix. p. 318.

In regard to the pottery of the closing period in Crete, it has been noted by Mr. Evans as an unexplained phenomenon that the very latest stage is marked by the reappearance of types derived from marine subjects, such as the octopus and the triton shell, which had been prominent in the middle Palace Period (L. M. I.), but had receded before the architectonic and exotic motives of the advanced Palace Style (L. M. II).⁸ The same fact is presented in another form by Mrs. Hawes, who reports that in the Re-occupation Period (L. M. III.) at Gournia, there appears a type of pottery technically superior to that of the Town Period (L. M. I.), but artistically inferior, and betraying a paucity of ideas.⁹ At Palaikastro and other sites the same tendency is remarked,¹⁰ and the connection of this new ware with the Mycenean pottery, now spread throughout the Mediterranean area, is generally recognised.

An explanation of this apparent revival of the earlier fashion may be found in the character of the Mycenean style. An examination of the mainland type of pottery, best represented in the necropolis of Ialyssos, emphasises the fact that these vases, while contemporary with the Cretan ware of Late Minoan III., have a much closer connection with the earlier style of Late Minoan I. Both in form and decoration the similarity appears. Here are the floral and marine motives and the early decorative figures, conventionalised indeed, but rather as the result of artistic atrophy than by a long process of development. The shapes are degenerate, but still of early origin; and they are often those which are missing from the later periods in Crete.¹¹ The technique is of the highest quality. The Cretan pottery, on the contrary, represents the natural decadence of a fully developed art, both in fabric and decoration, and it is dominated by the peculiar formalism of the Palace Style (L. M. III.).

The Mycenean style would therefore seem to have been separately derived from Minoan pottery in its naturalistic phase (L. M. I.). Planted on the mainland in the early Palace Period, it developed there in isolation, and finally returned to Crete, where its earlier motives modified and to some extent displaced the exotic and decorative tendencies of the parallel Minoan style.

The evidence in the style of the pottery is supported by its date. The degradation of the mainland art would naturally be rapid, and the dull rigidity of Mycenean designs, which is really due to their arrested development, has suggested a later date than is justified. The remains from Ialyssos obviously cover a long period, and it is wrong to date the finer vases by objects which may belong to the later burials. There is, unfortunately, no useful record of the finding of the Ialyssos scarabs. These were three in number¹²: one is of the early Nineteenth Dynasty, another bears the throne-

⁸ 'Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos,' p. 127, etc.

⁹ *Gournia*, p. 45.

¹⁰ Dawkins in *B.S.A.* ix. pp. 316 sq.: x. p. 226.
Mackenzie in *J.H.S.* xxiii. (1903), p. 199.

¹¹ E.g. the *pseudamphora*, the flat three-handled jar, and the straight-sided filler. See below, p. 118.

¹² Furtwangler and Loescheke, *Mykenische Vasen*, p. 75.

name of Amenhotep III., and the third, which bears two scorpions and a latus-fish, the emblems of Selkit and Hathor, is also an Eighteenth Dynasty type, and quite possibly of the reign of Thothmes III. (1500–1450 B.C.).¹³ The evidence is so far negative; but it is confirmed from an Egyptian source. In the tomb of the lady Maket at Kahun, belonging to the reign of Thothmes III., Professor Petrie¹⁴ found a vase which has been variously used to date the Cretan period Late Minoan I.,¹⁵ and, more correctly, a ‘middle Mycenean’ period contemporary with Late Minoan II.¹⁶ There is, however, nothing in the fabric or decoration of this piece to separate it from the finer Rhodian or Cypriote



FIG. 4.—MINOAN VASE FROM CURIUM. (1 : 5.)

vases. The leaf design (sea-weed) has a superficial resemblance to the naturalistic Cretan motives, but this is the characteristic feature of Mycenean art. The mature style must accordingly be assigned at least to the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty (*c.* 1450 B.C.). Other finds of Mycenean pottery of

¹³ *Lor. cit.* No. 3—‘*unkennliche Darstellung.*’ *Illahun*, etc., p. 21.

I owe the interpretation and dating to Mr. H. R. Hall. ¹⁵ Hall, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1909, p. 141.

¹⁴ *J.H.S.* xi. (1890), p. 273, Pl. XIV. 1; ¹⁶ Fimmen, *Zeit und Dauer der kretisch-mycenischen Kultur*, p. 51.

later type at Gurob¹⁷ (Amenhotep III.) and Tell-el-Amarna¹⁸ (Thothmes III. to Amenhotep IV.) might favour a still earlier attribution.

There is thus good reason for bringing the earlier tombs at Ialyssos into a closer chronological relation with the shaft-graves of Mycenae. These must be taken to represent a Cretan settlement in Greece in the early Palace Period (L. M. I.). The Minoan remains are too extensive, and exercised too great an influence on the subsequent civilisation to admit of their being an accidental hoard of Cretan spoils or typical objects of Cretan commerce. The presence of late Kamares pottery in certain of the graves has suggested a still earlier settlement in the Middle Minoan period¹⁹: but there was considerable overlapping of these two styles, and as no trace of the Kamares technique survives in Mycenean pottery, the earlier, like the later, influence was insignificant by the side of the great invasion at the beginning of the Late Minoan age. The variation of date in the six shaft-graves need not be greater than a single generation.

Local pottery of the transitional stage is rare. The *tholos* tombs belong to the period, and the vases associated with them are usually Cretan importations of the Palace Style.²⁰ Such monumental pieces of foreign manufacture are in no way typical of the native culture, and their presence in the tombs of distinguished personages is no proof of general intercourse with Crete. It appears in fact from the developed Mycenean style that these fabrics did not influence the local art, and the later Palace Period (L. M. II.) seems to have been a time of virtual separation between Greece and Crete, or rather, Knossos.

These observations may perhaps throw light upon Minoan history. The first Late Minoan period was an era of general prosperity in Crete. Its close is marked on the one hand by a wholesale destruction of the smaller towns, and on the other hand by increasing splendour at Knossos, where the Palace was remodelled and gorgeously decorated. There is still no trace of foreign intrusion, for the ruined sites were quite deserted through the later Palace Period. It must be concluded that Knossos was the destroyer—no new thing in Cretan annals, which are filled with evidence of civil wars; and the inhabitants of the fallen towns may well have been the colonists of Greece. The artistic culture which the fugitives possessed is preserved on all the Cretan sites, best perhaps at Gournia²¹; it appears on the mainland in the shaft-graves of Mycenae.²² There is a significant correspondence in the points at which the sequence breaks off suddenly in Crete, and is as suddenly taken up in Greece. That the new power was not an outpost of Knossos is indicated by the divorce from the Minoan development which

¹⁷ Petrie, *J.H.S.* xi. (1890), p. 274, Pl. XIV.
3; *Illahun*, etc., p. 17.

pp. 317 sq.

¹⁸ Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, Pl. XXVI. *sq.*
¹⁹ Hall, 'The Discoveries in Crete,' etc. (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1909), p. 140.

²¹ Harriet Boyd Hawes, *Gournia*, Pls. VII., VIII., IX.

²⁰ E.g. Bosanquet in *J.H.S.* xxiv. 1904,

²² Furtwangler and Loeschke, *Mykenische Thongfasse*.

follows this generation: the lack of influence of the Palace Style in Greece, and the distinct character of Mycenean art.

The fall of Knossos at the end of the Palace Period was followed by a partial revival on nearly all the ancient sites, and the appearance of the mainland type of pottery, together with an admixture of Northern elements, which are at first, however, not strongly marked.²³ The facts point to the downfall of Knossos at least with the assistance of the Mycenean power, an attempt to restore the old conditions, and the gradual incursion of a foreign people.²⁴ It is only in the hypothesis of an extensive Cretan colony in the North that an explanation can be found for the destruction of Knossos, the rise of new influences, and still the continuity of Minoan tradition.

So far the only considerable remains of the original colonisation have been found at Mycenae; but the deserted sites in Crete were numerous, and the rapid and universal expansion of the Mycenean power points to a number of settlements. The recent discovery by Dr. Dörpfeld of early vases and other objects of Cretan origin (L. M. I.) in the ruins of three *tholos* tombs at Kakovatos,²⁵ suggests a landing near Pylos; but further remains must exist on many sites. Isolated finds of Minoan pottery of this and earlier periods have occurred, but they attest no more than a normal intercourse. No other conclusion can be drawn from the presence of these specimens in Cyprus.

It is not suggested that Cyprus was colonised from Crete: the first Mycenean culture appears rather to have come southwards from the Rhodian centre, and there is no trace of early Cretan influence in what is thought to be the Cypriote Mycenean ware, unless the remarkable Cypriote technique of subsidiary designs in white pigment on the black varnish ground is to be referred to the Cretan pottery of Late Minoan I and the Kamares style.

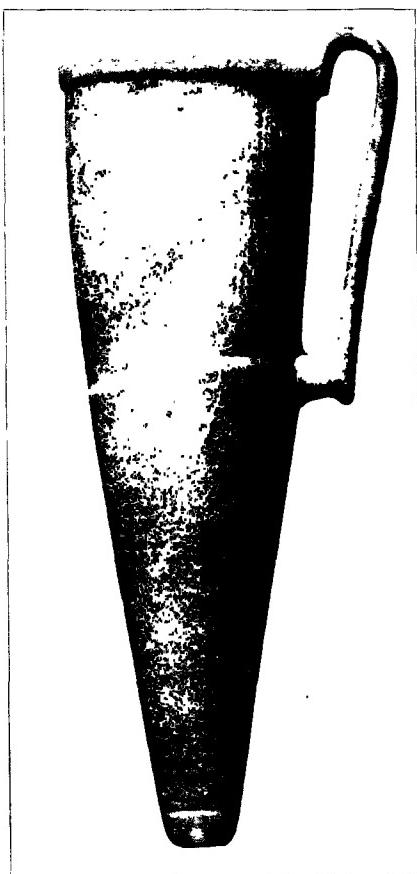


FIG. 5.—ALABASTER VASE.

²³ Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, pp. 160, 177, etc., with references.

²⁵ *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiv. (1909), p. 269, Pl. XII.—XXIV.

²⁴ Cf. Mackenzie in *B.S.A.* xi. pp. 220–223.

There may be evidence of later Cretan influence in the frequent occurrence of birds, animals, monstrous creatures, and human subjects among the Cypriote motives. These were a feature of the last development of the native Minoan style,²⁶ and similar tendencies, arguing direct influence from Crete, have been observed by Mr. Hall²⁷ in the newly discovered pottery of Philistia. It may have been in this direction that the fugitives turned after the final destruction of the Minoan realm.

This is a convenient opportunity to republish an alabaster funnel-vase or 'filler' (Fig. 5) which has been withdrawn from view in recent years, though it seems to have been formerly well known.²⁸ It was sent to the British Museum in 1874 by Sir Alfred Biliotti, and was therefore said by Dumont to belong to the Rhodian finds. This may be true, but there is no foundation at all for the statement; no provenance was given at the time of acquisition, and the connexion with Rhodes need not be assumed. The piece appears, however, to be of Mycenean origin. It is rather coarsely made; the walls are about one-fifth of an inch thick, the hole in the pointed end is half an inch in diameter, and the mouth $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches; the height of the body is $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the handle is rather more than an inch wide. There is no decoration beyond a narrow rim at the lip, and two roughly cut grooves which divide the flat handle into three vertical ribs. The shape of the handle, the cylindrical stud at the bottom, and the overlapping top show a very close connection with the metal prototype: the handles of the Vapheio cups or of the silver cup from Enkomi²⁹ are of similar construction. The form of the vase is that of the earlier Minoan model (L. M. I.);³⁰ In the advanced Palace Period a more elaborate type was in vogue, bottle-shaped, with a narrow moulded neck. I do not know any example of the later Cretan type in Mycenean pottery, while this earlier, straight-sided shape is of common occurrence at Ialyssos, in Cyprus, and on the mainland.

E. J. FORSDYKE.

²⁶ For the birds, *B.S.A.* ix. p. 318; x. p. 226.

²⁷ 'The Discoveries in Crete and their Relation to the History of Egypt and Palestine' (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1909), p. 235, note 102.

²⁸ Dumont and Chaplain, *Céramiques de la Grèce Propre*, i. p. 45; whence Daremberg and

Saglio, *Dub. Antiqu.* s.r. 'Infundibulum.'

²⁹ H. R. Hall, *The Oldest Civilisation in Greece*, p. 54, Fig. 24.

³⁰ Seager, 'Excavations on the Island of Pseira' (*Univ. Pennsylvania Mus. Anthrop. Publ.* vol. iii. No. 1, 1910), p. 26.

A NOTE ON THE PHAISTOS DISK.

ON p. 275 of vol. i. of *Scripta Minoa* Mr. Arthur Evans notes with regard to the woman-hieroglyph on the Phaistos Disk (No. 6 of his sign-catalogue; see Fig. 1) that 'the whole aspect of this figure with its exaggerated breadth of waist contrasts strongly with the Minoan and Mycenaean female types.' On p. 25 he says 'still more divergent from all known examples of Minoan dress is that of the woman. It differs not only in its general broad outline . . . , but in almost every detail.' This is so, yet this hieroglyph has one close Mycenaean counterpart as a representation of a woman. I refer to the little female figures in gold plate from the Third Shaft-Grave at Mycenae (Schuchhardt, *Schliemann*, Fig. 182; see Fig. 2), which are practically full-face views of the same squat figure which on the Phaistos Disk is represented in profile. The same curious petticoat is shewn, with its peaked edge, and even much the same unadorned shock of hair.¹ This is perhaps a point worth noticing,



FIG. 1.—WOMAN-HIEROGLYPH.



FIG. 2.—GOLD FIGURE OF WOMAN.



FIG. 3.—MAN'S HEAD-HIEROGLYPH.

as the two representations are very near one another in date, the Disk being 'Middle Minoan III.' and the shaft-grave 'Late Minoan I.'

The crested coif of the man's head-hieroglyph (No. 1 of the Catalogue; see Fig. 3) was at once compared with the crown-like feather headdress of the Philistines as shewn on the monuments of Rameses III. (Fig. 4), and

¹ This peculiar style of hairdressing is assigned by Mr. Evans (*Scripta Minoa*, loc. cit.) to the 'male Shardana' on the Egyptian monuments. But Dr. W. M. Muller in *Asien und Europa*, (p. 380, which is quoted by Mr. Evans) thinks that the foreign soldiers with this headdress are of the Tursha tribe, not Shardana; and the Shardana are usually represented as wearing a

close-fitting helmet or leather coif surmounted by a crescent and ball. The resemblance of the Tursha headdress to the hair of the woman is, however, as Mr. Evans says, very close. But in the case of these warriors it may not be hair but a feather-headdress like that of the Philistines.

that of the Cyprian soldier on the ivory casket from Enkomi (*Excavations in Cyprus*, Fig. 19, Pl. I.). I think that we may see it also on the well-known fragment of a *repoussé* silver cup with a siege-scene from Mycenae (Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vi. p. 774, Fig. 365; see Fig. 5). In this scene the slingers defending the city seem to have curious shocks of short hair starting from their heads. It seems to me much more probable that what is really intended is a feather headdress like that of the Philistines.

The scene on this cup most probably represented an attack (by Cretans or other 'Mycenaeans') on a foreign city, but only a fragment shewing its defenders is left: we do not see any of the attackers. It is quite possible that the city was situated in Lycia or elsewhere on the Asiatic coast, to which this characteristic feather-headdress may be assigned, as we see from Herodotus (vii. 92), who describes the Lycian soldiers of Xerxes as *περὶ τὴς κεφαλῆσι πίλους πτεροῖσι περιεστεφανωμένους*. It is, so far as one can see, not Minoan Cretan, any more than is the Phaistos Disk,² to which Mr. Evans

FIG. 4.—A PHILISTINE.
(From *B.S.A.* vii. p. 185.)

has with such great probability assigned a Lycian origin (*Scripta Minoar*, p. 287). The non-Cretan character of this headdress, coupled with the northern style of their shields, is, as I have pointed out elsewhere,³ the chief objection to the acceptance of the view that the Philistines (who were doubtless, as tradition agrees, emigrants from Crete) were descendants of the Minoan Cretans, and not rather of some conquering race (from Lycia?) which had settled in Crete, and were expelled thence.

But if we want the Philistines to be descendants of the Minoans (and their pottery from Tell es-Safi is certainly descended from the typically Cretan pottery of the Third Late Minoan period, which was found at Palaikastro and elsewhere), we must suppose that they had by the twelfth century abandoned their ancient characteristic armour and headgear for that of a neighbouring (and probably conquering) people, with which, as the silver cup seems to shew, Mycenaeans had been at war. This foreign people, who probably lived in Lycia, had relations with Crete at least as far back as the Third Middle Minoan period (about 1700–1600 B.C.), to which period belongs the deposit at Phaistos in which the Disk was found (*Scripta Minoar*, p. 273).

I append a photograph, Fig. 6 (p. 122), of a very interesting little faience

² Mr. Evans's argument (*Scripta Minoar*, p. 285) to this effect, in opposition to the views of the discoverers of the disk, seems quite conclusive.

³ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxxi. p. 234. In this article I have already mentioned the view, given above, which I hold as to the silver cup-fragment.



figure, found in Malta or Gozo some years ago, which undoubtedly represents a warrior of this feather-bearing race, probably at a period not later



FIG. 5.—FRAGMENT OF SILVER CUP FROM MYCENAE.
(From an Electrotype.)

than that of the Enkomi ivory box (? XIIth–XIth cent. B.C.). It is difficult to say from the photograph (I have not seen the original) whether it is of Egyptian manufacture or not. The fact of its being a caricature points to an Egyptian origin. It is a child's doll, with movable arms and legs (the latter are missing). The grinning face, which admirably caricatures a sea-worn and war-worn visage, is crowned by the feather-headdress, and framed in a band which seems to continue the coif round the chin, coming in front of the enormous ears. The man wears a necklace, and a heavy waist-cloth of hairy animal-skin. The photograph of this figure was sent to me by the late Father Magri, who had recognized its resemblance to the Egyptian representations of the Philistines. So far as I know, it has not hitherto been published; I believe it is in the Malta Museum.

The latest occurrence of this headdress is in an Assyrian relief of the time of Sennacherib representing Ionians, possibly ambassadors, accompanied by mercenary soldiers of the same race (Fig. 7).⁴ We here see bearded warriors wearing the feathered headdress, in some cases furnished with ear-flaps, while above the feathers of three of them rises a tall crest. In the three instances of its occurrence in this form (see Fig. 7) it is probable that the crest may be taken to belong to the same head as the feather-crown. It was so regarded by Dr. W. M. Müller, who saw in it an interesting combination of the national Lycian *Federschmuck* with the Greek helmet.⁵ The crested soldiers, who accompany them, may be Assyrians, but this is not likely, as it is improbable that the Assyrians had adopted the crest (which they certainly took over from their Ionian and Carian mercenaries) as early as the time of Sennacherib. It is improbable that they had any western mercenaries before Sennacherib's time (it was he who conquered Cilicia and first came into contact with the Ionians, *v. L. W. King, Sennacherib and the Ionians, J.H.S. xxx. pp. 327 ff.*); and the modification of the Assyrian equipment which was carried out in imitation of the western form of armour can hardly have come into vogue till the time of Assurbanipal. By that time the Assyrians had given up their small round targe in favour of the great shield which we see on this relief associated with the feathered people. On the Siege Cup from Mycenae (Fig. 5), we see that two of the feathered (?) warriors carry shields of much the same type as that of the relief, and like those which later on the

Assyrians adopted. It is also worth noting that the man lying in the foreground of that scene has a helmet with a long-tailed crest. This is all in favour of the view, stated above, that the Siege Cup represents the defence of some place in Lycia or Caria against a Cretan (?) attack.

The relation of the true helmet-crest to this feather-headdress of Asia Minor is interesting. The Greeks always said that the helmet-crest was of Carian origin. It seems probable enough that the feather-crest, like the 'crown,' was originally a characteristic of the people of the Carian-Lycian region, and was passed on by them to the Greeks. The representation on the Phaistos Disk looks very like a short-cut crest, and we see a true



FIG. 6.—FAIENCE DOLL
‘FROM MALTA (p. 120).

long-tailed crest already in Mycenaean times, on the head of one of the warriors on the golden intaglio seal with a scene of a combat.⁶ The

⁴ Layard, *Niniveh*, ii. 44.

⁵ *Asien und Europa*, p. 362, where the combined headdress is figured. Dr. Müller's identification of the feather-crown of these Ionian mercenaries with the 'crown,' which in the inscription of Naksh-i-Rustam Darius I.

says was worn by the Ionians, is extremely probable. He points out the latest reference to the feather-headdress as worn by the Lycian soldiers of Xerxes in Hdt. vii. 92, mentioned above.

⁶ Schuchhardt, *Schliemann*, Fig. 221.

curved object above the head of the foremost warrior on the 'Chieftain' Vase from Agia Triada is, however, not a crest rising from a low helmet. It is the upper part of a weapon or staff of command, held in the left



FIG. 7.—PROCESSION OF IONIANS OR CARIANS:
RELIEF FROM KUYUNJIK.

hand, while the right holds the sword 'at attention.' This warrior wears no helmet: what looks somewhat like one is evidently, on close inspection, his long hair coiled up on the top of his head to be out of the way when fighting.

H. R. HALL.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The World of Homer. By ANDREW LANG. Illustrated. Pp. xvii + 306. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1910. 6s. 6d. net.

Omero. By ENGELBERT DRERUP, translated by A. CINQUINI and F. GRIMOD. Illustrated. Pp. 292. Bergamo : Ist. Ital. d'Arti Gratiche, 1910. 10 l.

The Cretan discoveries have resuscitated the Homeric Question with a vengeance, and still books come ! The two before us now take very divergent views of the relation of the Epics to pre-Achaean civilization, Professor Drerup regarding them as sagas of a past far remote from the age in which they were composed, Mr. Lang contending that they reproduce very faithfully a contemporary civilization, and are no more than faintly reminiscent of a precedent one. While Professor Drerup sees little difficulty in making Late Minoan society the background of the lays and roundly calls the Iliad 'the heroic Mycenaean song' and places the Odyssey in 'the fabulous poesy of the Mycenaean Age.' Mr. Lang treats both epics as essentially Achaean, and, consequently, devotes only a very small part of his space to Minoan remains.

Since the second book on our list is a translation of a volume which has been before the public for some seven years, it is unnecessary to dilate on it now ; but we may call attention to the fact that it has had the advantage of revision by Italian archaeologists, who have been among the foremost explorers of Crete, and that it contains an appendix on prehistoric Cretan art by Dr. Luigi Pernier. In this addition, however, the debatable question—how far Homer is reminiscent of that art—is not dealt with.

Mr. Lang, on the other hand, tackles this question squarely to the best of his power, taking much less for granted ; and whether we agree with his conclusions or not, we are bound to testify that his book is a much closer study of Homeric archaeology than Professor Drerup's, and a more useful contribution to the discussion at this moment. Mr. Lang has not, of course, been led to his conclusions by archaeological logic only, or indeed primarily, and this fact would be patent even to a reader who did not know the other two volumes which the same author has published on the Homeric Question. But although obviously he has formed his conclusion on literary grounds and on the same grounds passionately desires its establishment, he deals with the archaeological evidence fairly enough, without begging his questions, and without undue strain. On the whole, if we may say so, without impertinence, this is much the most satisfactory of Mr. Lang's three books on the subject, and the first in which he has not 'come it over' the scholars as a man of letters, and weakened his own case by failing to show due appreciation of the case of his opponents.

What he sets out to prove (always with obvious intention to use the proof to establish a further contention) is this :—that the society reflected by the Homeric Epics is neither, on the one hand, the Late Minoan or Mycenaean, nor, on the other hand, any society known in the subsequent Hellenic world from the Geometric or the Dipylon period onwards ; but it is a distinct society, as consistently portrayed as any other has been by an early poet or chronicler, and characteristic of a definite epoch which is a necessary stage in the history of Hellenic evolution, so far as this is known or reasonably conjectured. This society was that of the great Achaean age which followed the

completion of the conquest of Southern Greece and neighbouring isles, and the establishment of the overlordship of Agamemnon at Mycenae. It was not an Ionian society, whether Ionian of Europe or Ionian of Asia, any more than it was a Dorian society.

To support this conclusion Mr. Lang examines both the Later Minoan or Mycenaean culture, and the earliest 'classical' culture known by archaeological remains, and contends that the Homeric Epics do not reflect the Minoan (except so far as might be expected from the probable survival of some of the latter's edifices and traditions) or any 'classical' cultures at all. He has no difficulty in disposing of the latter group in the matters of political and military system, religious usage, burial practice, and other points of social organization which are based on general social ideas; but he has more difficulty with some details of social 'furniture,' such as civil and military dress, in which, as he admits, the Homeric types approach those prevalent in the Greece of the sixth and even fifth centuries more nearly than they approach any other known local types. In trying to dispose of these difficulties by postulating similar Achaean fashions in the period before that named the 'Dipylon' he confronts his chief obstacle. If there was this distinct Achaean culture, where are its monuments in the soil of Europe or Asia? No Homeric Achaean tumulus has been dug, no Achaean city found. Except a doubtful tomb or two in Crete, in which both bronze and iron have been found (though associated with distinct interments) there is no known site of this period of the transition of metals which the Epics seem to reflect. The period must be furnished out of the Homeric poems themselves. There are practically no known material remains to support them, *i.e.* there is no Homeric Archaeology, properly so-called, despite the Oxford Board of Studies which has recently prescribed a 'special subject' under that title.

The difficulty is disconcerting but Mr. Lang is right in not regarding it as fatal. Whether Homeric or not, a period of some two centuries did elapse, after the subjection of Minoan Crete and 'Mycenaean' Mycenae, on which archaeology has been able to throw next to no light at all. In this period fell Homer, says Mr. Lang, and archaeology—well, if it cannot confirm him, it cannot say him nay. Why there should be this archaeological gap is very hard to tell. The Homeric Achaeans, who reduced their dead to ashes, seem not to have buried much with them. They may have been unhandy in crafts (gods or Sidonians are credited with most Homeric works of art) and dependent on artificers belonging to the earlier social stratum. They may even have lived on, cuckoo-like, in old alien nests, as the 'Reoccupiers' certainly did at Cnossus. In a word, there may be next to nothing Achaean to find, because next to nothing Achaean was made, that would be likely to last.

There is yet another possibility, however, to be borne in mind, summarily though Separatists will dismiss it. If the Epics are not agglomerations of lays but the work of one man, that man, on the admission of all, was a very great imaginative poet. If an Achaean of the eleventh century, he was no barbarian but lived between two periods of unequal but comparatively high culture. Is it then impossible that he should have imagined a good part of what Mr. Lang calls the 'World of Homer,' as (we strongly suspect) he imagined its gods? He had traditions of Minoan splendour to build upon, and no one denies now that these were actually built upon to some extent in the original composition of the poems, which are patently concerned with a by-gone time of myth when gods walked on earth. Is the *decor* as mythical as the ancestors of the heroes? In any case it has always seemed to us, whom no Separatist from Wolff to Miss Stawell has ever come near convincing, one of the strongest arguments for a personal Homer that the Homeric gods are consistently what they are, and inconsistent with any vulgar thought which we can reasonably ascribe to an early age. But, as Mr. Lang well shows, the Homeric are not the gods of the time of the supposed Athenian recension either, and we refuse to believe in the unfulfilled renown of any personal Homer at the Pisistratean court. If one there ever was, he lived before history.

We have said more than enough which is not direct comment on Mr. Lang's book,

and must add only that the latter seems to us to make a real contribution to the old Question, and to be, on the whole, inspired by right ideas. Old points and old arguments make its main matter ; but they are endowed with new life and strength. In his controversies with Professor Murray, especially over the Cyclic poems, Mr. Lang seems to us to come out on the top ; but in his place we should hedge even less than he. If it is futile to deny all interpolation in Homer, we cannot bring ourselves to condemn anything in the text on that quaking ground so often trodden by the *χορηγοί τόπες*, that it is, 'un-Epic.' Even that one vexed line, which smacks of the Iron Age, may owe its anachronistic word to a poet of the Transition, in want of a short-long-short to end a hexameter ! If Mr. Lang does not give his assent to this suggestion, at least we are sure of his sympathy.

Die Ilias als Dichtung. Von CARL ROTHE. Pp. xi+366. Paderborn : F. Schöningh, 1910.

To this most delightful and instructive book, full of learning and insight, the ripe fruit of a lifetime, it is impossible to do justice in a brief review. The writer, penetrated with an artist's feeling for the artistic unity perceptible in the general structure of the Iliad as it now stands, fully recognises that Homer's work must be, in some sense or other, based on earlier work. The question is 'whether the creator of this unity was a commonplace redactor or a genuine poet who, while using the saga-material, the phrases, and the metrical forms that he found ready to his hand, used them as an artist and not as a slave, as a man who made something new, and did not merely stitch together old shreds and patches' (p. v).

Dr. Rothe accepts the bulk of the Iliad as the work of one poet in this great sense of the word, and the strength of his case lies in the skill with which he brings out the deep poetic unity of the main plot. Nor has he difficulty in showing how much of the traditional poem, whether by this great poet or not, presupposes a detailed knowledge of the situation as already formulated ; e.g. XIII ff. presuppose the detail of X-XII, not merely the general Trojan saga (p. 277). At the same time he admits that there are certain passages which hang loose, e.g. the fight between Aeneas and Achilles (p. 305), and he seems prepared to accept 'the recension of Peisistratos' as the probable occasion of their definite reception into the body of the work (pp. 7-11). For a clue to the distinction between new and old he relies upon an examination into the imaginative content. We should always ask ourselves first and foremost what the creator of a given passage could have intended its function and significance to be. It is on the answer to this that the conclusion about authenticity will depend. Rothe gives a much-needed warning against deciding off-hand by considerations of external verisimilitude alone. All great artists have been quite prepared to sacrifice mere probability, if so they could achieve a higher imaginative effect.

It may be improbable that Priam should not know the Achaian chieftains by sight after nine years of warfare, but the Teichoscopia in III justifies itself by the vivid presentment it gives of the characters in the coming tale. Again, the Assembly in Book II gives the effect of the Quarrel on the army at large (and, we may add, explains how in spite of Achilles' defection the soldiers were induced to take the field in force), and moreover it brings before us the whole length and progress of the war. This 'is necessary for an epic on a large scale, but not for an isolated lay' (p. 173). Is it not then more natural to believe that it was designed by a poet working on such a scale ?

The Embassy to Achilles in IX Dr. Rothe accepts as original, and he gives a very brilliant analysis of it as poetry, showing incidentally how perfectly the long speech of Phoenix fits into its place, providing exactly the calm interval filled with tender recollections that can make us understand the change of tone in Achilles' Answer to Ajax after his fierce outburst to Odysseus.

Incidentally also Dr. Rothe draws a most suggestive inference from the tale of

Meleager. It is clear from the allusive way in which this is told that it was a well-known saga. Now it is astonishingly like the general plan of our Iliad—which no doubt is the reason why it was used here, whoever the author of IX may be. In its short compass it contains a grand plot, a plot that only needs working out in the large to produce a true epic. Dr. Rothe does not shrink from the conclusion that Homer actually was inspired by such a model as this to the construction of his own noble framework.

The real difficulty against the acceptance of Book IX lies, as the scholarly critic has the acumen to recognise, in its relation to Book XVI. With characteristic honesty he confesses it to be surprising that, as the Iliad stands, Achilles should not go himself to the war instead of sending his comrade, and that he should speak (84-90) as though no Embassy had ever taken place. Rothe suggests that the first flaw arises from the poet's desire to weave into the rest of the plot the splendid motive of Achilles' return to the field through his agony at the death of his friend (p. 278), and that the second may be explained by additions due to rhapsodes who recited Book XVI as an isolated song. But is it not a simpler theory to hold that it is Book IX which is the addition? Book XVI would then be as flawless as it is thrilling.

The Lay of Dolon, some notes on its language, verse, and contents, with remarks by the way on the canons and methods of Homeric criticism. By ALEXANDER SHEWAN. Pp. 290. Macmillan, 1911.

This book is fairly described by its title. It contains an industrious collection of all the criticisms on the Doloneia that the author could find, and a passionate attempt to discredit all 'advanced critics' and 'separatists' and 'dissectors.' The author has no difficulty in showing that many hasty and unwise things have been said by writers on the Homeric question. But he seldom understands his adversaries' position, and his fundamental assumptions are such as few critical students of Homer would accept. He assumes the single authorship by one very early writer as so certain that nothing short of demonstration could shake it; he assumes that all repeated and 'inorganic' lines were put by 'Homer' in their present places and have never been moved or falsely inserted, thus ignoring the evidence of analogy and of the pre-aristarchean papyri. In considering the language he often forgets to allow for the principle, accepted by most modern critics, that an indefinite amount of modernization, corruption, and addition of lines has taken place pretty evenly all over the poems, but takes the existence of a 'modern' form in a supposed 'ancient' part as a contradiction. Also a bold statement that 'The position of the Cyclices in Greek literature is now well ascertained' is followed by an assumption about them which many scholars think was disproved long ago by Wilamowitz. Apart from these defects and a pervading tone of party spirit, the book is well written, competent, and full almost to excess of references to German periodicals. If Mr. Shewan would only study in order to find out, not in order to confute, he would do valuable work. The book is not likely to alter the verdict of good scholars on the language of K. The difference of style cannot but make itself felt. But it will correct certain harsh and slip-shod judgments, and it may perhaps counteract the habit, not yet dead in some critics, of speaking contemptuously of all passages which they think 'late' or 'from a different source.' Such a view implies that all poetical feeling in Greece was dead before Aeschylus, and that there was only one spot—and that unknown—in which good poetry was produced. G. M.

The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation. By ANGELO MOSSO, translated by MARION C. HARRISON. Pp. 424, 203 illustrations. London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1910. 16s.^{net}.

Dr. Angelo Mosso has thrown together in this book the results of his studies of the

beginnings of civilization in the Mediterranean basin. He is chiefly occupied with the Neolithic period, and stops short of the development of the Cretan culture. The book contains many observations of value, chiefly with regard to the author's own investigations in Crete and in Southern Italy, and he publishes useful material. But unluckily his book is so loosely put together, without any apparent order in its arrangement, so many of his *data* are inaccurate, so many of his conclusions are unjustified, and he so often seems to contradict himself, that we fear he will be a misleading guide to the general public for whom this translation is intended. Inaccurate *data* are specially noticeable when he refers to Egypt, and as an example of an unjustifiable conclusion we may instance his adoption of the surely untenable view that the rock-paintings of Cogul in Spain (see *L'Anthropologie* xx, 1909, pp. 1 ff.) are somehow connected with Minoan art. In putting forward this view he deliberately denies the palaeolithic age of the Spanish paintings, which is practically certain. In dealing with Cretan religion Dr. Mosso seems to abandon the realm of science for that of the imagination. His illustrations are good, and will be useful. The translator has done her work very well, though her preservation of the Italian plural in 'galopetre,' instead of writing it 'galopetrai' or 'galopetras,' argues a certain unfamiliarity with the subject as well as with Greek. The index is not very good.

The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome. By COLEMAN PHILLIPSON. 2 vols. Pp. xxiv+419 and xvi+421. London : Macmillan and Co. 1911. 21s. net.

Dr. Phillipson has essayed a hard task, the magnitude of which can be partly gauged by a reference to the Bibliography prefixed to the work, which contains a list, extending over twenty-six pages, of the writings, ancient and modern, referred to in the following chapters, or by a glance at the Index of Authorities with which the book closes. His aim has been to give a 'comprehensive and systematic account of the international law, public and private, of ancient Greece and Rome,' emphasizing (as is natural in one who is himself a lawyer) the juridical side of the subject rather than its historical development. In twenty-eight chapters the author discusses the main questions of international law and usage among the Greeks and Romans, with passing references to some of the other states of antiquity. The opening chapters (i.-iv.) deal with the Greek city-state system, the *ius naturale* and *ius gentium*, and the extent to which the Greeks and Romans recognized an international law. Chapters v.-xii. are devoted to an examination of the attitude of the two states towards foreigners, especially those domiciled in their midst, and the conditions of naturalization. In chapters xiii.-xvii. the functions and rights of ambassadors, negotiations, and the various kinds of treaties and alliances are considered, together with the practice of extradition. The balance of power, the relationship of colonies to their mother-states, and international arbitration form the subjects of chapters xviii.-xxi, while in the concluding seven chapters the rules and practices regulating war, whether by land or by sea, reprisals and neutrality are carefully investigated.

After this brief summary of its main contents, it is hardly necessary to add that the book is of great value and meets a felt want. Dr. Phillipson writes clearly, interestingly, and to the point; his matter is well arranged, and the copious references to and quotations from ancient and modern sources enhance enormously the value of the work. The author marshals a striking array of examples from ancient history to enforce and illustrate his conclusions, and merits the thanks alike of historians, lawyers, and students of the classics by the devotion and thoroughness with which he has carried out his self-imposed task.

We would gladly stop here did candour allow. But we must add that, good as it is,

the work might and should have been much better. Dr. Phillipson is primarily a lawyer, and as such is peculiarly fitted to deal with a subject of this nature. But could he not have submitted the book to the criticism of some friend who was primarily a classical scholar? Errors in the accentuation of Greek words are far too plentiful, mistakes in punctuation frequently make nonsense of the passages cited, faults in spelling supply numerous riddles not always easy of solution. Proper names come off especially badly: for instance, Audoleon becomes Andoleon (i. 184), the Eleuthernians figure as Eleutherans (ii. 232), the Aeolians as Aetolians (ii. 13), the Phocians as Phocidians (ii. 279, 354), the Helorus as Eleorus (ii. 140), Peraea as Peria (ii. 143), Narthacium as Narthacus (ii. 158), the Acarnanians as Acharnians (i. 173), Phalerum as Phalara (i. 343). This list could be greatly extended if space permitted. Nor are mistakes of other kinds lacking. We may pass over omissions and the inadequate treatment of some subjects coming strictly within the scope of the book, as also statements in which the author has expressed a possible, though in our judgment a mistaken, view, and give a few examples of positive errors. The Chalcidians who made the famous treaty with Amyntas III. of Macedon were not those of Euboea (ii. 71), but those of Olynthus and the neighbourhood: Crissa is not 'situated on the heights of Mount Parnassus' (ii. 8), nor is Triphylia in Argolis (ii. 3). The statement that 'a ram and two sheep had to be provided for the sacrifices at the Panathenaea by each of the allies and the cleruchs' (ii. 18) is both loose and inaccurate. But worse remains. We might search long before discovering two such startling errors as that by which Cleisthenes' activity is placed in 403, after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War (i. 187), and that by which the conclusion of an alliance in 588-572 B.C. is attributed to the prospect of the Persian invasion (ii. 54).

One more criticism must be made. The author fully recognizes the contribution of inscriptions to our materials for the study of international relations. 'The science of epigraphy,' he writes (i. 64), 'has been a veritable revelation of ancient international law, and an invaluable supplement to and corrective of the historical writings.' Yet he knows apparently only the first three volumes of the Berlin collection of *Inscriptiones Graecae*, which he cites under their discarded title of *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, and even these have often been neglected for Rangabé's *Antiquités Helléniques*, a work quite out of date and entirely superseded. Thus, though in one case (ii. 66 note 1) references are given to Michel's *Recueil*, the C.I.A. and Dittenberger (for 163 we should read 214), the text quoted is that of Rangabé, which is inferior to that given by the other three works. True, the difference here is not very great, but in a case like that of *I.G.* ii. 584, the text quoted (i. 343 note 2) from Rangabé is so seriously wrong as to be almost worthless.

If in a second edition, which will, we hope, be demanded before long, Dr. Phillipson will carefully eradicate these and similar errors, he will give to lawyers and scholars a work which will meet with an unreserved welcome and will take its place as the standard treatise upon the important subject with which it deals.

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Cyzicus. By F. W. HASLUCK. Pp. xii+326; 3 maps, 24 illustrations. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1910. 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Hasluck needs no introduction to readers of the *Journal*. This welcome book is an essay on the local history of Cyzicus and the adjacent region between the Granicus and Maeander valleys. Geography and topography (with the scanty facts known about the history of the outlying towns), the history of Cyzicus, religion, and Cyzicene government and institutions, these are the topics. At the end there is added an exhaustive bibliography and a classified catalogue of all known inscriptions, to which the citations in the text refer. It is regrettable that the more important texts, or the important portions of them, were not printed, since the reader cannot check the statements based

on them without laborious research in a well-stocked library. The book is fairly well illustrated with photographs, plans, and maps (the district map being reproduced from H. Kiepert).

The author modestly describes his work as 'little more than a compilation, checked where possible by original research,' and he fully recognises that his results are often provisional. That is the spirit of the true researcher. But he has succeeded in handing on the torch with a brighter flame, and this measure of success must satisfy him and us. In the topographical discussion the painstaking collection of evidence from a great variety of sources and the clear definition of the problems mark a distinct advance. Novelties are few and rarely, if ever, based on irrefragable evidence, but some are probable and worthy of note. Poemanenum *civitas* is separated from Poemanenum *castellum*, and the former placed at Alexa, the latter at Eski-Manias, nine miles S.E. (long ago suggested as the site of Poemanenum). This is attractive and simplifies the road-question, and Manias may represent the old name, even though Ποιμανοῦ is the steady tradition of the ecclesiastical lists, and not the occasional variant Ποιμαίον (p. 116). Munro's identification of Miletropolis with Melde is accepted, but the exact site of Hadrianutherae remains undetermined. Achyratis is plausibly placed at Hodja Kalési near Eftele, which is neatly identified with the village Pteleae. The Kara-derè river becomes the Enbeilus or Empelus, though on p. 139 the old identification with the Tarsius is resumed. Baris is placed at or near Geunen; but perhaps Hierā Germe is a more probable identification: Kiepert's explanation Germe=Thermae is confirmed by C.I.L. iii. *Suppl.* 14200¹, and the significance of *hiero* is unmistakable. It is certainly to be placed at one or other of the hot springs of the district and it lay 'near Cyzicus.'

The general treatment of religion is sound, but we think that the Hellenic purity of the Cyzicene Kore is exaggerated, and we dissent from the views expressed about θεὸς ὑψιστος, the significance of which has been brought out by Schürer and Cumont. The argument in favour of the identity of the Asiarchate and the High-priesthood of Asia might have been strengthened by reference to the proved identity of the analogous titles in the Moesian Pontus: but what is the evidence for the statement (p. 261) that Asiarchs had existed at the time of the *Muciea* before the establishment of the imperial cult?

We hope that Mr. Hasluck will extend his energy to other special districts and so advance our knowledge in what is now the only profitable way.

Ptolemais in Oberägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hellenismus in Ägypten. By G. PLAUMANN. Pp. xii+137. Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1910. M. 4. 50.

This volume represents the results of a research undertaken under the supervision of Prof. Wilcken. Its subject is the town of Ptolemais in Upper Egypt, which has a special interest as an isolated outpost of Hellenism and as a privileged commune standing outside the general system of Ptolemaic administration. Information concerning Ptolemais is tantalising in its slightness, and even the efforts of Dr. Plaumann avail to cast but a broken light upon its history. Yet an exhaustive scrutiny of all the relevant inscriptions and papyri, and a judicious comparison of these with documents of other Hellenistic cities, have enabled the author to add very considerably to the existing stock of knowledge regarding the town. By a consensus of evidence drawn from its political institutions, its cults and festivals, and the nomenclature of its inhabitants, Ptolemais is shown to have retained, until its destruction by the Arabs, a strikingly pure form of Hellenic life. Among the details in Dr. Plaumann's account attention may be drawn to the oligarchic character of the Government (which perhaps originated, not, as the author suggests, in Roman interference, but in the revolution mentioned in the inscription on pp. 4-5, and so dates back to the early history of the town), the looseness of its connexion with the

central government at Alexandria, the presence of numerous trade guilds, and the persistence of paganism to the exclusion of Christianity. The usefulness of the book might have been increased by a conspectus of the miscellaneous documents used as sources of information; and its attractiveness is impaired by a somewhat crabbed style of exposition. A statement on the first page, to the effect that the Ptolemies were the most active hellenisers among Alexander's successors, is surely unfair to the Seleucids. But these imperfections hardly detract from the general merit of a work which throughout displays wide erudition and excellent judgment.

Promenades Archéologiques en Espagne. Par PIERRE PARIS. Pp. 306, 54 Plates. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910.

M. Pierre Paris, whose *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie primitive en Espagne* is familiar to all students of ancient Spain, and who has also informed them by his occasional articles in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* of the progress of archaeological discovery in that country, appeals here to a wider circle of readers. They can visit under his enthusiastic guidance Altamira and its prehistoric caves with their drawings of primitive beasts, Cerro de los Santos, Elche where was found the masterpiece of Iberian art, Carmona, Osuna, Tarragona, with its cyclopean walls and superb aqueduct, and above all Numantia, where the patient research of Schulten has laid bare the little Iberian hill-town, which is now being excavated by the Spaniards themselves, and the remarkable range of camps which Scipio built with a solidity suited rather to the siege of Troy than to a blockade of a few months. The author does not disdain to enliven his book with descriptions of scenery and with such stories as the picturesque tale of the coming to Elche of its venerated image of the Virgin. He has provided a number of adequate photographs, which illustrate both the sites and the most remarkable antiquities found on them, and has added a bibliography to each chapter. References in the text to the number of the plates and a summary map indicating the chief places mentioned would have added to the utility of the book. It is to be hoped that M. Paris will attract some young English student to a wide and still unexplored field of research, where there are many problems which cannot fail to interest all inquirers into the commercial relations of the Mediterranean peoples.

Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics : New and enlarged edition. By BARCLAY V. HEAD, assisted by G. F. HILL, GEORGE MACDONALD, and W. WROTH. Pp. lxxxviii. + 966, with 5 Tables. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. 42s.

A quarter of a century has passed since Dr. Head's monumental *Historia Numorum* was first issued, and the mass of numismatic literature that has accumulated since that date has made it more and more difficult to keep pace with the data at present at our disposal. Dr. Head himself confesses that single-handed he could not have attempted the task, and in the preface to the second edition makes handsome acknowledgement of help accorded him by Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. Warwick Wroth, Dr. George Macdonald, and Prof. E. J. Rapson, in revising and remodelling various sections of the work. Whatever exception may be taken to certain matters of form or detail it is a very great achievement, on which the veteran British numismatist and his collaborators deserve the hearty congratulations of all students.

The task of bringing Greek numismatics up to date is indeed enormous. The progress of the British Museum Catalogues in the last twenty-five years is some measure of the advance made in a variety of important fields. Among the subjects embraced by these are the Peloponnes, Athens, Aegina, Corinth and her Colonies, Pontus, and the Kingdom of Bosporus; a succession of Provinces of Asia Minor: Cyprus,

Syria, Phoenicia : Alexandria and the Nomes of Egypt. In several of these numismatic provinces the cataloguing work of Dr. Head himself and of those who till lately were his colleagues in the Department and the luminous introductory matter with which it has been accompanied have placed the study on an entirely new basis.

It is difficult to make adequate selections from the mass of new materials taken note of by Dr. Head and his collaborators in the present work. Among the earliest of the novelties referred to is the remarkable electrum stater of unknown Ionian attribution showing two confronted lions with a forepaw on the capital of a column, an interesting survival of the Mycenaean type, paralleled by the Phrygian monuments of the eighth and ninth centuries B.C. The coin itself is hardly later than 700 B.C. The standard is that described as 'Phoenician.' But has Dr. Head taken in the full significance of the persistence in this and other cases of Late Mycenaean and Minoan types on archaic coins of Ionia and elsewhere? An allusion is indeed made on p. xxxix to the discovery at Knossos as well as among Late Mycenaean remains at Old Salamis in Cyprus of 'dumps' of precious metal—in the case of the Knossian example dropped on a surface marked with a Minoan sign—which show that at least not later than the twelfth century B.C. a medium of currency forming the true antecedent stage to the early coinage of Ionia and Lydia had developed itself in the Minoan world. In calling attention to these discoveries in the *Corolla Numismatica* I was further able to set forth a whole body of evidence proving that the Egyptian gold standard, the Light Babylonian (probably derived through Egypt) and a metric system identical with the so-called 'Phoenician' were already prevalent in Minoan Crete. The silver dump from Knossos is a quarter of a stater belonging to the latter system. Surely it is reasonable to suppose that the Ionian and other Greek traders adopted the traditional standards that they already found in use either on the Aegean littoral or the mainland of Greece, where, as Prof. Ridgeway has shown in the case of Mycenae itself, native standards already existed. On Minoan tablets from the Palace of Knossos reckonings in talents are already seen.

The truth is that, though a short reference is made to these new lines of evidence, the old assumptions of direct influence from the East are still dominant in the present work. The fact that the metric systems of Greece were already in existence in the Aegean lands at a time when Aegean civilization was exercising a preponderant influence not only in Cyprus and the Coastlands of Asia Minor but in Palestine and Phoenicia itself is by no means assimilated. This comes out in an intensive form in the mention of the temple of Minos and Io on the coins of Gaza, where Dr. Head observes 'there is reason to suppose that these divinities were originally introduced into Crete and Greece from Phoenicia.' So too we read of Melos 'This important island, first colonized from Phoenicia and at a later period Hellenized by Dorians, struck coins on the Phoenician standard, which must have survived in Melos from remote times.' But it is an ascertained archaeological fact that there are no Phoenician traces in Melos. What we do know is that it was the scene of an advanced native form of culture, gradually dominated by that of Minoan Crete and subsequently by mainland Mycenaean influences. The 'Phoenician' standard was certainly known there as early as 1500 B.C. Only there were no Phoenicians.

Of the early Ionian and Lydian coinage extraordinarily small denominations, going down to $\frac{1}{50}$ of a stater—mere pin's head coins—have been supplied by the Artemision Treasure. Between the earliest staters ascribed to Lydia with mere angular impressions and the later class with the foreparts of lions, new intermediate types with the head or forepart of a goat, and two cocks or cocks' heads now find their place. As to the Lydian origin of the art of coinage itself and the attribution of many of these early types one *caveat* must be entered. The literary tradition as preserved by Herodotus and Xenophanes of Kolophôn cannot weigh against the broad historical fact that civilization reached Sardes from the Aegean Coast and most probably through Ionian intermediaries.

It must be said that, as far at least as the Anatolian part of the Greek world is concerned, the bulk of the exceptionally interesting types made known since the first publication of *Historia Numorum* are to be found among the autonomous bronze issues

of Imperial times. Many new types are here cited which throw an invaluable light on local history. The alliances, the magistracy and eminent citizens, the monuments, the indigenous cults and folk-lore, the public games and festivals all find new illustration. How it brings home to us a little Greek community of modern times when in some of the Carian townships we find an **APXIATPOC** referred to as a chief magistrate! How we realize the permanence of Greek religious traditions, when at Nikomedia we see the Goddess holding a small model of her temple, at Lesbos Goddess and Emperor holding it between them, in precisely the same way the Theotokos and Saints and Emperors on the walls of countless Byzantine shrines! Of the highest interest is the bronze medallion of Pergamon—found in 1902 at Escale in the Basses Alpes—struck under Severus, and giving what may be called an abbreviated view of the Great Altar,—which has contributed certain solid data towards the true restoration of the monument.

A bronze piece of Tralles of the time of Antoninus Pius presents an interesting parallel to one already known, inscribed **ΔΙΟC ΓΩΝΑI**, *Iacuabula Jni's*. Here we have **ΕΙΟYC ΓΑΜΟI**, the nuptials of Io 'showing Io as a veiled bride conducted by Hermes as νυμφαγωγός or the meeting of Zeus with Io in her father's cowshed (*Βούστρασις*) (Aesch. *Prom. Vinet.* 652).' At Thyatira a remarkable series of coins relating to a local divinity Tyrimnos or Apollo Tyrimnaeos, holding a double axe, is now added. The Magnesian type representing Themistocles as a hero with a sacrificed bull before him seems, as Professor P. Gardner has pointed out in *Corolla Numismatica*, to supply the right attribution of a Munich statue described by Kekulé and Furtwangler as a Zeus, and at the same time explains the genesis of the legend that Themistocles died from drinking a bull's blood. But these are only a few random instances of the value of many of the types of the Autonomous Imperial Coinage added to the present edition. It is all the more unfortunate that owing to the pressure of space in the effort to comprise the whole material in one volume, passages of interest relating to this section of the work which appeared in the former edition have been cut out or abbreviated to such an extent as to lose the greater part of their value. Thus—to take Mytilene as an example—the observation of Leake as to the pre-eminent taste of this city for recording the names of her principal cities is cut out, and in the case of a somewhat earlier coin the acute identification by Newton of the cultus image on a prow with a figure said to have been found by fishermen in the harbour is also suppressed for no apparent reason.

For the numismatic history of Greece proper far and away the most important contribution to our knowledge within recent years has been supplied by the discovery in 1908 of a hoard of Melian staters—perhaps originally amounting to about 100—which have been partially described by M. Jameson in the *Revue Numismatique*. This discovery came too late to be inserted in the body of the work of the present edition of the *Historia Numorum* except in the shape of a footnote, but a short account has been inserted among the Addenda. Even this is very incomplete, nor indeed without full illustration could any real notion be given of the value of this discovery, including nearly 40 wholly new types and covering a hitherto blank period in the coinage. The finest type (not mentioned in the present work) is a youthful head in a close-fitting *petaso*, whether a local hero or one of the Dioseuri it is difficult to say. As examples of naturalistic art may be mentioned the fig-leaf type and one representing a ram's head, and the evolution of the more geometrical types, one suggested by a slight variation of another, will be found to have a quite special value in the history of Greek coin-types. Melos in early times was the chief art centre of the Central Aegean. Its intimate relations with Minoan Crete have been already referred to, and its subsequent colonization from the Mainland side in Late Mycenaean times. Even the Dorian invasion could not have brought with it a complete break with the earlier tradition, since the followers of Pollis and Delphos included not only Achaeans from Amyklae but 'Minyans' and other members of the pre-Hellenic stock. In the seventh century B.C. both in its vase painting and in its glyptic works—the 'Melian' class of gems—the island easily attained the primacy of Greece.

This newly discovered numismatic series prolongs our acquaintance with Melian art under another aspect.

Serious exception must be taken to the account given by Dr. Head of the magnificent stater of Elis presenting the eagle's head above a leaf, which for largeness of scope is without an equal in the whole Greek series. Its whole character in fact betrays a hand accustomed to work with a sculptor's chisel rather than a moneyer's graver. Already Gardner in his *Types of Greek Coins* had read the letters—not very clear on the B. M. specimen,—as ΔΑ and had suggested that this inscription, which has all the characteristics of an artist's signature, might refer to Daedalus of Sikyon, who is known about this period to have executed work at Olympia. In the first edition of *Historia Numorum* the view was accepted that the letters referred to an engraver's signature and they were read ΑΛ or ΑΔ. In March of last year I was able to exhibit to the Numismatic Society a finely preserved specimen of this coin on which the reading ΔΑ is clear and which goes far to confirm Prof. Gardner's attribution. But in the present work the description, appended to the very unworthy illustration of the coin in Fig. 229, is as follows 'Large Eagle's head above an ivy leaf, beneath, sometimes ΑΛ or ΠΟ.' It must be observed on this that the leaf itself has rather the appearance of bryony than ivy. The inscription is *on* not *beneath* the leaf,¹ a point which has a distinct bearing on the question as to whether it represents an artist's signature. It is ΔΑ not ΑΛ or 'ΠΟ,' the latter reading being based apparently on a still more indifferently struck coin in the British Museum. Dr. Head has even tacitly withdrawn the suggestion that the signature belongs to an engraver, which he was willing to admit in the first edition.

In dealing with the coins of Italy Dr. Head gives rightful prominence to the evidence supplied by a newly discovered inscription which shews that the Tarentine and Herakleian silver stater was known as the νόμος Ἰταλιωτικός. In my 'Horsemen of Tarentum' the impossibility of identifying the νόμος referred to by Aristotle with the diobol had been already pointed out. The above monograph has been here used as a new basis for classification, but M. Vlasto's publication of a hoard of Tarentine coins struck during the Hannibalic period, and the new evidence there supplied as to the Hannibalic standard came probably too late for notice. This, however, cannot be said of the important contribution of M. Vlasto—*Les Monnaies d'Or de Tarente*, published in 1899, to which reference should certainly have been made. Mention, too, should certainly have been made of the extraordinarily interesting silver stater signed by the artist ΚΑΛ . . . ,—one of the most picturesque in the whole Greek series,—showing a naked boy attendant fastening on the cuirass of a warrior, who stands in front of his steed. This coin was purchased by the Berlin Museum in 1906 for 6700 marks. When will the Coin Department of the British Museum have sums like this at its disposal for the purchase of unique numismatic treasures as the opportunity occurs?

In his epoch-making contribution on 'Athenian coin-engravers in Italy,' made by Dr. R. L. Poole to the *Numismatic Chronicle* in 1883, stress was laid on the common artistic qualities displayed by a series of heads that appear about 425 B.C. on coins of Thurii, Heraclea, Terina, Velia, and Neapolis accompanied by the letter Φ. Dr. Poole's conclusion that the Φ here represents the signature of an artist and his fine discrimination in this matter have been recognized by a series of writers well qualified to weigh the aesthetic as well as the purely numismatic sides of the problem. It seems to me therefore to be a subject for regret that the acceptance accorded to this interpretation in the earlier edition is here apparently withdrawn. In support of this changed attitude reference is made to some recent publications which wholly ignore the artistic equations that one had thought to be fully made out. Reference is made to the ingenious attempt of Mr. J. R. McClean to discover numerical values in letters seen in this and other cases. Mr. McClean would see in the Φ of the present series the number 500 and brings

¹ In the earlier edition the letters were rightly described as 'on' the leaf and the present version can hardly be intentional and is probably due to a slip of the pen.

it into connexion with the value of Dionysian gold-pieces. But these were first struck at least half a generation later than the bulk of the present series! The other reference is to the recent article on Terina by Messieurs von Fritze and Gaebler in *Nomisma* (1907), of which it may safely be said that it is more paradoxical in its results than any numismatic publication of recent times. It is sufficient to say here that a series of Terinaean types belonging to the last quarter of the Fifth Century is brought down to after 300 B.C. Dr. Regling on the other hand in his exhaustive study of the coins of Terina fully accepts the view that Φ represents the signature of the artist who worked in the other Magna Graecian cities above mentioned.

The view put forward in my 'Syracusan Medallions' that the later issue of the silver dekadrachms connects itself with the foundation of the Assinarian Games on the defeat of the Athenians in 413 is here accepted, but the full corollary of this in its bearing on the tetradrachm issues at Syracuse seems hardly to be realized. Yet it is a matter of such numismatic moment that a few words may be allowed in this place. The famous tetradrachm type of Kimon with the facing head of Arethusa, which is here classed as one of the hypothetical late tetradrachms issued, was already imitated at Himera, destroyed in 409 B.C., as well as on the early Carthaginian coins of Motya struck about 405 B.C. No tetradrachms are known answering to the 'Medallion' in Kimón's fully developed style. The existence of an almost unique tetradrachm in the style of Euainetos' dekadrachms is itself a strong indication that their issue had ceased very shortly after the time when his 'Medallions' were first struck—in other words about 406 B.C. The cessation of tetradrachm issues is in all probability due to some financial coup of Dionysios in the early days of his tyrannis, of the nature of those referred to by Aristotle. Their place was supplied partly by imported 'Pegasi,' partly by the prolific tetradrachm coinage of the Carthaginian Dominion in Sicily. It even looks as if there had been some definite convention between Dionysios and the Carthaginians regulating mutual monetary relations. It can, I think, be demonstrated that an artist trained in the *atelier* of the great Syracusan engraver—if not Euainetos himself—actually worked for the Carthaginian dies in Sicily. The fine early type with the quadriga, an almost exact reduction of Euainetos' decadadrachms, and quite distinct from the later, Agathokleian class, is here omitted.

The close inter-connexion of the Siculo-Punic coins with those of the Sicilian Greeks and their intimate relation on the other hand with the domestic Carthaginian mintage make it extremely inconvenient to separate the two latter from the former as is here done by almost the entire thickness of the volume. It is the less excusable that at least so far as the Siculo-Punic coinages are concerned a good example had already been set in the British Museum Catalogue. Even as regards the mainland territories of Carthage, the old European ties that go back to the remotest prehistoric times reasserted themselves from the earliest period of her history. The Seventh Century tombs of the city already show it, so far as the externals of civilization go, predominantly under the influence, not of her own Mother City but of that of Syracuse. The later history of this part of Africa makes it an Italy beyond sea. The numismatic types reflect the predominance first of Syracuse and then of Rome. This violent divorce and distant exile jar on one's sense of historic fitness.

With reference to the island of Gaulos (Gozo) a slight correction should be made. The type of the late bronze coinage, the head of Astarte on a crescent, has nothing to do with the remains of the ancient sanctuary visible on the island. This is not as here stated a temple of the Phoenician Moon Goddess but a prehistoric Pillar Shrine, dating from a period long antecedent to the first appearance of Phoenician settlers in the island.

The very magnitude of *Historia Numorum*, here expanded by some 160 pages, makes it inevitable that even on a superficial study an independent critic should find causes for disagreement and occasional rectification. The book would have greatly gained if in place of used-up reproductions of the old blocks it had been freshened up with new illustrations.

But the value of this great work as a whole can hardly be touched by these criticisms in detail. Very great pains have been taken to supply former lacunae and the extremely useful indexes have been greatly added to. The masterly introduction has been largely remodelled and rewritten by Dr. Head. A vast mass of new material has been added to the metrological sections, incorporating the work of Lehmann, Haeberlin, and others. Still—to return to the recurring plaint of this review—it is difficult to understand why the valuable new evidence collected by Prof. Petrie and other explorers regarding Egyptian weight standards, which certainly had a most direct influence on those of early Greece, have been omitted, while so much importance is attached to those of Babylonia, the influence of which on the early Aegean civilization was at most extremely remote and almost wholly indirect.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia. By G. F. HILL, M.A. With one Map, a Table of the Phoenician Alphabet, and 45 Plates. Pp. chi+362. London, 1910. Printed by Order of the Trustees of the British Museum. £2.

Whatever be the truth as regards Dreadnoughts, it must be reluctantly admitted as regards Greek coins that Britain can no longer pretend to keep pace with Germany in the matter of new acquisitions. It is therefore satisfactory to note how well ahead she is in the important duty of making her treasures accessible for study. Indeed, the annals of scholarship in this country record few enterprises that one can contemplate with the same unqualified admiration as the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins. London has left Paris, Berlin, and Vienna hopelessly behind. Begun close upon forty years ago, the series has progressed *ohne Hast* but also *ohne Rast*, each volume as it appeared marking a distinct advance in our knowledge of the region dealt with. Mr. Hill's *Phoenicia* maintains the tradition excellently. He had unusually trying difficulties to encounter—the obscurity of many of the Phoenician legends, the complicated systems of dating, the paucity of definite and well-established historical facts, the confusion engendered by the long drawn-out struggle between the Seleucidae and the Ptolemies. But by patient study of his material he has succeeded in throwing fresh light on quite a number of dark places. We may mention specially his discussions of the pre-Alexandrine coinages of Aradus and Sidon, and his examination of the monograms on the later tetradrachms of the first of these two cities. He does full justice, too, to the interesting types that figure on the colonial issues of Tyre. The book is, of course, indispensable to workers in the field which it covers. In point of form, it exhibits the customary tendency to introduce improvements that the use of its predecessors has suggested. The direction of the dies is noted in all cases where it was likely to have any value as evidence. The hints as to the provenance of individual specimens have been removed to the foot of the page, thus rendering the body of the text more clear. And the weights of all coins are given, not only in grains Troy, but also in grammes—an innovation that will be warmly appreciated abroad. The supply of plates is on the usual liberal scale, and it includes no fewer than seven reserved for specially rare pieces not represented in the Museum trays—a feature that is particularly welcome, albeit it is by no means new. The indexes are as full and useful as ever. The collotype reproductions are very fair, but not so good that one could not wish them better.

Aes Grave. Das Schwergeld Roms u. Mittelitaliens, etc. By Dr. Jur. E. J. HAEBERLIN. Vol. I. Pp. xxviii+280, with 1 Plate. Also Atlas of 103 Plates in large folio. Frankfurt a. M. (Jos. Baer and Co.), 1910. £7 10s.

Haeberlin's long expected *Corpus Numorum Aeris Gravis*, or at least the main body of it, has appeared at last, and it is not too much to say that it more than fulfils the high

hopes with which its advent was awaited. In point of material production it is a truly magnificent work. The 103 collotype plates that go to make up the Atlas are admirably executed, one and all. There is not a single failure among the 2953 separate illustrations they contain. And the volume of text is legibly printed on a large quarto page with a comfortable but not excessive margin. We imagine that there will be general agreement with M. Babelon's brief and comprehensive verdict : *C'est bien le livre le plus beau que la numismatique ait jamais produit.* Nor are the contents less worthy of the respect and gratitude of every student of the subject. They embody the results of many years of conscientious and well-directed labour, carried out by one whose qualifications for the task were unique. He is himself the fortunate possessor of what is by far the finest collection of *aes grave* in existence, and he has been able to snatch sufficient leisure to visit all the public and private museums of Europe that were of importance for his purpose.

That Haeberlin's researches have led to far-reaching conclusions is already well known among numismatists. His views have been outlined in the pages of the *Zeitschrift für Numismathik* and elsewhere. Even those who cannot see their way to accept them in their entirety are fain to admit that they profoundly modify what have hitherto been the accepted notions regarding the early history of Roman money. We need not, however, discuss them here, for a full statement of them is not available yet ; it is reserved for a second and final volume of the *Corpus*. What we get in this volume is a series of classified lists of the various specimens which the author has seen, or about which he has been able to obtain reliable information. The whereabouts of each is noted, and its weight and condition carefully recorded, while there is a running commentary dealing with all the incidental points that are of any value for the scientific enquirer. The opening section, which the excellent illustrations render extraordinarily interesting, describes the *aes rure* and *aes signatum* of Central Italy. The remainder of the volume is devoted to the *aes grave* proper, the order of treatment being as follows : (1) Latium and Campania, including not only the urban issues of Rome itself, together with the contemporary pieces minted at Capua, but also various groups that must be assigned to privileged cities of Central Italy : (2) Apulia (Luceria, Asculum, Venusia) ; (3) the Vestini ; (4) Picenum (Hatria, Firnum) ; (5) Umbria (Arimnum, Iguvium, Tuder, etc.) ; (6) Etruria (Velathri, Tarquinii, etc.). The keynote of the whole is thoroughness without undue prolixity. We congratulate Dr. Haeberlin most cordially, and shall look forward with keen anticipation to the conclusion of a work that richly deserves the much-abused epithet 'monumental.'

Die sacrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum. By KARL KIRCHER.
Pp. viii + 102. Giessen : A. Topelmann, 1910. M. 3. 50.

This is a readable little treatise on the use of wine in the sacrificial ceremonies of the ancients (especially the Greeks) and in some of the quasi-religious functions of their daily life. The principal passages from the authors are brought together and the views of the writer's predecessors, e.g. von Fritze's dissertation *De Libatione*, are temperately discussed. The occasions of libation were many : in formal sacrifices, in connexion with hazardous enterprises undertaken or overpassed, in oath-taking and at the symposia. All the gods (except Aristophanic cloud-gods) shared in these offerings. The wine was offered to them diluted, as in the meals of ordinary life, of which, perhaps, they were originally supposed to partake with man. But the Chthonian divinities looked for wineless offerings, a habit probably contracted in the period before viticulture. In the symposia, as is well-known, the Olympic deities, Zeus Soter and the Heroes had their share, as well as the enigmatic Agathodaemon, who was, it is suggested, originally the ancestral founder of the family. To him (as to the dead) was offered un-mixed wine. In an interesting section headed 'Wine and blood' Kircher contends that the wine-libation in some cases took the place

of primitive blood-drinking or blood-libation. Wine—and noticeably un-mixed wine—was offered to the dead because it was the best substitute for blood, and the imbibing of blood could alone re-animate the wasted body. The very drinking of ‘healths’ and potations from a common cup may be a survival of an early custom of drinking blood with a view to acquiring or strengthening a bond of blood-brotherhood and fellowship. It is certain that by the ancients wine was believed more seriously than by us to possess valuable qualities of nutriment, and it is probable that Dr. Johnson’s famous dictum that ‘he who aspires to be a hero must drink brandy’ would not have seemed entirely fanciful. Traces of this transition from blood to wine may fairly be detected in Greek custom, but the argument has naturally to be helped out a good deal by the analogy of barbarous and non-classical custom. Certain other topics are touched on, e.g. the meaning and object of libatory offerings (inter-communion and renunciation) and the nature of the primitive god of wine, who was not necessarily ‘the jolly Bacchus,’ but, it may be, the indwelling genius of the vine. A concluding chapter deals with various drinking-customs of the ancients.

Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult. Von THEODOR WÄCHTER. Pp. 143.

Giessen: ALFRED TÖPELMANN, 1910. [Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten. IX. Band, I. Heft.]

This book is a useful collection of passages from ancient authors dealing with various objects or situations which were held likely to bring about religious impurity, and which were, on that account, *tabu* to the would-be worshippers. The great crises in the life of man all tend to bring about religious impurity. Such are the seasons of birth, sickness, and death, which expose him to the attacks of demons. Many animals, such as the dog and the sheep, and many inanimate objects, such as iron and gold, were held to expose him to similar danger. An acquaintance with Greek and Roman amulets reveals a widespread belief in a kind of homoeopathic treatment of these attacks. Thus the wearing of amulets in the form of the noxious animals, the wearing of rings composed of the noxious metals, and the wearing of symbols of generation were accounted efficacious in counteracting the dangers. The book is useful both as a work of reference, and as an index of the deep-rootedness of primitive superstitions even in an advanced stage of civilization.

Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum. Von EUGEN FEHRLE. Pp. 250.

Giessen: ALFRED TÖPELMANN, 1910. [Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, VI. Band.]

The main proposition of this work is that enforced chastity in Greek and Roman cults was due to the belief that those thus dedicated were mated to the deities which they served (*ιερὸς γίγης*). The subject is worked out in great and sometimes in rather repulsive detail. In the first part the author illustrates the ideas underlying ceremonial chastity, more especially the religious power which its observance was supposed to bestow. The second part deals with the chastity of priests and priestesses of particular deities, these being enumerated in catalogue form. The examination is then extended to those cases in which chastity was required of religious officials other than priests, or of lay persons taking part in religious ceremonies. Perhaps the most interesting suggestion is that virgin goddesses, such as Artemis, were in origin deities of fertility, and that the notion of virgin purity was of comparatively late growth. Certainly the doctrine of asceticism, which is the concomitant of this notion, seems to be the outcome of the introspective tendencies of a developed civilization. This explains the popularity of the worship of Isis and the Magna Mater in the Graeco-Roman world.

De nuditate sacra sacrificia vinculis scripsit J. HECKENBACH. [Religionsgesch. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten IX. 3]. Pp. 112. Giessen. Topelmann. 1911. M. 3. 80.

This is another of the invaluable series of collections of material relating to the history of religion edited by Wunsch and Denbner. The first part deals with nudity in connexion with ritual and superstition, with the usual chapter on the same feature in Christian ritual, where it is chiefly confined to the baring of the feet. The second part deals with the religious or superstitious significance of knots and other forms of ligature or confinement, such as girdles and rings, which were removed during ceremonies, or used in witchcraft for binding the victim by a spell. The short treatise is full of interesting matter.

De Graecorum Theologia capita duo scripsit CAROLUS REINHARDT. Pp. 122. Weidmann, 1910.

Dr. Reinhardt uses 'theologia' in its Greek sense. Diels has proved the existence of an old corpus of Homeric allegories which was a source of Heraclitus, 'Plutarch's Life of Homer,' and Stobaeus, and others; also of Sextus Empiricus and 'Probus' on Verg. Ecl. VI. 31. These two, however, derive immediately from Heracleo the grammarian. The first caput contains a pursuit of this source: the sources of Cornutus are traced by the way: Crates is suspected, but is evidently not himself the source: an examination of Eustathius eventually reveals the importance of the female grammarian Demo, who seems to have used a corpus and added to it herself. She is not a mere fictitious personation of the Sibyl by a writer of the fourth century, A.D., as Usener thought, but a real 'grammatica' of Neo-platonic times. Crates was used in the corpus. The second 'caput' deals with Apollodorus of Athens, produces some new fragments, and shows the difference in method between him and the Stoic school of Crates.

Quellenkritik is difficult to judge without prolonged study, but the book seems learned, able, and sober.

Die politische Wirksamkeit der griechischen Frau. By OTTO BRAUNSTEIN. Pp. 95. 8vo. Leipzig : A. Hoffmann, 1911.

'The Greek woman in politics' is a title suggesting a broader and more exciting range of topics than those that are actually discussed in this little essay, which is mainly confined to the epigraphical material of Imperial times. Useful and well grouped lists are given of inscriptions and there are adequate references to the testimony of coins. From this evidence it is clear that women in the Imperial age—often, probably, because they were rich women—undertook definite 'liturgies' and officiated as Gymnasiarchs and *ἀγωνοθέται*. They also filled certain magistracies, such as the archonship at Delphi, Sparta, Syros, and Thasos. A woman was sometimes a *Pyrgitis* (like that Nymphidia Berenice who figures on Imperial coins of Pergamon), sometimes a *Stephanophoros*, or held other similar offices. It does not appear that these offices involved political or 'parliamentary' duties in the local Council. The duties were mainly connected with religion and cultus, though they sometimes carried with them the privilege of eponymy and the more doubtful privilege of providing the necessary funds. Braunstein, moreover, makes it clear that these offices were mainly confined to Asia Minor, and even there chiefly to its western and south-western districts. Conspicuous instances occur in Lycia and Caria; and it is suggested (p. 69) that a survival of the ancient Mutterrecht (the hegemony of the mother in family and state; the tracing of kinship through the mother, etc.) was responsible for the appearance of women in those countries in offices that were, nominally at least, magisterial. The evidence that connects the Lycian Mutterrecht described by Herodotus with the inscriptions of Imperial times is, indeed, neither abundant nor decisive, but the writer has handled it judiciously.

Beschreibung der Glyptothek zu München. Von A. FURTWAHLER ; zweite Auflage, besorgt von PAUL WOLTERS. Pp. vii.+418. Munich : Buchholz, 1910. M. 3. 50.

The interest of this new edition centres in the Aeginetan sculptures : for since the publication of Furtwangler's catalogue in 1900 his discoveries at Aegina and his investigation of the evidence have revolutionised our notions as to the composition of the pediments and the restoration of the individual figures. He had himself made some notes for the revision of the catalogue : and his great publication '*Aegina*' supplies all the necessary data. These have now been worked into the present catalogue with a care and thoroughness for which Prof. Wolters' name is a sufficient guarantee : his piety towards his predecessor has led him to state Furtwangler's views rather than to modify or criticise them. The date of publication was too early for a reference to Dr. Mackenzie's reconstruction of the E. pediment in the *British School Annual* xv. ; a catalogue would hardly be the place for discussion, but an indication of Prof. Wolters' views would have been welcome. Another addition consists in some new evidence as to provenience recovered from Valesi's *Fabbriche di Verona*, 1753, and from documents left by Haller. The new indexes are useful : another that might be suggested is a table of the contents of the plates of Furtwangler's *Aegina* in relation to the catalogue numbers ; it is not easy to find and identify all the fragments there figured.

Landschaftliche Elemente in der griechischen Kunst bis Polygnot.
By MARGRET HEINEMANN, Dr. Phil. Pp. 104. Bonn : Friedrich Cohen, 1910.
19 Illustrations.

Miss Heinemann aims at tracing out the appearances of landscape in Greek Art. She rightly takes the problem as one dealing with the setting of the patterns within a single field of vision rather than with the presence or absence of natural forms. But in places her aim is diverted. The relative novelty of Cretan excavation leads the writer to enumerate in detail the various naturalistic motives used in Minoan Art. She succumbs also to the fascinating game of distributing the different seventh and sixth century vase fabrics to their supposed centres of origin. The latter half of the essay is concentrated on a detailed analysis of certain specimens of Attic black- and red-figured pottery. But no enumeration of the naturalistic elements used in design will solve the problem in its strict sense. It is the use of such elements in subordination to the single effect of the whole which distinguishes landscape and consequently landscape elements from design in general. And for this we require fuller evidence from remains, especially of the long period between the Mycenaean age and the age of the Hellenistic relief. The well-worn theme of the Shield of Achilles and the indications of environment on Attic vase designs take us but a little way. It may be that the final disappearance of painting in all its higher forms makes the development of landscape in Greek Art insoluble. But a collection of extant remains in which the artist shows himself primarily a landscapist and secondarily a designer would be of greater value than such a compilation as the present, careful and comprehensive as it is.

Greek Papyri in the British Museum : Catalogue, with Texts. Vol. iv. :
The Aphrodito Papyri. By H. I. BELL ; with an appendix of Coptic Papyri by
W. E. CRUM. Pp. xlviii+648. London, 1911. £4.

The fourth volume of the British Museum Catalogue of non-literary papyri has a homogeneous character which was not possessed by its predecessors. Though considerably larger than any of the previous volumes, it relates to a single find of papyri, dealing with

the affairs of a single district and covering only a short period of time. The district is that of Aphroditopolis (the earlier Ἀφροδίτης πόλις, the modern Kom Ishgau, famous for the discovery of the Cairo Menander papyrus), and the period is the early part of the eighth century, a period hitherto very scantily represented by original documents. The collection now acquired by the British Museum and edited by Mr. Bell consists of the administrative papers of the pagarchy of Aphroditopolis,—the pagarchy being (as Mr. Bell has already shown in this *Journal* xxviii. pp. 100 f.) the unit of administration at this date, in place of the ancient nome. The most interesting section of these papers consists of official letters from the Arab Governor of Egypt, Kurrah b. Sharik, to the Greek pagarch, Basilios; the most extensive section is that which contains the accounts of the revenue of the district. Both throw much light on the early Arab administration of Egypt, and will be of considerable interest to future historians of the Mohammedan empire. Some of the official orders have Arabic counterparts, and there is a considerable group of Coptic documents, which have been edited by Mr. Crum; but the great bulk of the collection is in Greek. The Greek is fluent, but ungrammatical, and is rendered somewhat unintelligible by a very haphazard system of punctuation. Palaeographically these papyri form an important link between the previously known documents of the seventh century and the earliest vellum minuscules of the ninth: some specimens have been published by the New Palaeographical Society, and in the atlas attached to vol. iii. of the British Museum Catalogue. The editing of these documents, and especially of the accounts, has presented extraordinary difficulties of interpretation, which have been dealt with by Mr. Bell with the most admirable skill and patience. The volume is a monument of labour, and it is to be regretted that there can necessarily be few who will be in a position to appreciate it properly.

The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome. By W. S. DAVIS. Pp. xi+340.
New York: Macmillan Co. 1910. 8s. 6d. net.

The idea of this book is good: it sets out to trace the influence of money and of the commercial spirit throughout the period of Roman greatness. But the idea is not consistently carried out. The greater part of the book is concerned with the social life of the Empire, and, though the account is well arranged and interesting, it hardly justifies the author's claim to have approached the subject from a new point of departure: it differs little in point of view from such works as those of Friedländer and Professor Dill, to which an obligation is acknowledged, and does not aim at their comprehensiveness. Professor Davis makes the common error of treating the whole period of Roman rule too much as a single unit: instances to illustrate a statement are taken indiscriminately from the first century or the third, and little attempt is made to trace a development. But, in spite of this, the book could be recommended to the class of readers for which it is intended as a vigorous and well-proportioned description of Roman Society, if it were not for the inaccuracies which disfigure it. To take a few instances only, the Republican taxes are said to have been a fluctuating tithe collected by publicani in Sardinia and Greece as well as in Sicily and Asia, and the whole evil of tax-farming is over emphasised. The importance of the Italian vine-culture in the period of the early Empire is underestimated: grazing is said to have been the only profitable pursuit. The hostility of the Emperors to the Senatorial class is exaggerated. And though abundant use is rightly made of the letters of the younger Pliny, they are often misinterpreted. Misprints in the spelling of proper names are surprisingly frequent. Finally, although the book is not intended primarily for the advanced scholar, there is little to commend the highly imaginative account in the first chapter of the financial crisis of A.D. 33.

Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul. By T. G. TUCKER. Pp. xix+453; 124 illustrations. London: Macmillan. 1910. 12s. 6d. net.

This is a companion volume to the author's 'Life in Ancient Athens': its object is to present to the unlearned reader a true but vivid picture of the life and thought of a portion of the ancient world. It is not an easy task, but Professor Tucker is very successful. He wisely limits his field: he does not attempt to cover the whole period of the Roman Empire, but he shows how people lived and thought, how they worked and how they amused themselves, in and about the year 64 A.D. The subjects are well chosen, the style is vigorous, and the numerous illustrations are skilfully selected and well reproduced. The title is unfortunate, since it suggests a much wider field than that which is actually surveyed. We expect to find a description of life in the provinces, upon which the author hardly touches. It is true that a brief account is given of the Roman system of government and provincial administration; but this is the least successful part of the book. The subject is too large for such slight treatment, and as a result the impression that is left is hazy. There are also inaccuracies in the chapters on taxation and on the army. Again, it is difficult to explain the prominence given in the title to St. Paul. But, if the book is regarded as a sketch of life in Rome and, to a lesser extent, in Italy, it can be unreservedly praised. It is perhaps a pity that the author did not make it still more useful to a different class of reader by occasionally giving his references. Mr. Warde Fowler has shown that a book can retain its popular character, even if foot-notes are added.

The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. By W. HARVEY, W. R. LETHABY, O. M. DALTON, H. A. A. CRUSO, and A. C. HEADLAM. Pp. 76: 13 plates, 30 illustrations. Edited by R. Weir Schultz. [Byzantine Research Fund.] London: B. T. Batsford, 1910. 30s.

This handsome volume is the first publication of a new society devoted to the promotion of Byzantine research, and for this reason alone it should receive a cordial welcome from all those who are interested in a field of study which has hitherto attracted comparatively little attention in this country. The subject of the book, the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, is one of the finest buildings of early Christendom, and the grotto beneath it is associated by very ancient tradition with the birthplace of Christ. Dr. Headlam in the short chapter which he contributes to the book on this last point carries the tradition back to 155-160 A.D. or to a still earlier tradition recorded by Jerome, who complains bitterly that from the time of Hadrian to the reign of Constantine Bethlehem was the centre of a local Tammuz cult, 'and in the very cave where the infant Christ had uttered His earliest cry, lamentation was made for the paramour of Venus.'

The church itself should perhaps more correctly be called an eastern Roman basilica than Byzantine. It is an extremely handsome building, cruciform, with the *haikal* and transepts ending in apses, and the aisles supported by a double row of monolith columns. Mr. Harvey's description, backed by excellent plans and photographs, enables the reader to realize the great architectural beauty of the church, especially of the interior. As to the age of the building there can be little doubt that the whole structure in the main was the work of Constantine. Strzygowski speaks of it as the 'unique, oldest, and worthiest amongst the remaining monuments of Christian art,' and Vogué also had little hesitation in recognizing it as the actual church of Constantine's foundation. Mr. Lethaby in his general and historical account, after weighing the evidence, accepts also the earlier date. Mr. Harvey has made it clear that the church was built at one time and must be either wholly the work of Constantine or wholly that of Justinian. The chief reason put forward by the supporters of Justinian being the builder is the cruciform shape of the building and the use of the cross as a decoration on the capitals of columns, etc. But

the cross has now been shewn to have been a not infrequent design long before the time of Constantine. In addition to the numerous examples cited by Mr. Lethaby, there are also several forthcoming from Egypt. There can therefore be little doubt as to the early age of the church.

The church walls were at one time decorated with elaborate mosaics, some of which remain on the wall above the columns of the aisles, under the windows in the nave. These are the subject of a special study by Mr. O. M. Dalton. Unfortunately they are so dirty as to render photography almost hopeless, while Mr. Harvey's coloured drawings are not particularly satisfactory : this is hardly to be wondered at, as the fanaticism of the rival Christian sects who share the church under Turkish surveillance will not permit of their being touched, and Mr. Harvey had to make his studies at a distance with the aid of field-glasses. The principal scenes remaining are the Incredulity of Thomas, the Entry into Jerusalem, and a fragment of the Transfiguration : the iconographical types here are all eastern and not western. There are also brief sentences summing up the rulings of the chief oecumenical councils of the church separated by very curious patterns, and several angelic figures between the windows. Mr. Dalton dates the mosaics to about the eleventh or twelfth century.

The usefulness of the book is enhanced by a summary contributed by Mr. Cruso of the descriptions of this celebrated shrine given by early and mediaeval pilgrims. The whole work however would have been improved by better editing. As it is there is much overlapping and occasional contradictory information. Nevertheless it is an excellent beginning, and if future publications of the Fund maintain so excellent a standard, their success in the future should be assured.

Amida ; Matériaux pour l'Épigraphie et l'Histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr par MAX VAN BERCHEM: Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters von Nordmesopotamien, Hellas und dem Abendlande von J. STRZYGOWSKI. Mit einem Beitrag: 'The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin' von GERTRUDE L. BELL. Pp. 390 with 23 plates. Heidelberg: Winter; and Paris: Leroux. 1910. M. 60.

Barely ten years have elapsed since Professor Strzygowski revolutionized the study of the dying antique world by the publication of his *Orient oder Rom*. A goodly row of volumes developing the theme therein outlined now stands upon our shelves, and more than this, Prof. Strzygowski has seen his conception of the course of artistic evolution colour the archaeological research of his time and give the spur to fresh investigation. In an analysis covering a field so vast there are necessarily many points upon which no certain opinion can as yet be expressed, but the evidence which is now beginning to flow in abundantly from Asia has tended to strengthen his position, and in the main his views are now accepted as a basis for further inquiry. Those who have followed the current of his thought will not be surprised to find that he has chosen Diyarbekr, the ancient Amida, for the subject of his new book. The greatest of living Arab epigraphists, Prof. van Berchem, is his collaborator, and the much desired material was supplied mostly by the late General de Beylié. The development of early Christian and early Moslem art out of the late antique, both occidental and oriental, is illustrated in Diyarbekr more saliently from the Hellenistic than from the Inner Asiatic side. Classical tradition was strongly felt in the districts which bound Mesopotamia to the north, but it was moulded by a vigorous local creative force which drew its inspiration from the ancient East. Rich decorative motives overlie the classical forms, and the very ground plan of church and monastery takes a shape which is unknown west of the Euphrates. Prof. Strzygowski devotes the greater part of his monograph to the study of the Ulu Jaïm, a building which has been the subject of many and diverse conjectures. Prof. van Berchem, in deciphering the inscriptions which adorn it, provided the first clue to the enigma. The

two storied arcade on the west side of the court was put together in the early years of the twelfth century, while the corresponding east arcade is dated 40 years later. Prof. Strzygowski, in an examination as searching as it is brilliant, has succeeded in assigning the west arcade to classical builders and in determining that the east arcade (with the exception of re-used shafts and capitals) is the work of Moslem imitators. He is inclined to date the earlier portions in the reign of Constantine, but this conjecture must be received with some reserve. The Tur Abdin district, south-east of Diyarbekr, abounds in churches and monasteries, the architecture of which bears the closest resemblance to that of the Ulu Jami. But the introduction of monasticism into this region can scarcely have occurred much earlier than the year 400; indeed one of the most famous of the monastic houses is known to have been founded by Arcadius and reconstructed by Anastasius. The buildings of the Tur Abdin must therefore be placed in the fifth century, and it would not be unreasonable to assign to the same period the ancient fragments in the churches of Diyarbekr and in the Ulu Jami. Was the Ulu Jami originally a Christian church? The question cannot be answered definitely, though there is a probability that it may occupy the site of the shrine of St. Thomas.

Diyarbekr presents one of the finest examples of a fortified city, and its walls and gates have received careful study, chiefly at the hands of Prof. van Berchem, on whom the publication of the inscriptions devolved. He concludes that antique plans underlie the existing Moslem structures, and his survey of the evidence before him is, like all his work, a model of sober and balanced judgment backed by learning. Both authors are careful to point out that their labours cannot be regarded as final, owing to the scantiness of the materials at their disposal. But to them belongs the credit of laying a sure foundation for future research, and of calling the attention of archaeologists to the important problems which are still to be solved.

A Companion to Latin Studies. Edited by J. E. SANDYS. Pp. xxxv+891. Cambridge University Press. 1910.

Dr. Sandys and his twenty-five collaborators have produced a notable book of reference, within a manageable compass. To be able to refresh the memory without the pain of seeking an encyclopaedia is a matter for rejoicing. The work appears to have been done extremely well, and the immense amount of information is presented tersely and intelligibly. This book, however, and the *Companion to Greek Studies*, which appeared five years ago, are a sign of the times, and it is a question whether examiners or examinees will be the more gratified, for both asking and answering are thereby made easier. An extremely valuable part of the work is the collection of bibliographies completing each section, but it appears doubtful whether a book, which by the very breadth of its range necessarily omits much that is controversial, is really well calculated to fulfil its purpose, and whet the appetite for further study; for there is conveyed a discouraging impression of finality, which leaves a fear that the work may often be used as a mere cram book for the schools. The illustrations are good and adequate, particularly in the sections dealing with Architecture and Sculpture, and there are four indexes.

The Grecians. By J. ELROY FLECKER. Pp. vi+149, London: Dent, 1910. 2s. net.

This is a little book, of some 140 pages in well-spaced type, for its subject and treatment quite large enough. The form is attractive, a Dialogue in a pleasantly original setting. The subject—an ideal education in humanities. Mr. Flecker has gone to Plato first, and next to Vittorino da Feltre; and in their spirit, ignoring the letter, he has sketched

what he sees as the fittest training for the picked youth of our time, who are the heirs of the two worlds of Greece and of the Italian Renaissance. A writer who in these weary days asks a hearing on new schemes of education obeys a wise instinct in harking back to the old form of Dialogue. Certain pages of this book breathe the very spirit of Socratic debate, and there are others which recall that most gracious of modern dialogues, *Il Cortigiano*. And if one seeks to penetrate to the very heart of Vittorino's secret it is to another grave conversation that he must turn, the fifteenth century Dialogue of Prendilacqua.

The 'Grecians' of the title are the finer spirits of the school, which the writer fashions on the broad lines of the great Renaissance school of Mantua. La Zoyosa, that is the key-note of the whole. The 'Grecians' are thoroughly to enjoy all that they do. So what is fresh in Mr. Flecker's ideal is perhaps the spirit which governs the choice of things right for teaching and the sweet reasonableness of the temper in which they shall be taught. As future 'guardians' of the state they must learn to think clearly; and this means frank instruction in philosophy—not mathematics, but Kant. As heirs of the past, and as destined to live the fullest life, 'art' is the essential instrument of training. Literature appeals above all other forms of art to the schoolmaster as being 'a criticism of life.' Perhaps one may suggest that there are other reasons for the choice. That instruction in Aesthetic—which comes next to Letters—whereby a class of boys shall realise the surpassing greatness of Leonardo and Velasquez is possibly (speaking diffidently as becomes one who is not a schoolmaster) a little less easy to organise, to impart, and to test, than, say, a knowledge of the *Medea* or the *Philippines*.

Mr. Flecker thinks that there will be no ultimate loss if his Grecians begin Greek and Latin at fifteen. As he demands no writing and no speaking in either tongue, but a leisurely and pleasant browsing amongst such parts of the literatures as appeal to youth, his contention may be weighed. On this same canon Caesar is banished, Cicero barely tolerated. Livy is turned over for his best stories; Ovid is under restraint: Plautus and Terence—shade of Erasmus! are not so much as to be named. Vergil, Pliny, Juvenal, Homer, Lucian, the Trilogy and certain other plays will be read, and Plato will be ever in hand. But the reading is for enjoyment, nothing for grammar, nothing for the mere technique of style, for re-production's sake. All is for the sheer delight of the understanding of a new world, and of the art in which it found its expression. The Grecian will roam freely in a pleasant library, for open choice of reading is of the essence of humanist training. Exercises, the toil of preparation, the drill of phonetics, the forced memorising of texts, or of hard historical facts find here no place. Philology is for the professional or enthusiast; even history is 'too shallow a subject' to claim a chief place in La Zoyosa, though 'browsing' we presume would be permitted. Care for Mathematics is hardly consistent with due regard for finer things of the spirit. Here Mr. Flecker is one with Erasmus—'degustasse sat est'; though Vittorino was 'mathematicus summus' as Pisanello describes him. It will be readily seen that in form and content we have in Mr. Flecker's book a pleasing variation from the usual pedagogic exhortation.

Home Life in Hellas. Greece and the Greeks. By Z. DUCKETT FERRIMAN.
Pp. 338. 19 plates. Mills and Boon, 1910. 8s. net.

The author has produced a book that is at once pleasant to read and instructive. It is perhaps inevitable that it should challenge comparison with Mr. W. Miller's *Greek Life in Town and Country*, which appeared in 1905, but on the whole it comes well out of the ordeal; it possesses, moreover, two advantages over its rival in that it alludes to recent events (up to the spring of 1910), and gives attractive pen-pictures of the Ionian Islands and the Cyclades. The unique charm of Thera is particularly well brought out. Mr. Ferriman has clearly set about his task in the right way, namely, by learning something of the language, and by travelling alone at his leisure. that he possesses an

observant eye and a sympathetic interest in all whom he meets appears on almost every page. The tourist who merely stays at a 'European' hotel in Athens will realize from reading this book how little he has himself seen of the real life of Modern Greece.

The illustrations are well chosen. It is a pity that the book has no index, but it is a still greater pity that it should be disfigured by so many slips both in the transliteration of modern words, and in the breathings and accents of those written in Greek. We have no space to give a complete list of these slips, but would mention as typical Οτολια (pp. 9, 11, 142, 240), andros and Helleus (for aner and Hellen, pp. 185, 209); αἵτηρ Οδυσσεὺς ἔζετο κερδοσύνη (p. 53), and Χρίστος ανέστη. "Αληθῶς ανέστη. But these defects may easily be remedied in a second edition, which the merits of the book deserve; and perhaps the author will also insert in it, besides an index, the fact that the excavations of the British School at Sparta have proved that the Spartan boys were whipped not at the 'Platanista' (as is suggested on p. 19) but at the Sanctuary of Orthia beside the Eurotas. We had almost forgotten to thank him for introducing us to Pericles (p. 144), who is delightful, and typical of all that is best in the book.

Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems formed by James, ninth Earl of Southesk. Edited by LADY HELENA CARNEGIE. Vol. II. Pp. 152; 11 Plates. London : Bernard Quaritch, 1911. 30s. net.

This volume concludes the Catalogue. The first part was noticed in *J.H.S.* xxix. Pt. II (1909) and the editor is to be congratulated on having completed the publication of her father's collection, the most valuable part of which, the Cylinders (Class Q), are described, and sixty-nine out of one hundred-and-fifty-one are figured, in this second volume. At the time of his death in 1905, Lord Southesk had only completed the Prefatory Remarks, the descriptions of the Cylinders, and the notes on sixteen specimens; but, fortunately for students, Dr. T. G. Pinches kindly undertook to edit this portion of the work. Vol. II. thereby of course acquires the scientific value lacking in Vol. I. In dealing with the Sassanian gems the Editor has also had the assistance of Professor E. J. Rapson who has transcribed and in some cases translated the Pehlevi inscriptions. The reproductions, especially of the Cylinders, are excellent.

Priene nach den Ergebnissen der Ausgrabungen der k. Preuss. Museen, 1895-98. Rekonstruiert von AD. ZIPPELIUS, aquarelliert von E. WOLFSFELD, 1910. Leipzig : Teubner.

The site of Priene, as revealed by Wiegand and Schrader's excellent publication, gives a very clear notion of the laying out of a Greek city, with its Acropolis and walls, its gymnasium and theatre, its market-place and public buildings, and its blocks of private houses. We may heartily commend the desire to make all this generally accessible in the form of a large restored view, about 3 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft.; unfortunately the method of colour printing that has been adopted has produced a result that is blurred in its outlines and crude in colour, and therefore the plate is not as attractive as it is instructive.

The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the editorship of S. A. SMITH and W. D. Ross. *De generatione animalium*, by A. PLATT. 1910. 7s. 6d. net.—*Historia animalium*, by D'AREY W. THOMPSON. 1910. 10s. 6d. net.—*De partibus animalium*, by W. OGLE. 1911. 5s. net. Oxford : Clarendon Press.

The welcome Jowett translation of Aristotle proceeds with, if anything, increasing

celerity. Dr. Ogle has revised the rendering which he published in 1882; it is a free translation, or rather paraphrase, and all the more readable in consequence. Prof. Thompson's translation is accompanied by notes more extensive than are to be found in earlier volumes; but we do not quarrel with the editors for this departure from uniformity, which has allowed of the inclusion of much valuable matter. Prof. Platt's notes to his admirable translation are also numerous, and incorporate important contributions from zoological and medical authorities. Altogether these are three of the most useful portions of the work in hand, and will probably interest a fairly wide circle of readers.

Isokrates und die panhellenische Idee. Von J. KESSLER. [Studien zur Gesch. u. Kultur des Altertums. IV. 3] Pp. 86. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1910. M. 2. 80.

Dr. Kessler shows that the most recent historians tend to rate Isocrates much higher than their predecessors had done; he himself maintains that Isocrates proved himself a far-sighted statesman in the coincidence of his views with those of Philip II.; it is generally admitted that he prepared the way for the second Attic confederacy and the policy of Philip. That such ideals were counter to the Greek genius, and while they may have led to the spread of older Greek ideas over a wide area, inevitably prevented further development in Greece itself, is a point which requires to be considered in estimating the true value of Isocrates as a political thinker.

The following have also been received:—

- *Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonates.* Von M. ROSTOWZEW. Berlin and Leipsic: Teubner. 1910. M. 14.
- *La Langue Étrusque, sa place parmi les Langues. Étude de quelques textes.* Par B. CARRA DE VAUX. Paris: Champion. 1911.
- *The Englishman in Greece.* Compiled by H. S. M. Introduction by Sir RENNELL RODD. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. 5s.
- *Aesthetisch-kritische Studien zu Sophokles.* Von A. PATIN. Paderborn: Schöningh. 1911. M. 3. 60.
- *The New Laocoon.* An Essay in the Confusion of the Arts. By IRVING BABBITT. London: Constable. 1910. 5s. net.
- *The Administrative System in the Ninth Century,* with a revised text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos. By J. B. BURY. London: Frowde. 1911. 10s. 6d.
- *A Roman Frontier Post and its People: the Fort of Newstead in the Parish of Melrose.* By J. CURLE. Glasgow: Maclehose. 1911. 42s.
- *Thucydides and the History of his Age.* By G. B. GRUNDY. London: Murray. 1911. 16s.
- Guide-Joanne: 'Grèce.' Par G. Fougères. Paris: Hachette. 1911. 15 fr.
- 'Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer.' Von U. v. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLEN-DORFF und B. NIESE. Leipsic and Berlin: Teubner. M. 8.
- 'Dioniso.' By C. PASCAL. Catania: Battista. 1911. L. 5.
- 'Jacques de Tourreil, traducteur de Démosthène (1656-1714).' Par G. DUHAIN. Paris: Champion. 1910. 6 fr.
- 'The Elegies of Theognis, and other Elegies included in the Theognidean Sylloge.' Edited by T. HUDSON WILLIAMS. London: Bell. 1910. 7s. 6d. net.
- 'The Bacchants of Euripides, and other Essays.' By A. W. VERRALL. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 10s. net.

- 'Four Plays of Menander: the Hero, Epitrepontes, Periceiromene, and Lanius.' Edited by E. CAPPS. London. Ginn. 1910. 10s. 6d.
- 'Lectures on Greek Poetry.' By J. W. MACKAIL. London: Longmans. 1910. 9s. 6d. net.
- 'The Origin of Tragedy, with Special Reference to the Greek Tragedians.' By W. RIDGEWAY. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 10s. net.
- 'Agamemnon of Aeschylus.' With verse translation, introduction, and notes by W. HEADLAM. Edited by A. C. PEARSON. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 6s. 6d. net.
- 'D'Ansse de Villoison et l'Hellénisme en France pendant le dernier tiers du XVIII^e siècle.' Par C. JORET. Paris: Champion. 1910.
- Γενικὴ Ἰστορία τῆς νήσου Κύπρου ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μεχρὶ τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς κατοχῆς. By J. K. PERISTIANES. Vol. I. Leucosia. 1910. 12 dr.
- MONTI (ARNALDO): 'Index Archilocheus' (1904); 'de Archilochi elocutione' (1907); 'Tirteo (Elegie)' (1910); 'Tirteo nelle versione italiane' (1911).
- B. G. TEUBNER. 1811-1911. Geschichte der Firma . . . von F. SCHULZE. Leipzig: Teubner. 1911.
- 'Die Auschauungen vom Wesen des Griechentums.' Von G. BILLETER. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner. 1911. M. 12.

CORRESPONDENCE.

M. DUSSAUD'S *Civilisations Préhelléniques*.

PARIS, le 15 décembre, 1910.

MONSIEUR LE DIRECTEUR
du *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

Le savant anonyme qui, dans le dernier numéro du *J.H.S.*, a jugé *Les Civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Égée*, me permettra de lui donner, par votre obligeant intermédiaire, quelques explications sur celles de ses critiques qui touchent à des questions de probité scientifique.

1^o. Il me reproche vivement d'avoir publié la bague de Mochlos avant M. Seager lui-même et il condamne sévèrement cette publication qu'il estime prématurée. C'est donc qu'il ignore que le dessin de cette bague a été donné avant moi par M. Arthur J. Evans (*Transactions, Congress for the Hist. of Religions*, Oxford, t. ii. (1908), p. 196) et par M. Ad. J. Reinach (*Revue archéologique*, 1910, i. p. 32, fig. 14). De son côté, M. G. Karo (*Athen. Mitt.*, 1910, pp. 343-344) vient de publier à nouveau cette bague en annonçant que l'objet a été volé et en priant quiconque en retrouverait la trace d'en informer le Directeur du Musée de Candie, M. l'éphore Hatzidakis.

2^o. Il me reproche d'émettre, sur le rôle des Phéniciens dans la mer Égée, les mêmes idées que M. Hogarth, sans le citer. Mon honorable recenseur reconnaîtra ce que son insinuation a de désobligant quand il saura que les passages concernant les Phéniciens dans les *Civilisations préhelléniques* sont un résumé, non seulement de mes cours sur le sujet, mais d'articles (voir préface, p. viii) publiés avant l'apparition de *Ionia and the East*. Ainsi les pages 120-121 des *Civilisations préhelléniques* reproduisent textuellement les pages 1061 et suivantes de la *Rivista delle Idées*, du 15 décembre 1907.

3^o. Mon honorable critique me reproche de ne pas parler des explorations de M. Wace et de ses compagnons en Thessalie et en Phocide, "explorations qui ont bouleversé nos conceptions sur le développement de la civilisation dans la Grèce du nord." et qui, ajoute-t-il, "must necessarily have affected M. Dussaud's conclusions very materially." Cette nécessité ne m'est pas apparue à la lecture des rapports de MM. Wace, Doop et Thompson dans le fascicule de décembre 1908 des *Annals of Archaeology and*

Anthropology. Si je n'ai pas parlé de ces découvertes, ce n'est pas que je les ignorais (j'ai rendu compte en son temps de l'article de M. Garstang paru dans le même fascicule), ni que j'en méconnaissais l'intérêt, c'est que, de l'aveu même des auteurs, elles ne rentraient pas—sauf à une basse époque—dans le cercle des civilisations égéennes. Les explorateurs concluaient à la séparation absolue de la céramique primitive trouvée en Thessalie et de la céramique minoenne. Je cite *Annals*, 1908, pp. 128-129 : 'Further, the fact that the only Mycenaean vases found in the north are all of the latest period (Late Minoan III., as at Ialysus) is another argument against early Minoan connection, with the possible exception of Orchomenos, where "Kamares ware" is said to occur.' Et le rapport ajoutait en note : 'The sherds from Orchomenos in the Chaeronaea Museum, so labelled, do not seem to be Cretan.' C'était aussi l'opinion de M. Peet, déduite de découvertes antérieures, et j'ai cru suffisant de citer ce dernier (p. 124). Mais sur la carte de la Méditerranée mycénienne, à la fin du volume, j'ai noté les sites de Seskle, Dimini, Zérelia, etc. comme ayant fourni des vestiges mycéniens.

J'espère, Monsieur le Directeur, que vous ferez bon accueil à ces explications et que vous jugerez leur publication opportune, ne serait-ce que pour me permettre d'affirmer, contrairement à l'impression laissée par le compte rendu en question, la haute estime et l'admiration que je professe pour les savants de langue anglaise auxquels on doit tant d'importantes découvertes dans le domaine de la protohistoire orientale.

Agreez, je vous prie, Monsieur le Directeur, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

R. DUSSAUD.

Conservateur-adjoint des antiquités orientales,
Professeur à l'École du Louvre.

[The reviewer of M. Dussaud's book replies as follows to the points raised in the letter printed above :

1. The reviewer freely apologises for having forgotten the previous publication of the Mochlos ring by Dr. Evans and having missed that by M. Adolphe Reinach, and he admits that M. Dussaud had some justification for thinking the illustration had become common property. But presumably Dr. Evans and M. Reinach had leave from Mr. Seager to anticipate him. The reviewer therefore considers his censure justified. There is, however, no question here of *probité scientifique*; it is merely a matter of etiquette.
2. The reviewer in no way regards himself as having 'reproached' M. Dussaud with having expressed the same ideas as Mr. Hogarth on the subject of the Phoenicians in the Aegean without having cited him. What he said was that M. Dussaud goes with Mr. Hogarth (though he does not quote *Ionia and the East*) and modern opinion in depreciating the Phoenicians.' The meaning of that sentence is that M. Dussaud, Mr. Hogarth, and others (forming 'most modern opinion') agree in depreciating the Phoenicians, though M. Dussaud, when writing on the subject, does not quote Mr. Hogarth's recent book. And the reviewer maintains that in a book published in 1910, lectures delivered in 1907 should be revised and brought up to date, and references inserted to works by competent writers, which, like *Ionia and the East*, have appeared meanwhile (and especially so if they confirm the author's view!).
3. The reviewer maintains that M. Dussaud was wrong in ignoring the results of the work in Thessaly and Boeotia, not merely of the English archaeologists but also of Tsountas and Sotiriadis; to all of which M. Dussaud, as he confesses, made no reference except by inserting the names of Seskle, Dimini, and Zerelia in a map, as sites which have furnished 'des vestiges mycéniens.' But the prehistoric civilization of the Aegean basin is not all Mycenaean, or 'Minoan,' or Cretan; the neolithic culture of Thessaly, Phokis, and Boeotia belongs as much to the Aegean basin as does that of Crete, and is not to be omitted from a history of *Les Civilisations Préhelléniques dans le Bassin de la Mer Égée*.

merely because its discoverers think that it had little connexion with the culture of Crete! What has that to do with the matter? Even if M. Dussaud went to work on the theory that no non-Cretan culture in the Aegean basin was to be described in a book presumably intended to deal with all the *Civilisations Préhelléniques* in the Aegean basin he should have discussed the conclusions of the English workers in Thessaly, for they might conceivably have been wrong, and the neolithic northern culture be proved to be really Cretan or Aegean in origin. And, in any case, these discoveries have, as a matter of fact, entirely revolutionized our ideas of the development of prehellenic civilization in Greece, if we admit that when in Crete and the Aegean the splendid civilization of Knossos had reached and even passed its apogee, Northern Greece was still the seat of a barbarous Neolithic culture.]

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THE COINAGE OF THE IONIAN REVOLT.

[PLATE VII.]

In a paper published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*,¹ I tried to shew that the cities of Ionia which took part in the revolt against Persia in the years B.C. 500–494 issued an uniform coinage in electrum. So far as I am aware, this discovery has met with general acceptance. It may, however, in consequence of the place where it appeared, not have come fairly before most of those who are interested in Greek history and archaeology. I therefore propose here to state my view somewhat more in detail, and to trace certain corollaries which are as yet unpublished.

I need not go through the story of the Ionian Revolt, as narrated by Herodotus: it is fair to assume that every scholar is familiar with it. It may, however, be well here to mention the cities, the names of which occur in this section of the story of Herodotus, with the definite facts recorded of them, as the issues of coins would probably be civic issues. It was Miletus, under the guidance of Aristagoras, which began the revolt (v. 35). It spread rapidly to Mylasa and Termesa in Caria, as well as to Mytilene and Cyme. The Ionian cities expelled their tyrants, and set up *στρατηγοί* in their place (v. 37). The Athenians and Eretrians, at the invitation of Aristagoras land at Ephesus, and burn Sardes (v. 101). The Ionians compel the people of Byzantium and the Hellespont, and the Carians, including the Caunians, to join them (v. 103). The Cyprians join them willingly (v. 104), but are reconquered (v. 115). Daurises the Persian reduces Dardanus, Abydus, Percote, Lampsacus, and Paesus in the Troad and Mysia (v. 117). He attacks the Carians unsuccessfully (v. 121). Hymeas the Persian reduces Cius and Gergithus and other places in the Troad (v. 122). The Persians take Clazomenae and Cyme (v. 123). Aristagoras departs in despair to Thrace, where he dies, leaving the government of Miletus to Pythagoras (v. 126). The Chians capture Histiaeus, but afterwards release him, and he goes to Lesbos, thence to Byzantium (vi. 5). The battle of Lade, in which Miletus has 80 ships, Chios 100, Samos 60, Priene 12, Myus 3, Teos 17, Erythrae 8, Phocaea 3, Lesbos 70. [Notably absent are Ephesus and Lebedus] (vi. 8).

¹ Vol. iii. 1908.

Flight of the Samians and Lesbians. Desperate resistance of the Chians : Persian victory (vi. 15). A band of Chian fugitives cut off by Ephesians (vi. 16). Taking of Miletus (vi. 19). Samians sail to Sicily (vi. 22) : their temples spared (vi. 25). Histiaeus gains possession of Chios (vi. 26). The Persians reduce Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, also the cities of the Hellespont, Chersonesus, Perinthus, Selymbria, and Byzantium. The people of Byzantium and Chalcedon escape to Mesembria. The people of Cyzicus had already submitted unattacked to the Persian satrap of Dascylium (vi. 33). Mardonius the Persian comes to Ionia : he puts down the tyrants, and establishes democracies (vi. 43). Artaphernes having already established a federal system among the cities, so that their disputes should be amicably settled, he measured out their territories, and arranged tribute on the basis of that which they had paid before the revolt : an arrangement which endured (vi. 42).

Such being the facts recorded by Herodotus, let us next see what is the extant numismatic evidence. There is a well-marked and homogeneous set of coins in electrum, evidently contemporary one with another, and struck on the coast of Asia Minor about B.C. 500. Some of them are of certain, or almost certain, attribution : others are of quite uncertain mint. The reverse of all is uniform : an incuse square divided into four squares. The weight is also uniform : they are staters of the Milesian standard, weighing from 216 to 218 grains, grammes 13·98 to 14·09. The obverse types are as follows :—²

1. Sphinx seated to r. : in front, bunch of grapes (Pl. VII. 1).
2. Forepart of bull r., looking back (Pl. VII. 2).
3. Eagle to l. looking back, standing on hare (Pl. VII. 3).
4. Eagle to l. looking back ; in front a dolphin.
5. Forepart of winged boar to r. (Pl. VII. 4).
6. Forepart of winged horse to l. ; above, leaf-pattern (Pl. VII. 5).
7. Horse galloping to l. ; beneath, leaf (Pl. VII. 6).
8. Sow walking to r. (Pl. VII. 7).
9. Cock to r. ; above, palmette (Pl. VII. 10).

The similarity of these coins one to another in fabric and art, in weight, and even in colour had long ago struck numismatists. In 1890 M. J. P. Six maintained that they were all issued from the mint of Chios.³ M. Babelon⁴ did not accept this view ; but he held that the coins, in view of their identical fabric, must have been issued either from a single mint, or by a group of closely allied cities.

As to their date the authorities differ rather widely. M. Six thinks of the end of the fifth century : M. Babelon gives them to une époque assez

² It does not seem necessary to give a detailed list of examples : such a list will be found in Babelon, *Traité*, ii. 1, pp. 191-8 ; Head, *Cat. Ionia*, pp. 7-8 ; Six, *Num. Chronicle*, 1890,

pp. 215-218.

³ *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 215.

⁴ *Traité des Monn. gr. et rom.* ii. 1, 198.

avancée dans le cinquième siècle? These views seem to me impossible. The art, though fine, is distinctly archaic, and after B.C. 490 there were no issues of electrum staters in Asia, except at the privileged mints of Cyzicus, Phocaea, Lampsacus, and Mytilene.

Mr. Head's view of date is much nearer the mark. As early as 1887⁵ he accepted for the coins of this class the date of the beginning of the fifth century B.C. In 1892 he observed⁶ that they probably began to be struck before B.C. 500.

If we accept, as I think we must, the view that this group of coins was issued on the Ionian coast about B.C. 500 by a group of allied cities, that is tantamount to saying that they are the money of the Ionian Revolt. It is strange that numismatists should have missed so obvious a corollary. The staters are of fairly uniform weight and composition, containing some 30 per cent. of gold and 70 per cent. of silver.⁷ They are thus, if we reckon the proportionate value of gold to silver as 13 to 1, equivalent to 78 grains (5·05 grammes) of gold, or 1012 grains (65·65 grammes) of silver.

It is well known that the early electrum coins of Asia differ in a marked degree in weight and in composition. The proportion of gold contained in them may be anything between one tenth and two thirds or more. How they can have exchanged against one another under these circumstances has long been a puzzle to numismatists. This fact makes it the more remarkable to find a series like the present more carefully regulated and more exact in value. Nothing could be more characteristic of a developed civilization and art. It is to be observed that their intrinsic value would be about 13 Persian silver shekels or 20 Milesian silver drachms. And as the daric was equivalent to 20 Persian shekels, these electrum coins would be of two thirds of the value of the daric and contain like it 20 of the local silver drachms. However, this whole matter is obscure: we have reason to think that the early electrum of Ionia often circulated at a valuation higher than its composition would warrant.

At a somewhat later time, as we learn from the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, a daric or a Cyzicene stater per month was the ordinary pay of a mercenary soldier. He tells us that when the Greek mercenaries of Cyrus learned that they were to march against the Great King, they demanded higher pay: and Cyrus promised them a daric and a half a month, in the place of a daric, which they had so far received.⁸ Later these Greek soldiers were offered, by Timasion, a Cyzicene stater a month:⁹ and Seuthes the Thracian made a similar offer.¹⁰ This being the case, it seems not unreasonable to think that the coins which we are considering, of somewhat lower value than the daric and the Cyzicene, represent each a month's pay of a mercenary. No doubt

⁵ *Num. Chron.* 1887, p. 281.

gold.

⁶ *Br. Mus. Cat. Ionut*; Introduction, p. xxv.

⁸ *Anab.* i. 3, 21.

⁷ Six, *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 218: the variation is really from 40 to 20 per cent. of

⁹ v. 6, 23.

¹⁰ vii. 3, 10.

the sailors and soldiers of the Ionian fleet were in the main not mercenaries, but citizens. Yet the poorer would require pay.

The issue of an uniform coinage by a set of allied cities is in later Greece an ordinary phenomenon. There is the set of coins struck by Rhodes, Samos, Ephesus, and other cities of the Ionian coast after the victory of Conon at Cnidus, and the expulsion of Spartan governors in 394. In that case the type of reverse is the same, young Heracles strangling the snakes: and the inscription ΣΥΝ (*συνμαχία*) records the alliance. Later we have the coinage of the Achaean League, of the Lycian League, and other confederacies. The earliest issue of the kind took place among the Greek cities of Southern Italy about the middle of the sixth century: each of the cities retaining its own types, while the fabric of the incuse reverse (obverse type reversed) is identical in all, as is the monetary standard. Numismatists are agreed that the appearance of this uniform coinage proves some kind of alliance to have existed among the Greek cities; but the nature of it is doubtful. I think that those who suppose it to prove the existence of some sort of Pythagorean brotherhood throughout Magna Graecia go beyond the evidence: for we do not know that the influence of Pythagoras had much effect on politics. It is clear, however, that this Italian coinage might serve as a precedent to the Ionian cities. In the case of these latter we have more definite proof not merely of a confederation of cities, but even of a federal unity. For Herodotus represents the envoys sent by the Ionians to stir up a revolt in Cyprus as saying 'Ημέας ἀπέεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων: and this word *κοινόν* implies a close union.

The assignment of the coins above mentioned to particular cities involves some difficulty. No. 1 bears the ordinary type of Chios, the sphinx, and was almost certainly struck in that city. This coin is No. 334 in the list of M. Babelon.¹¹ When we compare it with other electrum staters of Chios we find that it is later than some of them and earlier than others; the earlier being of the same monetary standard. That is to say, it is a member of a continuous series of coins, and no exceptional piece. In this respect it differs, as we shall see, from the rest of the coins of the set: and it is at once suggested to us, that it is Chios which is the true originator of the whole coinage, other cities merely falling into line, and adopting the Chian standard. This completely accords with the position taken by the Chians among the allies: they furnished the largest contingent of the fleet, and were the last to fly at Lade. In the sixth century Chios was very

¹¹ *Traité*, ii. 1, p. 191. The coin is said to be at S. Petersburg, and is published by M. Six, *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 216, No. 2 Ins. I owe a cast to the kindness of Dr. Imhoof. It is by mistake that I inserted in the plate which accompanies my paper in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* a somewhat more archaic coin of Chios. In fact some of the archaic

coins of that island have been usually connected with the series which we are now considering. It seems better to give them to the middle of the sixth century, and to suppose a break in time between them and the coin in our plate, which is of fully developed though somewhat unusual archaic style.

flourishing; and the works of the Chian sculptors Archermus and his sons had influence far and wide.

Indeed, some numismatists might even be disposed, in view of the great uniformity of the coins, to give them, as did M. Six, all to the mint of Chios: to hold that Chios became the banker of the League, and struck money for the various cities with their own types. This is possible, but improbable: it is far more likely that each city issued its own coins. To take the nearest parallel, we do not suppose that the early incuse coins of South Italy were issued at a single mint; but their fabric is even more notably uniform than is the case in Ionia.

No. 2 is almost certainly Samian. The half bull is the ordinary type of Samos in later times: the reversion of the head is according to the fashion of art at the time.

No. 3 is probably of Abydos, the type of which city is an eagle. No. 4 may also be of Abydos: but the eagle standing on a dolphin is the ordinary type of the Pontic city of Sinope, a colony of Miletus, which may have followed the fortunes of the parent city. Abydos joined the Ionian League but was soon reduced by Daurises.

No. 5 bears the type of Clazomenae, which city was also reconquered by the Persians before the battle of Lade.

No. 6 is certainly of Lampsacus. It is of different standard from the other electrum coins of Lampsacus,¹² which are of Phocaean weight, and was evidently struck on a special occasion. M. Babelon observes that it 'permet d'affirmer que Lampsaque conclut, à un moment donné, avec Chios et sans doute, d'autres villes, un traité d'alliance monétaire.' It is strange that, having gone so far, M. Babelon should not have thought of the Ionian Revolt: doubtless he would have done so but for his opinion of the late date of the coins.

No. 7 may be of Cyme in Aeolis, the usual type of which city is in later times the forepart of a horse. Cyme and Lampsacus both joined the Ionian Revolt at first.

No. 8 is sometimes attributed to Methymna in Lesbos. This attribution is, however, very doubtful, as the early type of the city is a boar not a sow: and in relation to mythology the distinction of gender is important.

No. 9 is given, with more reason, to Dardanus. Dardanus was one of the cities reduced by Daurises. Pollux (ix. 84) states that the monetary type of Dardanus was the cock: and this statement is borne out by the coins of the city.

It thus appears that all the coins of the series which we are considering are attributed either with certainty, or at least with some degree of probability, to cities which joined the revolt. But it is noteworthy that several of these cities were reconquered by the Persians some time before the battle of Lade: the monetary convention then must have been formed quite early. And the notable phrase in which Herodotus speaks of the Ionians at the beginning of

¹² Babelon, *Traité*, ii. 1, p. 187.

the revolt, as $\tauὸ\ κοινὸν\ τῶν\ Ἰώνων$, suggests that there was formed from the first a regular federation: the alliance was not a mere collection of detached cities, but a deliberate attempt to create an Ionian nationality. It was in some senses an anticipation of the League of Delos. That no electrum coins have yet made their appearance which we can attribute to Miletus, Priene, Teos, or Mytilene may of course be merely an accident: we must be on the lookout for them.

Let us consider the place in monetary history of the coins of the League. In the seventh, or perhaps even in the eighth century B.C., the cities of Ionia and the Lydians began the issue of electrum coins, the earliest coins known to us, which circulated in abundance on the coast of Asia. Such coins were, however, probably not issued in Europe, where the earliest coins were of silver. In the middle of the sixth century King Croesus of Lydia made a deliberate attempt to substitute for the coinages of electrum a royal money of gold, the stater weighing about 126 grains (8·17 grammes). Whether Croesus made any attempt to close the Ionian mints of electrum we cannot be sure. But when Cyrus conquered Croesus, and the Persian rule came down to the sea, the Persian King deliberately adopted and continued the policy of Croesus in regard to gold coin. The Croesean gold stater was succeeded by the gold daric, of nearly the same weight, 130 grains, 8·42 grammes. Whatever may have been the action of Croesus, it is clear that the Persian kings claimed a monopoly in the issue of gold. The mints of Ionia were allowed to coin in silver, but the coinage in electrum was brought to an end. Among the extant money in electrum, there is none which we can satisfactorily assign to the period B.C. 550–500. Thus the revival of an electrum coinage was an act of rebellion in itself, a claim to be independent of Persia.

The Ionian coinage was in a manner continued after the suppression of the revolt. The well known and beautiful series of the electrum staters of Cyzicus begins just at the time when the Ionian coinage ceases, and goes on to the middle of the fourth century. The Cyzicene staters do not follow the Milesian standard, nor do they stand quite alone. Lampsacus, Mytilene, Phocaea all issue electrum staters or heetae on certain occasions. But the position of Cyzicus in coinage is unique. This may be to some extent explained by the fact that Cyzicus alone among the revolted cities came back to Persian rule without resistance and without punishment. Generally speaking, the Ionian cities were treated with clemency, an exception being made in the case of Miletus. Indeed the Persians treated them with far more leniency than they would have shewn to one another in case of capture, and the coinage of Cyzicus may be regarded as at first a general Ionian currency, and later as a coinage specially favoured and protected by Athens, especially for the commerce of the Euxine.¹³ The King of Persia jealously guarded for himself the issue of gold coin: and the Athenians put down so far as they could the issue of silver money by the cities belonging to

¹³ Demosthenes, *Against Phormio*, p. 914.

their Empire. But the electrum money of Cyzicus seems to have been tolerated both by Persia and Athens.

I have as yet spoken only of the electrum staters of the Ionian cities. These constituted the main issues, a fact which would fit in well with my conjecture that each stater represents a month's pay of a sailor or a marine. Fractions in electrum are published by M. Babelon¹⁴ as belonging to this series: at Chios twelfths; at Cyne? twelfths and twenty-fourths with a horse's head for type; at Abydos, forty-eighths. In my opinion these coins are of earlier date; and do not belong. But I think we are able to identify certain silver coins as having been struck as fractions of the staters.

The most distinctive of these are certain coins of LAMPSACUS.

Forepart of winged horse = Incuse square.

Wt. 103–105 grains (6·67–6·80 grammes) (Pl. VII. 8).

19–20 " (1·23–1·29 ") (Pl. VII. 11).

Br. Mus. Cat. Mysia, p. 78. Pl. XVIII, 4–6.

These coins are given in the catalogue to B.C. 500, and their fine careful archaic style well suits that period. But a noteworthy fact is that they follow the Milesian standard, of which they are didrachms and probably diobols respectively, thus representing the tenth and the sixtieth (or fiftieth) of the electrum stater.

The Milesian standard of weight is usually confined to Southern Ionia, to Samos, Ephesus, Rhodes, etc. This standard is not used for other coins of Lampsacus, nor by other cities of the Propontis. There is only one period at which such coins were likely to be issued, and that is the time of the Ionian Revolt, when the Milesian standard was for a time accepted as national. Closely similar to these are coins of ERYTHRAE. Didrachms, and tetrobols.

Horseman on horse cantering to r.= Incuse square.

Wt. 108–9 grains (7·706 grammes) (Pl. VII. 9).

36 " (2·33 ") (Pl. VII. 12).

Br. Mus. Cat. Ionie, p. 118. Pl. XV. 1.

CLAZOMENAE. Didrachms, drachms, and diobols.

Forepart of winged boar flying to r.= Incuse square.

Wt. 104–108 grains (6·73–7 grammes) (Pl. VII. 14).

41–51 " (2·65–3·30 ") (Pl. VII. 13).

15–18 " (9·7–1·16 ") (Pl. VII. 15).

Ibid. p. 17. Pl. VI. 1–3.

These coins are in style and fabric identical with the above-cited coins of Lampsacus. The incuse of the reverse at first sight looks somewhat early. But the types are careful and highly finished. The editors of the British Museum catalogues give them to the time B.C. 500–480, and it can scarcely be doubted that this is right. The art is just like that of the Ionian staters. Erythrae after B.C. 490 goes over to the Persian monetary standard, Clazomenae either ceases to coin, or strikes small divisions of Attic weight.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Traité*, ii. 1, pp. 190–8.

¹⁵ *Br. Mus. Cat. Ionie*, pp. 18, 119.

I have already observed that probably 20 silver drachms went to the stater of electrum.

A little searching brings to light other silver coins which seem to belong to the same time :—

MILETUS¹⁶—Tetrobols and diobols.

Lion to r.=Star in incuse.

Wt. 31–32 grains (2·0–2·07 grammes) (Pl. VII. 16).

Forepart of lion with head turned back=Star in incuse.

Wt. 16–19 grains (1·03–1·23 grammes) (Pl. VII. 18).

Mr. Head gives these coins to the period after B.C. 478. But the larger denomination corresponds in weight (roughly) with the coin of Erythrae: the smaller denomination with the coins of Clazomenae. And as Miletus was utterly destroyed in 494, and the surviving inhabitants carried away to the mouth of the Tigris, it is probable that the coinage then ceased, and indeed was not renewed until the break-up of Athenian domination at the end of the fifth century.¹⁷ The coins of other cities, such as Ephesus, which ordinarily used the Milesian standard, are not easily dated with exactness.

CHIOS. Tetrobols.

It may have been on this occasion that Chios issued the series of silver coins having on the obverse a sphinx and an amphora, and on the reverse an incuse square quartered, which have the weight of 36–40 grains (2·33–2·60 grammes) (Pl. VII. 19). *Br. Mus. Cat. Ionia* p. 329. Pl. XXXII. 5. For the other coins of these types, belonging to the middle of the fifth century are of a much heavier standard, 50–56 grains (3·24–3·62 grammes).

Such are the coins of electrum and of silver which I have up to the present been able to connect with the Ionian Revolt. The search may perhaps be carried further. In any case the establishment of fixed dates for coins at so many cities must needs help us considerably in the arrangement of the monetary issues of those cities in chronological order. Fixed dates are the first necessity of the historically minded numismatist.

A certain amount of objective light is thrown back on the character of the Revolt. Herodotus, carried on by his dramatic genius, is naturally disposed to exaggerate the part taken in the history of the Revolt by interesting personalities. Nothing could be more impersonal than the coins. They bear no names of leaders, nor even of cities: they belong primarily to the *κοινὸν τῶν Ἰωνῶν*; and they suggest that had the revolt succeeded, other things than coins would have been held in common by the cities, perhaps even a powerful state might have arisen. Indeed we have in Herodotus a hint that, though the attempt failed, it yet had some result in counteracting the excessive autonomy of the cities of Ionia. He records with surprise the leniency of the Persian victors, who, in place of selling the people as slaves, delivered them from their tyrants, established something

¹⁶ *Br. Mus. Cat. Ionia*, pp. 185–6. Pl. xxi. 4–3.

a find of coins in Egypt, of which few are later than about B.C. 500. *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 4.

¹⁷ Several of these coins of Miletus occur in

like a federal arrangement among them,¹⁸ and put upon them no heavier tribute than they had borne before the revolt. It may be that this leniency was a piece of Persian policy, in view of the contemplated invasion of Hellas. If so, it was very successful; for a great part of the fleet of Xerxes at Salamis consisted of Ionian ships: and some of them were zealous in the Persian service. Xerxes is said to have treated the accusation of treason brought by the Phoenicians against the Ionians as a vile calumny. It is quite in accord with this that an international or inter-civic coinage in electrum by Cyzicus was allowed by the Satrap of Dascylium. If at most cities of the Ionian coast silver coinage is rare in the fifth century, the fault lies not in Persian oppression, but in the jealousy of the Athenians, who wherever they were able stopped native issues of coins to the profit of their own silver *owls*, abundant materials for which were furnished by Thrace and Laurium.

Thucydides¹⁹ tells us that it was at the special and earnest request of the Ionians that the Athenians, setting aside the hegemony of Pausanias, founded the Delian League, which may thus in a sense be considered the outcome of the Ionian Revolt, just as the coinage of the Cyzicene staters may be regarded as the outcome of the money of the revolt. That the Ionian cities so readily transferred their loyalty, first to Persia, and then to Athens, may be explained by the fact that in each of the cities there was a Medizing party and an Atticizing party, which gained power in turn accordingly as the star of Persia or of Athens was in the ascendant. But after the crushing defeat of Lade, the hope of founding an Ionian commonwealth was extinct. Perhaps we may regard the alliance proved by coins to have existed between Rhodes, Ephesus, Samos, Cnidus, Iasus, and other cities after the victory of Conon at Cnidus in 394 B.C. as a short-lived attempt to galvanize the corpse.

The Ionian Revolt seems to have left some trace of its influence on the coinage of Cyprus. Evelthon, king of Salamis in that island, had a long reign of some thirty-five years from B.C. 560 to 525. He issued an extensive coinage, in the early part of his reign with flat reverse, in the later part of his reign with a type on the reverse:—

Obr. Ram lying down: the name of the king in Cypriote characters.

Rev. Ankh, or crux ansata, with various letters and lesser devices.

Mr. Hill, however, in his admirable catalogue of coins of Cyprus,²⁰ adopts and enforces the view before advocated by M. Six²¹ that many of the coins which bear the name of Evelthon were really minted by his successors. And in view of their style and fabric, this view seems to me almost beyond doubt. Among the coins which bear the name of Evelthon, and the crux ansata as reverse type, some have within the circle of the crux ansata the Cypriote sign which stands for ΚΥ: and of these some date from the time of Evelthon.

¹⁸ Hdt. vi. 42. συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὸν

¹⁹ i. 95.

*Ιωνας ἡγάγεισε ποιέσθαι, ἵνα δωσέδικοι εἶν, καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιέν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν.

²⁰ Br. Mus. Cat. Cyprus, p. lxxxvii.

²¹ Review Numism. 1893, p. 265.

some are of the later class (Pl. VII. 17).²² ΚΥ. as Deecke observed, probably stands for Κυπρίων, and we may regard it as marking the money as belonging to the whole island, not to Salamis alone. When ΚΥ appears on the coins struck by Evelthon himself, it may signify that he was, under the king of Egypt, the ruler of the whole island.²³ So, when it appears on the later money, it would seem to belong to a time when all the island was united for some purpose. Precisely such an union was produced when the Ionian emissaries visited Cyprus, to stir it to revolt. The king of Salamis, Gorgus, held out for the Persian King, and was deposed: but his brother Onesilus succeeded in uniting against the Persians all the cities of Cyprus except Amathus. Thus when we find on the coins of the successors of Evelthon the sign ΚΥ, while we agree with Mr. Hill in assigning them to the very beginning of the sixth century, we may be disposed to regard them as belonging not to the reign of Gorgus, but to the time of the usurpation of Onesilus and his anti-Persian campaign. Onesilus was soon defeated and slain, but the leader of an army is always likely to issue coins for the expenses of a campaign.

With the death of Onesilus the Cyprian attempt at independence came to an end. But the idea was from time to time revived. When we find the signs ΒΑ and ΚΥ on the fifth-century coins of a certain Evanthes,²⁴ a king of Salamis unmentioned by the historians, and known only from coins, we may suspect that these letters stand for βασιλέως Κυπρίων, and that this unknown ruler also struck a blow for Cyprian independence. An alternative view is, however, suggested by Mr. Hill. Evanthes may have been the Phoenician adventurer, who according to Isocrates worked his way into power at Salamis, expelling the Greek king (name not mentioned), barbarizing the whole island, and bringing it into subjection to the Great King.²⁵ Evanthes sounds like a Greek name: but it may be only a Greek version of a Semitic name, just as Simeon became in Greek Simon and Joshua Jason. Between these possibilities we can scarcely decide. Later, in the fourth century, the great Evagoras maintained his independence with success.

It is extremely satisfactory to find that our study of the coins of the time of the Ionian Revolt does not usually suggest for those coins dates other than those accepted in the best numismatic works, and especially those laid down by the authors of the British Museum Catalogues. It seems that our dating of Greek coins has reached a high degree of accuracy; and we may now even in some cases use the numismatic dates for supplementing or correcting the statements of ancient historians.

P. GARDNER.

²² *Cat. Cyprus*, pp. 48-50.

may perhaps be ΞΥ.

²³ See Babylon, *Treatise*, p. 586.

²⁵ Isocrates, *Eugoraz*, 22-24. Cf. Hill, *Cat.*

²⁴ *Cat. Cyprus*, p. xviii. The ΚΥ, however,

Cyprus, p. xviii.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM NEO-PHRYGIARUM

A COMPLETE collection of the known Phrygian inscriptions belonging to the Roman Imperial period was published by Professor [Sir] W. M. Ramsay in vol. viii. of the *Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.* (1905), pp. 79–120. On that occasion Professor Ramsay reprinted all the Phrygian texts which he had already collected in *Kuhns Zeitschrift für Vergl. Sprachf.* xxviii, pp. 381 ff., and added nineteen new inscriptions. The discovery in 1908 and 1910 of a score of fresh inscriptions, many of considerable interest, affords a suitable opportunity to revise the text of the older series. In a large majority of cases, the new discoveries confirm Professor Ramsay's interpretations. In some cases they suggest or impose modifications. An account of other literature on the subject will be found in Ramsay's later paper. As I shall have occasion to refer constantly to Ramsay's papers in *Kuhns Zeitschrift* and the *Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, it will be convenient to call those papers R(*a*) and R(*b*) respectively.¹ Professor Ramsay's numbering does not correspond exactly with the number of Phrygian texts published, because his earlier collection contains a few Greek inscriptions. But it seems better to retain his numbers: it is to be understood that Nos. I. to XLVIII. are the older series, and Nos. XLIX.–LXVII. the new inscriptions. Whether or not the reprinting of the older texts is justified by the small amount of change we shall have to introduce in Prof. Ramsay's divisions and interpretations, it will be convenient for philologists to have them all in a single paper. Ramsay's inscriptions will be reprinted in minuscule letters only, for the epigraphic copies, the reader is referred to R(*a*) and R(*b*) respectively. Exact epigraphic copies are given in the case of Nos. XLIX.–LXVIII. No. XXXVI. was re-copied by us in 1910^{1a}: we were able to improve on Prof. Ramsay's copy of 1905, and a fresh epigraphic copy is given below. A new copy of XLVI. is also given.

It has not been considered necessary in every case to mention expressly the rejected views of former writers. Investigation in this subject has had to grope in the dark, and the material is still far from sufficient to give certainty. While the new inscriptions throw light on many obscure places in the older ones, they themselves raise new problems which can be answered

¹ R(*a*) is used meaning sometimes 'Ramsay's earlier paper,' sometimes 'Ramsay in his earlier paper' – and so R(*b*).
^{1a} See below.

only by further discovery. It is pleasant to be able to confirm some former explanations, e.g. Torp's and Solmsen's division of ΑΙΝΙΚΟΣ (No. XVIII.), which seemed almost too ingenious to be convincing.² I have received much help from Professor Ramsay, both in discussions while we were discovering and copying the new inscriptions, and in criticism of this paper after it was written. I have to thank him in particular for surrendering to me the privilege of making the new series *publici iuris*. To another friend, Mr. Fraser of Aberdeen University, I owe many helpful suggestions and criticisms. Fick, Solmsen, Kretschmer, and Torp have all been laid under contribution; I owe Professor Torp especial thanks for sending me three inaccessible articles on the Phrygian language, which I have found very useful.

To keep this paper within reasonable limits of space, it seems better to assume in the reader a knowledge of Professor Ramsay's two articles than to quote extensively from them. The results attained in the following pages would have been impossible without Ramsay's exhaustive and successful treatment of the subject. The following notes do not pretend to be philological: the writer expects and invites criticism from comparative philologists. It is only by candid interchange of criticism from the philological and the historical points of view that a final solution of many of the problems raised here can be attained.

Seven of the new inscriptions were found by the writer in the course of a journey in Southern Galatia and Eastern Asia in the summer of 1908.³ I was not at that time acquainted with the literature on the subject, and, as several of the texts were fragmentary and difficult, I decided not to publish them until some traveller should have had the opportunity of revising them in the light of a fuller knowledge of the known formulae. That opportunity was given me during further exploration in the same region, partly in company with Sir W. M. Ramsay, partly alone, in the spring and summer of 1910. I was able to revise all the texts found in 1908 (with the exception of No. LV., which had been broken, and of which I saw only a fragment of the last line). Nos. LIV., LVI., and LVIII. were re-copied by Professor Ramsay and myself in company, and also the difficult text of Sinanli (No. XXXVI. in Ramsay's collection). Nos. LXI. and LXIII. were revised by myself. While travelling alone, I also found Nos. LXII. and LXV., and the authority for the text of those two inscriptions (of which No. LXII. is excellently preserved, and offers no difficulties) rests on my 1910 copy alone. No. LXVI. was copied by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson in 1898 and is now for the first time claimed as Phrygian. No. LXVII. was copied by Professor Callander: it is identical with No. XLI. in Ramsay's collection, copied by Mr. Hogarth. Professor Callander adds a few letters, and gives us a highly interesting text.

The attempt to interpret these texts must be founded mainly on a study of the Greek formulae used by the neighbours and friends of the dedicators. It is natural to suppose that the ideas expressed (according to the taste or

² See on No. XVIII.

³ Described briefly in *Klio*, 1910, pp. 232-242.

education of the dedicato^r) in Greek or in Phrygian, were roughly the same. It was by comparison with the prevailing Greek formulae against violation of the tomb that Schmidt, and especially Professor Ramsay, found their way to a true explanation of the common Phrygian formulae, and laid the basis for a scientific study of the language. We shall not err if we proceed a little further along the same road—an exact correspondence in detail cannot of course be looked for. As Greek education spread among the towns and villages of Eastern Phrygia (at first radiating in some degree from the centres of Seleucid and Roman Government, and later implanted firmly by the broadcast extension of Christianity)⁴ it gradually killed out the use of the native language: but the two idioms existed for a long time side by side,⁵ and it is to this period that the Neo-Phrygian texts belong. The vast majority of these texts are in the form of a curse on the violator of the tomb, appended to an epitaph written in Greek. In a few cases the epitaph is written in Phrygian, and one of these Phrygian epitaphs has a curse in Greek appended to it. Three dedications to deities, two in Phrygian and the third possibly containing a Phrygian verb, form a separate class.

The writers of these inscriptions must, therefore, have been acquainted with both languages, and, whether the formula against violation was written in Greek or in Phrygian, it must have expressed the same general idea. This principle gives us the key to the interpretation of much that would otherwise be dark in the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions. After this method, based on a knowledge of the Greek Epigraphy of the district, and of the general historical conditions, has been applied, its results must be tested in the light of Comparative Philology: but historical interpretation must come first. Much labour has been wasted by scholars who have searched the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions for affinities to other Indo-Germanic languages, unconscious of the conditions which a knowledge of Phrygian antiquities would have imposed on their work.

Several causes contribute to complicate the task of interpretation. The great majority of the inscriptions have been copied by competent epigraphists, but a few important and unique formulae occur in texts for which the authority is unreliable. A large number of the inscriptions are fragmentary. Further discovery alone can clear up many questions which are tantalizingly near to solution. Orthography offers another stumbling-block. The orthography of the Greek inscriptions of Eastern Phrygia permits great latitude in the use of vowels, and we must assume a corresponding or even greater latitude in the case of Phrygian, which had to use a foreign alphabet. But it is often impossible to decide whether a given variation is orthographic, or whether it is to be attributed to variety of dialect, or even to difference of inflexion.

A further point requiring emphasis in this connexion is the influence

* On the date of this movement, see Anderson in *Studies in the . . . E. Roman Provinces* (Ramsay), p. 196, and the references

to Ramsay's writings given there

⁵ See Holl in *Hermes*, 1908, pp. 240 ff. Prof. Ramsay has always maintained this view.

exercised by Greek on the Phrygian idiom under the Roman Empire. As time went on, the Phrygian-speaking districts became islands in a Greek sea. This situation probably influenced the character of Phrygian in two ways. (1) In the first place, many Greek words were borrowed. Several such, e.g. *σορον* and *θαλαμει* (dative), have already been accepted as Greek, but it seems highly probable that the inscriptions contain a much larger admixture of Greek than is generally recognised. For it must be noted that our comparative ignorance of the character of the everyday Greek spoken in the Central-Anatolian cities from the time of the Diadochi down to the early centuries of the Roman Empire, must constantly compel us to leave open the question whether given words were borrowed from the local Greek or belonged originally to the Phrygian language. And the problem is still further complicated by the fact that Phrygian (as is proved by the Old-Phrygian inscriptions as well as by those of the Roman period) was closely akin to Greek. And Greek influenced not only vocabulary, but also inflexion, and even syntax.⁶ An exactly parallel process displays itself in Anatolian Greek at the present day. Anatolian Greek is full of Turkish words, generally with a Greek termination, and Turkish syntactical usages occur in many dialects alongside of Greek forms.⁷ (2) Secondly, apart from orthographic variation, a further cause may have tended to diversity in the language of the inscriptions. Classification according to locality brings out certain broad differences in vocabulary and style, and suggests that the gradually-accomplished isolation of the Phrygian districts from each other tended to set up dialectic differences. The three examples of the highly interesting form *αδδακετορ* all occur within a comparatively restricted area on the west of the Phrygian-speaking country.^{7a} The formula *γεγραιμεναν εγεδοντ ιος ουταν* has been found only in a patch of Phrygian territory on the North-East.^{7b} When the materials are richer than at present, a classification of the inscriptions according to locality may yield interesting results. In this respect also, we have a close parallel in the case of modern Anatolian Greek. The isolation of the Greek villages amid a Turkish-speaking population has brought it about that the people of villages only a few miles apart hardly understand each other, and use only Turkish as the language of inter-communication. The total area over which Neo-Phrygian texts are found is not wide: but the parallel of modern Cappadocia makes it clear that we must allow for much local differentiation.

The existence of over sixty inscriptions, of which no two are exactly alike, and all of which exhibit intelligent syntactical variations, is sufficient proof that Phrygian was not a moribund language surviving in a few fixed formulae, but was the everyday language of the uneducated classes at the period to which the texts belong. This fact has been emphasised by Prof. Ramsay (*R/h* p. 84); and Professor Holl has shown more recently that Phrygian was spoken till the fifth or sixth century A.D. (*Hermes*, 1908,

⁶ See on *σερουν του κνουμαρει*. No. II.

⁷ See Mr Dawkins, *J.H.S.* 1910, pp. 109 ff. and pp. 267 ff.

^{7a} See No. LXIII.

^{7b} See No. XXXII.

p. 248). The native languages in the Roman world maintained themselves alongside of Greek and Latin until Christianity, with its insistence on the *Cultursprachen*, had penetrated into every nook and corner of the Empire. The inscriptions in this paper belong to the first three centuries of our era: one cannot feel certain that any of them are later than the end of the third century, but some few may be as early as the first (*e.g.* XXXI., XLVIII.).

I. Τάτεις ἐτείμησεν τὸν Ἀππονού τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα ἔτι ζῶσα καὶ τὰ τέκνα μνήμης χάριν καὶ ἑαυτήν | τίς δὲ ταύτη θαλαμεῖν κακὸν ποσποιήσει, κατηραμένος ἡτώ | αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τέκνων τέκνα.

This inscription, evidently composed by a Phrygian who had learnt Greek, is reprinted here, because reference must be made below to some of its peculiarities.

II. Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Βαζούς Πασίωνος Λεοντ[ίῳ] | ἀδελφῷ ιείῳ καὶ Ἀφία γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Γλύκω[ν γ]α[μ]βρὸς μνήμης χάριν.

(a) ιος τα μανκαι κακουν ἀδδακετ, τι ετιτ[τ]ετικμενος ειτον.

(b) νκε ακαλα οονιτετον ονα.

(a) means: 'Who to this tomb harm does, let (him) be accursed.'

The forms *ta* and *sa* are found in this position, *e.g.* No. XXI. *Sa* is shown below (on No. XLIV.) to be the definite article. Torp⁸ has detected the nominative masculine of *ta* in Nos. VI. and XXV. (*tos*), where it is an anaphoric pronoun. The combination *σεμονν τον κιονμανει* in Nos. X. and LXI. may be held to show that the same form was used as the definite article, but this is more probably a reflexion of Greek usage. In the vast majority of cases, no article is inserted between the Phrygian demonstrative pronoun and the substantive. I have punctuated after *αδδακετ*, because comparison with XXVI. etc. shows that *ti* is more likely to be the Phrygian word *ti* or *etii* repeated in the apodosis than the Greek *ti* (see on No. LXVII.). We must allow for a large admixture of Greek in these texts, but it is better to explain a form as Phrygian, wherever possible.

No satisfying explanation of (b) has been offered. These words are engraved on a lower part of the stone. (a) ends naturally with *ειτον*, and (b) probably forms a separate sentence. R(b) quotes Sayee's opinion that *οονιτε* means 'tribesmen' (*from ova*): but the resulting division is unintelligible. If this is a separate sentence, we must look for a verb in it. *ova* must certainly be the word recurring in XXXIII., XXXVI., and XLVIII., and meaning 'tribe' or 'village' (more probably the latter, in view of the native organisation in *κῶμαι*).⁹ The form can be either nominative or dative (*cf. μανκα* in Nos. XVIII., XXVI., XXIX.). As R(b) points out, *νκε ακαλα* probably conveys the same sense as *ακαλας ευκιν* in XXX. (*νκε* and *ευκιν* can quite well be equivalent: for *v=eu*, *cf. κακιν* and *κακευν*; and *ε=ιν*,

⁸ *Phryg. Inschr. aus rom. Zeit.* p. 10.

⁹ *Studies in the E. Roman Provinces* δῆμος. With *ova* compare Greek *ονα*, *ένα*, *ωνα*. (Ramsay), pp. 305 ff. These units of population

are described by the Greek words *κάμη*, *χωνίον*,

cf. *κακιν* and *κακε*. Probably *Ακαλας* is a personal name in both cases (*Ακαλας* nom., *Ακαλα* gen.). A person might have a Greek and a Phrygian name (see R.(b), p. 111 on No. IX.) and *Ακαλας* may be the Phrygian name of Leontius.¹⁰ I take *υκε*, like *ευκιν* in XXX. and *υκοδαν* in XV. to mean 'tomb' (see on XXX. below).

There remains ΟΟΥΙΤΕΤΟΥ, in which I should recognise a verb, third sing. imperative active : for the form compare *ειτου*, and Greek -*ετω*, etc. A verb in the imperative conveys an injunction, and the general sense becomes clear 'let the village take care of the tomb of Akalas': or if the verb is intransitive 'let the tomb be given to the care of the village.' With the sense, compare *παρεθέμην . . . τῇ κώμῃ* in No. XLVIII., and the note there.

III. *ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κακον α[δ]δακετ
μ]α[ν]κα[ν, τ]οσ [νι με διος κε ζεμελως] ετι ε-
τιττετικμ-
ενος ειτου.*

R.(a) considers that this inscription belongs to the second century or earlier. It seems clear that the formula used here is the one which occurs with slight variations in Nos. VI. and XXV. The fragmentary letters of line 2 distribute themselves into *μ]α[ν]κα[ν τ]οσ [νι με διος . . .*, assuming that there is ligature of ΝΚ in *μανκαν*, and that Ι of διος has escaped the copyist's notice. We can restore the rest of the line after the pattern of VI. and XXV., but there is no room here for the addition *με κ(ε) Αττι*. If the inscription is complete except for the gap marked in R.(a). *μανκαν* is added asyndetically : elsewhere it is joined to *κνουμανει* by *αινι* (see on XVIII.). *Ετι* is repeated before *ετιττ . . .* : see on LXVII. For *μανκαν* (dat.) see on No. XLIX.

IV. Διόδοτος Μακεδονικὸς ὁ καὶ Μένανδρος Ἀριστάρχου ἐποίησεν Δέτη λδίᾳ πενθερᾶ· *ιος νι σεμον [κνουμανι] κακονν αδακετ αιν ιοι | θαλαμει, δη διως ζεμελω[ς τιττετ]ικμενος ειτου* (or possibly *ζεμελ[ω ετι - -]*).

R.(a) and (b) makes *αινιοι* a single word. I take *ιοι* as dative masc. of the demonstrative pronoun *ιος* (cf. XV.), and regard *αιν* as the shorter form by elision of the disjunctive particle (*αινι*). This resolves Solmsen's difficulty (*Kuhns Zeitschrift*. N.F. xiv. pp. 67 and 68) about the "double" form *αινι* and *αινιοι*. For *αινι* see on No. XVIII. *δη* is probably an asseverative particle, as Kretschmer holds. *θαλαμει* is the Greek word *θάλαμος* (a sepulchral chamber¹¹) with a Phrygian dative ending. A comparison with *ταύτη θαλαμειν* in No. I. might suggest that *ιοι θαλαμει* is an impossible combination : for the feminine dative termination of two other pronominal stems is known to be in -*a* (*σα* and *τα*, or -*av* (*σαν*)), and *ιοι* is clearly masculine or

¹⁰ It is also possible that *υκε* and *ακαλα* are two words meaning a tomb or part thereof. But the form *ακαλας* in XXX. is difficult to explain on this view. ¹¹ See No. XXX.

neuter. But *ταύτη θαλαμειν* is evidently a false gender (emanating from a person who knew little Greek) given to a noun felt and declined as Phrygian on the analogy of Greek nouns like *πόλει*, etc.¹² The Phrygian gender of *θάλαμος* would naturally follow the Greek : cf. *σορου* in XXI.

IV. (bis). Δ]άδης κα[τεσ]κεύα[σε]ν τοῖς (ἐ)υγόνοις
Μάν[η] καὶ Ζωτικῷ· ιο(ς) νι [σ]εμον κνο[υμανει] . . .

A bad copy, by Seetzen, C.I.G. 3880. IONI in the copy is possibly a mistake for ΙCΝΙ : cf. No. V.

V. Λᾶ "Ι[μ]ενος ἀ[νρὶ] γλυκυτάτῳ Ζωτι[κ]ῷ <μ>
μνήμης χάριν· ις κε σεμον[ν] κ(ν)ουμινος (κακονν)
α[δ]ακεν, με διω[σ] ζομολω ετιτετικμενος ητον·
δος ἀν δὲ κακῶς [π]ύησε(ι) τέκνα ἄω-
ρα ἐντύ[χοιτο].

This inscription is from Hamilton's copy. The above seems the most satisfactory way of restoring the Greek portion of the text. Λᾶ occurs (Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 351), and 'Ιμενος (suggested by Prof. Ramsay) is the gen. sing. of the well-known name Εἰμαν or Ιμαν (Kretschmer, *ibid.* p. 369). The letters ANPI, an attested form of ΑΝΔΡΙ, are more likely to have given rise to Hamilton's ΑΜΜ than any other possible term of relationship. R(b) corrects the third line to ζομολω[σ] τι τετικ . . . and it is true that there is no other certain instance of διως ζομολω standing together without a connecting particle.¹³ The most remarkable point in this inscription is the use of κ(ν)ουμινος the genitive, instead of the usual dative form. The confusion between genitive and dative is common in Greek inscriptions of the period. Torp has tried to find a true *bilinguis* in this inscription, but another explanation of διως ζεμελως confirmed by a newly discovered text^{13a} excludes the meaning he gives to the expression.

VI. The key to the transcription of this inscription is No. XXV. (Hamilton's copy). Each of those texts helps us to decipher the other. The formula in both is practically identical. Compare also No. III.

ιο]ς νι σεμονν κνουμανε [κακον
αββερετ α[ι]νον[μ] μ[α]ν[κα]ν,
τος νι με ζεμελω κε δεος [κ-?
ε] ετι ητιττετικμενος ε[ιτ]ον.

R('') marks the loss of three or four letters at the end of lines 1 and 3. On line 2, he notes that it is doubtful if a letter was lost at the end. Clearly *κακον* should be restored in line 1: the stroke after Ε must

¹² Or possibly through confusion with Greek θαλάμη, a cavity, which is used meaning 'grave' in Eur. *Supp.* 980; or with the θαλάμαι which Hesychius explains as στῆλαι

ἐπικείμεναι τοῖς αἰδολοῖς τῶν ἀποκόπων.

¹³ See on No. LXII.

^{13a} See on No. LXII.

(according to the epigraphic copy) be the upright bar of Κ. The correction of the second Τ in line 2 into Ι is certain: in the same line R(*a*) reads Α[Ι]ΝΟΥΙΙ, with the note that the two upright strokes at the end represent either Ν or Μ. No. XXV. (*αινιμ*) suggests that the letter should be Μ: *αινονμ μανκαν* is for *αινον μανκαν*, with duplication of *μ*. *αινον* alongside of *αινι* need cause no surprise: *κακιν* is used as well as *κακονν*. It is likely that these are different attempts to write an identical Phrygian sound in Greek characters: or we may have to allow for some dialectic variety, as in the case of the modern Greek dialects in Asia Minor.¹⁴ If *αινονν* be the true form, it is capable of a simple explanation. *αινι* will be shown below to be compounded of *αι* (=sai Lat. si, Solmsen in *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, N.F. xiv. p. 66) and the particle *νι*. We can easily assume two forms *νι* and *νονν* (*νιν?*) corresponding to Greek *νν* and *ννν*. This inscription and XXV. show that *νι* was used in apodosis as well as in protasis. With *η* for *ε* in the last line, compare *Αττιη*, LXII., etc.

In line 4 of this inscription, and in No. XXV., Prof. Torp reads a pronoun *τος*. In the present inscription Prof. Ramsay prefers to restore [ΑΥ]ΤΟC, understanding that two letters have been lost at the end of line 2.^{14a} But No. XXV. supports Torp's view. We find a dative feminine *τα* in II. (*α*), which belongs to the same stem.

R(*b*) indicates the loss of two letters between *δεος* and *ετι*. In this case, the restoration is very probably [*κε*]: cf. No. XXII. The epigraphic copy in R(*a*) suggests the loss of more letters: the similarity of No. XXV. to this inscription suggests that [ΜΕΚΑΤΤΙ] should be read: the certain restoration [ΚΑΚΟΝ] in line 1 implies that there is room for four letters at the end of line 3. Prof. Ramsay indicates the copy as uncertain: but comparison with Nos. III. and XXV. is a safe guide in restoration.

VII.

*ιος νι σεμον]ν κνουμανι κακα[ν
ζειραν αδδακ!]εν, δεος κε ζεμ[ελως
]ακεοι ειροια τι επιττ[ε-
! τικμενα ειττ]νου.*

It is hopeless to attempt anything with this fragmentary text. *αδδακετ* becoming *αδδακεν* before δ is peculiar, and probably the restoration is wrong. *ακεοι ειροια τι* seems to be the correct division: compare *ακεοι πειες κε* in XII., on which a conjectural explanation of the expression is given. But if this division is adopted, it must be remarked that *τι* can be either the particle connecting *ακεοι* and *ειροι* (as in No. XXV.) or the repeated *τι* (or *ετι*) in apodosis (see on LXVII.). A possible alternative is that we should divide *ακεοι ειροι Ατι επιττ[ετικμενοι? ειττ]νου*, taking *Ατι*, as the more usual *Αττι* or *Αττιε*, to be the dative of the divine name Attis.

VIII.

τετικ]μενος ειτου.

¹⁴ See p. 164.

^{14a} Cf. Nos. XXXIII., XXXVI.

IX.

? Θ]υς Δουμ[μ]ετ[α]ον Πασε-
 δεκμονταις κινο[ν-
 μα[ν] τι μ(α)νκ[α]ν οτε σταμ-
 ν[αν] δαδιτι Νενυσρια
 Παρτυσουβρα.
 Κόιντος Ρούφου τη[ι] ιδί-
 αι [γ]υναικι Νενυσρία μν[ή-
 μη]ς ἀ[ιδ]ιότατον (ε)ΐνεκα

It is fairly certain that the name *Δουμεταος* should be restored in the first line. It occurs at Icōnium (Sterrett, *Epig. Jour.* No. 215), and at Serai-ini near Laodiceia Combusta (copied in 1910, and unpublished).

The present inscription proves that it is a genuine Phrygian name, and not a local version of the Latin Domitius. Solmsen compares the name with the word *δουμος* (= *σύνοδος σύγκλητος συμβίωσις*) in an inscription of Maeonia (*Kuhns Zeitschrift* etc. N.F. xiv. p. 53). *Δουμεταον* is in the genitive, and is therefore the father's name; the first name is probably *Θυς*, which occurs in Paphlagonia (Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 207), and probably in the following inscription copied at Sisina, in the hills N.W. of Icōnium, in 1910. Θ]υς Γά(i)ος Δαδέος Ασιοκωμήτης Μητρὶ Ζιζιμηνῆ εύχήν (the epigraphic copy for the first three letters is ΘΥC). It is the hypocoristic form of the common reduplicated name *Θούθους*: see *Classical Review* 1910, p. 79. Ramsay suggests that *Πασεδεκμονταις* is a patronymic: it may also be an ethninc, or possibly the profession of Thus. (Cf. No. XXXIII.). But . . . *δεκμονταισιου* and possibly . . . *προτοσου* . . . in XXXI. (as R (b) points out) may correspond to *πασεδεκμονταις* and *παρτυσουβρα* in this inscription, and only a new and complete text can solve the puzzle. The accusative form *κινομανα* occurs in No. XXXI.: the full Phrygian accusative would be *κινομαναν*¹⁵: *κινομαν* in the present inscription shows the same Phrygian tendency to drop the case-ending as *βονοκ* in the Old-Phrygian inscription, *ξειρ* (for *ξειραν*) in No. XII. (where see R (b)) and *αναρ* in No. XV.

οτε probably = ὁδε R (b)¹⁶ and *δαδιτι* = *γυναικι* (Torp¹⁷) who connects the word with the common *Lall-name* *Δάδα*. The dative termination -ιτι is found in Papyri (e.g. "Αλιτι, *Oxyr. Pap.* iv. No. 744). *τι* (here interposed) connects *κινομαν* and *μανκαν*: cf. Nos. XXV., XXXIII.?

X.

'Αμμία Πατ[ηρά] καὶ [Παπ]πᾶ
 (τέκνοις) ιδίοις [αὐτ]ῆς μνή-
 μη]ς χάρ]ιν.

(a) *ιος νι σεμον του κινο-*
μανει κακον αδδακετ,
τιτ]ετικμενος ειτον.

(b) Ι Η Η Κ Ι Τ Α Κ

¹⁵ Ramsay, *Studies in the . . . E. Roman Provinces*, p. 153 (Fraser).

¹⁶ See Ramsay in *Bezzenbergers Beiträge*,

xiv. p. 310.

¹⁷ *Zum Phrygischen* (Kristiania, 1896), p. 7.

R (b) ad. loc. takes δαδιτι as equal to τιθησι.

The name Pateras occurs in Ramsay, *Studies in the E. Rom. Provinces*, p. 160, Sterrett, *W.E.* No. 104, etc. It is probable that the omission of τέκνοις is idiomatic: a dedication of Iconium published by Cronin in *J.H.S.* Vol. XXII. p. 116, contains the expression μετὰ τῶν εἰδίων αὐτῶν. On σεμονή του κνουμανει see above on No. II. Sayce suggests (see R(b) on X.) that ηνηκιτας corresponds to the Greek ἐνοικέτης. But what then is the meaning? The copy rather suggests +Νηκιτας (Νικήτας) showing that the stone was used at a later date to mark the grave of a Christian named Nicetas. The letters (given only in R(b)) are engraved on a lower part of the stone. Inscribed stones were frequently used over again, without the original inscription being interfered with.

XI.

ιος σε]μον κνου-
μανε]ι κακων
ζειρ]αν αββε-
ρετ, τι]τετικμε-
νος Α]ττι αδε-
ι]τον.

The restorations are by Prof. Ramsay. In line 4, the letters ΡΕΤ given in R(b), do not suffice to fill the space. The restoration is either ΡΕΤΑΙ or ΡΕΤΤΙ, making αββερεται middle, or adding τι before τετικμενος. κακων (acc. fem.) is a peculiar form: it is to be compared with the acc. of fem. substantives in -ους (e.g. Βαθους, No. II.: Βαθουν, cf. Solmsen in *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, N.F. xiv. p. 57.

XII. (*C.I.G.* 3986.) Εῦδαμ[ος ι]π[π]εν[τ]
? Π]ρ[ή]σχη [γ]υν(α)ικ[ι]
καὶ έαντρ̄ ζῶν
μνήμης χάριν.

5

ειος νι σεμονη κνουμανι κακον
αδδακετ ζειρ ακεοι πειες κε τιτ-
τετικμενα Αττι[ε] αδειττνου.

ἵππεύς in the sense of a cavalry soldier is common in epitaphs in Asia Minor.¹⁸ The wife's name is probably Ηρίσχη (Πρίσκη): η for ι and χ for κ occur frequently in the region. The end of line 6 could also be transcribed πειες κ' ε) ετιτ-, as in R(b). On Αττι[ε] see on LXII.

The text of this inscription depends on two bad copies, those of Hamilton and Seetzen. R(b) rejects the authority of both for the second last letter in line 5, and prints κακων: but κακον may have been used alongside of κακαν (VII.) and κακων (XI.). On ζειρ for ζειρα or ζειραν see on IX. (κινουμαν).

The verb ειττνου is clearly plural (so Professors Kretschmer, Ramsay,

¹⁸ Cagnat, *Inscr. Græc. ad res Rom. perl.* iii. p. 625. But see *Class. Rev.* xxiv. p. 11. Possibly the sense here too is equivo.

and Torp); we must therefore look for a plural subject, or for two subjects. The phrase containing the subject is evidently *ακεοι πτεις κε*. One could confidently state that these are two substantives conjoined by *κε*, were it not for the evidence of LIII., where we find *και* used as an emphatic particle in the apodosis. We are accordingly forced to leave two alternatives open in XII.; either *ακεοι πτεις κε* are two substantives (the first plural, the second singular or plural), joined by *κε* enclitic, or the two words *ακεοι* and *πτεις* stand in some other relation to each other, and *κε* emphasises the verb in the apodosis. In the latter case, *ακεοι* could be the instrumental (or dative) case of a substantive, and *πτεις* the plural subject of the sentence.

The form *ακεοι* may be taken as fairly certain. Its occurrence in VII. is indecisive, for there it is the first word in a broken line; but in XXXIII. it occurs (in the form *ακκεοι*, cf. *κνουμανει* for *κνουμανει* in LIII.) between two well-attested Phrygian words, *ουταν* and *βεκος*. Professor Ramsay's attribution to this root of *ανκαιοι* and *ακεοσιοι* (R(b) on XXXIII.) is too disputable to be used as an argument until further evidence is found. The form *a[κ]εοσιοι* (apart from the division) is highly improbable in itself: the symbol read as **K** is almost certainly **B** or **P**, for both **K** and **Δ** (the only other possibilities) occur frequently in XVIII., always in these forms.

The word *πτεις* (Hamilton: *πτεις* Seetzen) may perhaps be the same as *πριεις* in XLIX. Phrygian Greek had a tendency to drop *ρ* after *π*: e.g. we find *ποσποιησει* for *προσποιησει* in I., where see R (a) note. *πτεις* alongside of *πριεις* may illustrate this tendency, or a **P** in ligature with **Π** may have escaped the notice of both copyists. In XLIX. *πριεις* is clearly a substantive meaning a relative, attached to a female name. It may either be a feminine noun or a noun of neuter gender like Gk. *τέκνον*, meaning 'child.'¹⁹ Its use in XII. favours the latter supposition. The plural verb implies that it means 'children' here, and we thus have a parallel to I. (and a numerous class of similar inscriptions), where a curse is invoked on the children of the violator of the tomb.

Let us now consider *ακεοι*. Its use as the first word in the apodosis in two cases, and as the first word in an extension of the apodosis in the third case (XXXIII.) suggests that it is an anaphoric pronoun. Agreeing with a singular relative (*ιος*) it is probably singular: and accordingly it probably is the dative case of a pronoun, corresponding to the Greek *τούτῳ*.

An alternative suggestion, that *ακεοι* may be a second term of relationship (thus making the invocation correspond to *τέκνα καὶ ἐκ τέκνων τέκνα* in I.) is rendered improbable by the use of the singular verb *δρεγρουνειτον* (or *ειτον* according to R(b)) in XXXIII. We accordingly take *κε* in line 5 to fulfil the same function as *και* in LIII. Similarly in VII. (*ακεοι ειροια τι*) *τι* is the 'repeated' particle in apodosis,^{19a} and *ειροια* is a substantive 'plural' meaning something on which the curse is invoked. Can it correspond to Greek *ἡρία* (*ἡρίον* 'a tomb')? The term *ἡρίον* occurs in Pontus (see *Studia*

¹⁹ If *σι* (fem.), can agree with a neuter word meaning a female relative.

^{19a} See on LXVII.

Pontica. Anderson, Cumont, Grégoire, III. p. 68, and at Smyrna (*Ath. Mitth.* 1887, xii. 246).

XIII. *ιος νι σεμον κνουμαν κ]ακον αββερεται, [ε-*
τιττετικμενος Αττιε] αδειτου.

R(*a*) notes that the last letter in line 1 'may be **C** or **O** or even **E** or **Θ**.' The above, given as an alternative in R(*b*), seems the most satisfactory restoration.

XIV. *Τ]είμαιος και Ἀπ[π-*
η θυγατρὶ Μάν[η
ἀώρη και Τειμό-
θεος συνβίφ μνή-
5 μῆς ἐνεκον.

ιος νι σεμονν κνο-
υμανει κακιν αδα-
κετ αιν αδατεα, Μ[α
ε]τιτετικμενος Α-
10 στιαν [ειτο]υ.

The first letter in line 9 is **C**: I follow R(*b*) in correcting it to **E**. On *αιν* (= *sire*) see below, on No. XVIII. *αδατεα* seems to be still another word meaning a tomb or part of a tomb (see R(*b*) on IV. and XV.).^{19b} *Μα* is separated from *Αστιαν* by the participle, doubtless for metrical reasons. *Αστιαν* (dative feminine) here appears as an epithet of *Μα*: in LIII. it is used alone as the name of the goddess. *Μα* of the Tembrogius is mentioned in a list of deities in XLVIII.

R(*b*) conjectures that **ΑΤΕΑΜ** is a fault for **ΑΤΕΑΔ**, a variant for **ΑΤΤΙΕΑΔ**; but our explanation of **ACTIAN** in LIII. renders this view untenable, and suggests that *Μα* and *Αστιαν* should go together here.

R(*b*) states that **C** at the beginning of line 9 is certain. He corrects it to **E**, and this is probably right; but there may be some justification for following the epigraphic copy. The confusion of genitive and dative is one of the most marked characteristics of the ruder Anatolian inscriptions: we find *τῆ μητρός* and *τῆς μητροῦ*.²⁰ But *Μας Αστιαν* is an unlikely collocation, and we prefer to look on **C** as an engraver's mistake for **E**.

An alternative to the above view is to take *Αστιαν* alone as the name of the goddess, and look for the second name of the tomb in **ΑΔΑΤΕΑΜ[Α]**.

XV. *Ξευνη τανειξ[α] ν[κ]ο-*
δαν προτυς σ[ε] σταμ-
ε]ναν μανκαν Αμ[ι-
α]ς ταν ιοι αναρ Δορυκ[λα

^{19b} Perhaps (*α*)*δατεα* corresponds to Gk. *θερός*: cf. *θήκη*, a tomb.

²⁰ Cf. a dedication *Δει Σαρνενδηνοῦ* in *J.H.S.* 1899, p. 73.

Ramsay and Torp agree in taking Ξευνη here as the common Phrygian name Ξευνα. Several interpretations of this inscription have been attempted, and all are right in individual points. But none of the commentators has observed that the inscription consists of a hexameter and a pentameter, and is of the same type as XXXI. There are two objections to taking Ξευνη in l. 1 as a proper name. (1) The 'Ionic' form is foreign to Phrygian and Phrygianised Greek: the form Ξευνα occurs frequently, but not Ξευνη. (2) The name of the maker of the tomb is Ἀμιας, an attested²¹ form of the common Phrygian name Ἀμμία, which occurs in the pentameter, in a relative clause, as in XXXI.

The text of the first line is too uncertain to give a safe basis for an interpretation. I have adopted the version preferred in R(b). *a* at the end of τανειξα and *u* at the beginning of υκοδαν must be separate syllables, in order that the rough scansion may be maintained. I accept R(b)'s interpretation of υκοδαν προτυσ [.] σταμεναν: but would read σε instead of his [τ]ε, as involving no change in the copy. -οδαν is clearly a Phrygian accusative of an -o-stem with a -do- suffix. υκοδαν (if the reading be correct) is accordingly to be referred to υκε (II. b) and ευκιν (XXX.), which we have taken to mean 'tomb' (see below on XXX.). Ξευνη I take to be equivalent to the Greek ξεινε (perhaps a borrowed word),²² and τανειξα would be the (aorist?) imperative of a verb meaning 'Behold,' as in a common Greek formula.

The first line accordingly means 'Stranger, behold the tomb standing before thee.'²³

It is a hexameter, scanned roughly according to accent:²⁴

Ξευνη τανειξα υκοδαν προτυς σε σταμεναν.

The pentameter follows closely the type of XXXI. μανκαν has been generally accepted as equivalent to Greek μνῆμα.²⁵ Here it is in apposition to υκοδαν. Following the name of the maker of the tomb, Ἀμιας, we have the relative and demonstrative pronouns in close juxtaposition, and the metre enables us to identify them closely: μανκαν Ἀμ(μ)ιας ταν *iōt* αναρ Δօρυκλα. ταν (relative) is pronounced as a single syllable as in *iōs* νι σέμουν . . . in the main formula. Compare also ταν in No. XXXI. A similar contraction (lengthening the *o*)^{25a} takes place in a Greek metrical inscription of Pontus (Ιοβύνος) (*Studio Pontica*, Anderson, Cumont, Grégoire, iii. p. 40). It is interesting that the initial *y*-sound does not lengthen the final syllable of Ἀμιας. On the other hand *iōt* is the dative singular masculine of the demonstrative pronoun whose acc. sing. feminine occurs in XXXI. 'δδικετ ειαν: in εγεδοντ *iōs* ουταν (in XXXII. etc.) its initial syllable is

²¹ Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 339 f. (Ramsay), p. 153 (Fraser).
(Cotiaeum).

²² See Fick in *Bezz. Beiträge*, xiv. p. 50;

²² η for ε. See on No. XLIX.

Ramsay, *ibid.* p. 308.

²³ Cf. No. IX. μ(α)υκ[α]ν οτε σταμην[αν].

^{23a} The accent, however, may cause the

²⁴ See *Studies in the E. Roman Provinces*

lengthening.

shortened *metri causa*. *ιοι* occurs again in No. IV., *ιοι θαλαμει* (dative masculine). *αναρ* is accordingly dative singular (Gk. ἀνδρί); the form, as R(b) points out, is to be compared with the Old Phrygian oblique cases without case-ending (see Ramsay in *Bezz. Beiträge* xiv. p. 310). Δορυκ[λας] or Δορυκ[λος] ? is the husband's name (Gk. Δορυκλέης). The verb to Αμιας (*εσταες* ? cf. XXXI.) was given in line 5 (lost).²⁶ The whole inscription accordingly means 'Stranger, behold the tomb standing before thee, the memorial which Amias (set up) to her husband Doryklas.' Prof. Ramsay^{26a} would avoid the difficulty caused by making *σε* (on which, as a separate word, some emphasis would fall) short before *σταμεναν*, by understanding an adverb *προτυσσε* = *πάροιθε*. With *τανειξα*, if it is a verb, may be compared the Old Phrygian *ατανιξεν* (*Bezz. Beiträge* xiv. p. 310).

XVIII.

αι νι κος σεμονν κνουμανει κ-
ακονν αδακετ αινι μανκα ьЕО
ΣΙΟΙΜΕΤΟΤΟССИИСАРНAN

These are the last three lines of an undeciphered Phrygian inscription : the mutilated text of the first seven lines baffles restoration. These lines evidently contain a variation of the usual curse. R(b)'s transcription of the latter portion is unsatisfying : a new inscription may solve the riddle. Torp offers an ingenious explanation, which must, however, await confirmation.²⁷

Solmsen's²⁸ brilliant division of ΑΙΝΙΚΟC is confirmed by LXIV., which begins thus: ΑΙΚΟC = *ai kos*, si quis. I give his analysis of the expression in his own words. 'Ich glaube nicht zu irren mit der annahme, dass dieses *αινικος* in *αι νι κος* aufzulösen ist, und dass *ai* dem gr. *ai*, lat. si aus **sai* (vgl. osk. svai und Idg. forsch. iv. 241), *κος* dem ai, kas, lit. kàs, got. hvas entspricht; das Phrygische würde also denselben wechsel in der ausdrucksweise kennen wie das Griechische in *έαν τις* neben *όστις ἄν*.' The particle *νι* is inserted here and omitted in LXIV.: similarly *ιος* occurs without *νι* in XXIX., etc.

αινι (*aiν* before a vowel) occurs six times. *αινιμ* and *αινουμ* once each. As the meaning of this word has been the subject of much controversy, it will be useful to restate the evidence, which the results obtained above have rendered more precise.

The texts are :—

IV. *ιος νι σεμον [κνουμανι] κακονν αδακετ αιν ιοι θαλαμει,*
τετικμενος ειτον

XIV. *ιος νι σ. κ. κ. αδακετ αιν αδατεα. . . . τετικμενος [ειτο]ν.*

XVIII. *αι νι κος σ. κ. κ. αδακετ αινι μανκα,* (apodosis unintelligible.)

.²⁶ The stone was broken at the bottom (R(a), p. 394).

^{26a} In a private criticism of this article.

²⁷ *Zum Phrygischen*, p. 7.

²⁸ *Kuhns Zeitschrifl. N.F.* xiv. p. 65. Torp independently explained the words in the same way : *Zum Phrygischen*, p. 6.

- XXVI. *ιος νι σ. κ. κ. δακετ αινι μανκα, ετιττετικμενος ειτου.*
- XXIX. *ιος σεμουν κνουμανει αινι μανκα κακον αδδακ[ετ] (apodosis lost).*
- XLIII. *ιος νι σ. κ. κ. αδδακετ αινι α[δατεα] ? (apodosis lost.)*
- VI. *ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανε [κακον] αββερετ α[i]νον[μ] μ[α]νκ[α]ν,
τος νι . . . ητιττετικμενος ειτου.*
- XXV. *ιος νι σιμουν κνουμανι [κ]ακονν αββιρετο(ρ) αινιμ μ[(α)νκ]α,
τος νι . . . τετικμενος ειτου.*

An obvious variation (but occurring more rarely) of the formula *τούτῳ τῷ ἡρώῳ κὲ τῇδε τῷ σορῷ* is *τούτῳ τῷ ἡρώῳ ἢ τῇδε τῷ σορῷ*. I take *αινι* to be the disjunctive particle in Phrygian, formed from the conditional particle *αι* and *νι*, cf. Lat. *sive* <*si-ue*. R(*a*) and (*b*) takes *αινι* as a demonstrative pronoun. Torp at first followed him, but later²⁹ agreed with Solmsen that it is a ‘disjunctive or copulative conjunction, more probably the former.’ I arrived independently at the same view, but would take it as certainly disjunctive. The issue has up to the present been confused by the false forms *αινιοι*, which should be read *αινι ιοι* (IV.), and *αινικος* (see above).

This theory gives a satisfactory explanation of all the occurrences of the word. No. XXIX. proves that the words *αινι μανκα* or *αινιμ μανκα* go closely with *σεμουν κνουμανει* in all the other texts: IV. and XIV. show that *αινι* elides its final vowel before an initial vowel,³⁰ *αινιμ* (XXV.) and *αινονμ* (VI.) show duplication of the initial consonant of the following word. Cf. *ετιττετικμενος* alongside of *ετιτετικμενος*.

The rival theory³¹ that *αινι* is a demonstrative pronoun, with case-forms *αινιοι* and *αινονν*, was supported chiefly by an unjustifiable change in the text of XXIX. (on which see below). It appeared to draw strength also from a pronominal form *αινικος* which is now known to be false. And apart from these considerations one may ask (with Torp³²) why, if there are two demonstrative pronouns, *σεμουν* and *αινι*, the one should invariably be used with the first of the two conjoined substantives and the other with the second?

XIX. Αὐρ. Τύραννος Παπᾶ καὶ Εἰρήνη
 ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἔαντοῖς ἐποίησαν
 μνήμης χάριν· ιος σεμουν κνου-
 μανει κα[κον] (αδδακετ), ετιττεικ[μ]ενος ειτο[ν].

σεμουν is the pure dative form,³³ without the usual addition of *-ν*. R(*b*) supposes that *ΚΑΚ[· ·]* represents a verb corresponding to Gk. *κακόω*; it is more likely that *αδδακετ* was omitted by mistake (as R(*a*)). Cf. No. XXVII.

²⁹ *Zum Phrygischen*, p. 6.

³⁰ Except, perhaps, in XLIII., but the restoration there is uncertain.

³¹ See R(*a*) on No. IV.

³² *Phryg. Insch. aus rom. Zeit.* p. 15.

³³ Fick in *Bezz. Beiträge*, xiv. p. 50; modified by Solmsen in *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, N.F. xiv. pp. 50, 51.

XX. Αύρ. Ποιπέιος καὶ Καρικὸς καὶ Παπία οἱ Καρικοῦ, κληρονόμοι αὐτοῦ, ἵδι[φ | π]ατρὶ γλυκυτάτ[φ κα]ὶ Τάτει ἀδελφῇ ἀώρῳ καὶ μητρὶ Τατίᾳ ζώσῃ μνή[μης | χάριν]: ιος νι σεμ[ον κνου]μανει κακουν ἀδακετ, τιτετικμενος αασκινον[μενος!]

I recopied this inscription, independently of former copies, in 1908. My copy exactly confirms that of Mr. Anderson. I state this, because Prof. Torp has conjectured that **ΑΑΣΚΝΟΥ** should be **ΜΕΚ(Ο)ΝΝΟΥ** (cf. No. XLII.). There is just room for five or six letters, according to my copy, after **ΕΕΜ...** I restore **σεμ[ον κνου]μανει**, and understand that **N** and **K** were in ligature. **τι** should go with **τιτετικμενος**, as in II. u, etc. **αασκινονμενος** is suggested by R(b): he compares Hesychius **αασκει** **βλάπτει**, **φθείρει**. (Perhaps **αασκινον** is an imperative, meaning "let him perish.") But possibly **ΚΝΟΥ!** is **κνουμανει** or **κνουμινος!**

XXI.

Αύρ. Κύριλλα Μύρωνος
σύμβιος Αύρ. Παπᾶ Μεν(ν)έ-
ον τοῦ καὶ Κυρίωνος καὶ Ἀπ-
πᾶς γαμβρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ Τάτ-
α ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ζῶντες
κατεσκεύασαν τῇ μητρὶ τὴν
σορόν ιος σα σορον κακε
ἀδακετ, με ζεμελως τιττετι-
κμενος ειτον.

σορον, like **θαλαμει** in IV. retains its gender in Phrygian; **σα** is feminine in XLIX. and LXVII. The dative termination **-ου** occurs in **σεμον** (Nos. XIX., LXV.)³⁴ **κακε** is a 'shortened form of kakun or kakin':³⁵ compare the forms **υκοδαν** (?), **ευκιν**, **υκε** (see on XXX.). **με ζεμελως** is certain: we are not justified in changing to **με ζεμελω** [ε]τιττ.... (see on No. LXII.).

XXII., XXIII., and XXIV. are entirely in Greek.

XXV.

ιος νι σιμονν
κνουμανι [κ]ακουν αβ-
βιρετο(ρ) αινιμ μ(α)[νκ]α, τος
νι [δεος ξ]ιμ[ε]λως τι με κ(ε) Α-
5 τ[τι] τιττετικμενος ειτον.

It is highly regrettable that this inscription is known only from Hamilton's copy. It is one of the most interesting of the whole series, and a perfectly reliable text would be valuable. The form **σιμονν** may be accepted: there is great variety in the vocalisation of the entire series. **αββιρετο** is a highly interesting form. **ι** is a mere local variety (compare **σιμονν** for **σεμονν**), and the word is evidently the same as **αββερετ(αι)**. Comparing the final syllable with **αδδακετορ** in XLVIII. and LXIII., it seems likely that

³⁴ Cf. **Δουδον** in No. LIV.

³⁵ R(a) ad loc.

aββιρετο shows the same termination: either Hamilton has omitted *P*, or the *r* sound had disappeared (under the influence of the borrowed Greek middle form *aββερεται*) and only the *o* sound was retained in pronunciation. See on LXIII. *αινιμ* has been explained above (on VI. and XVIII.). In III. and in VI. (which reproduces almost exactly the formula used here) we have found the demonstrative pronoun *τος* followed by *νι* at the beginning of the apodosis. There can be no doubt that *τος* recurs here (also followed by *νι*) at the end of l. 3. Between *αινιμ* and *τος* Hamilton's copy contains ΜΥΡΑ. It is of course possible that this is still another name for the tomb; but more probable that Hamilton has read ΜΝΚΑ (cf. IX.) as ΜΥΡΑ. The similarity between this inscription and VI. makes this correction very probable. The division *με κ(ε) Ατ[τι]* will be discussed under LXII.

XXVI.

ιος νι σεμον κνουμα-
νε κακον δακετ αινι
μανκα, τι ετιτετι-
κμενος ειτου

τι in l. 3 is not the copulative particle, but is like *τι* in II. (*α*) etc. The simple form *δακετ* recurs in LVI.: *δοκετ* in LIV.

XXVII. ιος κε σεμον το (κνουμανει) κακον οδ[δακετ] . . .

With *οδ[δακετ]* compare *δοκετ* for *δακετ* in LIV. With *σεμον το* (*κνουμανει*) compare No. X. and No. LXI. *κνουμανει* was omitted by mistake. Cf. No. XIX.

XXVIII.

ιος νι σεμον
κνουμανε[ι ?]
κακονν αδ[δα-
κετ, ις ετιτετουκμε-
νουν ειτου.

This transcription follows R (*b*). *ις* is the contracted form of the dem. pronoun *ιος*, which occurs frequently. *-τουκ-* for *-τικ-* shows a common vowel-variation. *ετιτετουκμενουν* is either a neuter, due to bad composition^{35a} or a genitive plural—*των κατηραμένων ἔστω* (Torp). Cf. δρεγρουν *ειτου*, No. XXXIII.

XXIX.

Μεννέας Ἀππᾶς Διογέ-
νης, οι Διογένους, ἐποίησαν
διὰ τεχνήτο(υ) Νουνά· δπσ' (A.D. 259).

ιος σεμον κνουμανε-
5 ι αινι μανκα κακον αδδακ-
[ετ, ετιτετικμενος ειτου.]

R (*b*) has a note: 'I was very doubtful about the reading **K** (the first letter in line 5); the letter is blurred, and I could only read **I**. Sterrett reads

^{35a} Cf. *στρατευσάμενον* (for *-ος*) in the epitaph of Eugenius, Bishop of Laodiceia Combusta, *Klio*, 1910, p. 233.

doubtfully κ which must be right.' But *aινι* is nowhere else accompanied by κε, and we are not justified in inserting it here. Professor Ramsay's copy of the inscription is correct: he changes ι to κ in pursuance of his theory that *aινι* is a demonstrative pronoun. κ in R(b) ought to be marked as a restoration. The Greek portion of the inscription is given only in R(b). See Prof. Ramsay's paragraph *a.l.* on the dating of the inscription. The order of the words in this inscription is important for fixing the meaning of *aινι*—see on XVIII.

XXX. I revised this inscription without change in 1910. It is engraved on a Phrygian door-stone. On a higher part of the stone, near the right-hand side, there is the following fragment of a Greek inscription.

ΙΕΠΡ
ΕΙΚΟΝΟΜΑ

Αύρ. Δουδας Ακαλας ευκιν Αργουν Σιβη-
ουσ βανεκος Τοια κ(ε) Κιολτα ηκεταν ἐπ(οίησε)ν.

The last line ends thus **ΕΠΗ**. The reading is certain, and it cannot by any possibility be ε[ιτ]ν(ου), as Professor Ramsay tentatively suggests. It seems to be a 'contraction, probably for ἐποίησεν: the Ν was engraved wrongly, and corrected above the line. Professor Ramsay's division of the first five words seems probable: *βανεκος* must be the word for 'wife,' occurring in the old Phrygian inscription³⁶ in the form *βονος* (accusative)—here it is clearly in the genitive (R(b)). It must remain doubtful whether we should not divide *Αργουν Ιβηνος*: as the second name is probably the father's. Professor Ramsay's division is the more likely. If we are right in taking the symbols at the end to represent ἐποίησεν, the inscription must contain a word meaning 'tomb.' This word is undoubtedly *ευκιν* (accusative: compare *κακιν* for *κακον*). Torp³⁷ has detected the root of this word in No. XV. (which, however, he divides and interprets in a different fashion from that attempted above). He connects the root *υκο* with Skr. *okas*, and Lycian *uke*, *oke*, meaning 'house.' Now the language of Anatolian epitaphs continually suggests that the tomb was thought of as the 'house' of the dead person. Sometimes a door and pediment are represented on grave-stones, sometimes a door simply: the gravestone is in some cases called *θύρα*.³⁸ In IV. the Greek word *θάλαμος* is used of the tomb; *καμάρα* is used in the same way in an inscription published in *Wiener Sitzb.* xliv. 13. Anatolian rock-graves (common in Phrygia) were arranged after the pattern of the *οἶκος τρίκλινος*; the language used to describe the various parts of the grave is modelled on the language used of the house.³⁹ The term *οἶκος* itself is used meaning a sepulchre on many inscriptions of Asia Minor.⁴⁰

³⁶ *Bizz. Beiträge*, xiv. p. 309.

³⁷ *Phryg. Inschriften aus Rom. Z. cit.* p. 23.

³⁸ See Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, pp. 99, 100.

³⁹ See a very useful pamphlet by Hans Stemler, *Die Griechischen Grabinschriften*

Kleinasiens (Kaemmerer, Halle, 1909), p. 19.

⁴⁰ E.g. in an inscription of Eumeneia, *B.C.H.* xvii. p. 242, No. 5; on one of Pontus, *Studia Pontica* (Anderson, etc.), p. 93. Magnesia, *B.C.H.* xviii. 11, 6. On this subject, see Ζέης in *Glotta*, 1911, p. 204.

These quotations, which might be multiplied, are sufficient to prove that in Phrygian the word for ‘house’ could naturally mean ‘grave.’ *ευκιν* in this inscription must certainly have that meaning: *υκε* in II (b) and *υκοδαν* in XV. are both to be referred to the same stem: and the meaning in both these cases must likewise be ‘grave.’

There remain the letters **TOIAKKIOΛΤΑΗΚΕΤΑΝ.** R(b) takes *ηκεταν* to be a genitive plural, meaning ‘house-hold servants.’ Anatolian inscriptions frequently contain provision for the burial of slaves or freedmen in the tomb of their master (e.g. Benndorf, etc. *Reisen in Lykien*, ii. 29 ἐν τῷ ὑποσορίῳ ἐνκηδευθήσονται οἱ ἄλλοι ἀπελεύθεροι καὶ δοῦλοι ἡμῶν. Stemler, *op. cit.* p. 48). If *ηκεταν* means ‘servants,’ the preceding letters probably contain two names, *Toia* κ(ε) *Kιολτα*, in the genitive. *Toias* is known in the forms *Θωας* and *Touης*; it is from the same root as *Θῦς*. (See on IX.)

The inscription therefore means: ‘Doudas Akalas made the tomb of Argou daughter of Sibeou, his wife, (and) of Toias and Kioltas, his servants.’

The inscription was accordingly bilingual. Perhaps the fragment of the Greek portion given above contained the Greek names of the servants . . . ει κ(ε) Ονομα[κρίτῳ]! These letters belong to the latter part of the Greek inscription.

XXXI.

ασ σεμουν κνουμανα διθρεα κ(ε)
 Ξευνεοι 'δδικε[τ] ειαν
 μανκαν ιαν εσταες βρατερε
 μαιμαρην Πουκρος Μαιισ-
 5 ο]υ ενεπαρκες δε τουν-
 βον] Ξευνα ΝΑΙΔΜΩΣΒΡΟΚΕΙΩ
 ΔΕΚΜΟΥΤΑΗΣΙΟΥ
 ΠΡΟΤΟΣΟΥ

A facsimile of this inscription is reproduced in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xviii. p. 121 (Anderson). The restoration *τουν*[*βον*] is very tempting: Ramsay's view that the accusative of this word was taken into Phrygian as nominative (and hence neuter) receives some confirmation from *αχανες τοπον* in XLIX. (see *a. l.*). It is uncertain whether Υ in line 8 is the last letter of the line. The name *Ξευνα* may be accepted, but no certainty, or even probability, can at present be attained with the following part of the inscription. See, however, on IX.

I retain Prof. Ramsay's division, and accept his explanation, of the third fourth, and fifth lines, except *Μαιισιον* (see below).

Torp divides *ασ σεμουν* as I have done,⁴¹ but he understands *ασ* to represent *αν* (assimilated to *σ* in *σεμουν*), rejecting its equivalence to *αδ*, because *αδ* can scarcely govern the dative. I think *αδ* is the correct equivalent, and that it is followed by two accusatives, joined by enclitic *κε*. *σεμουν* usually occurs as dative, but the ending *-ουν* is found in *κακουν*.

⁴¹ I owe this explanation to Mr. Fraser, Aberdeen University, who thought of it independently of Prof. Torp's division.

"Αππουν, etc., and there is every reason to expect an accusative *σεμουν* alongside of the dative *σεμονν*. In XLIX. we have the expression *ατ ω κα ειστανι* '(a site) on which he sets up': here *ω* is probably the Greek *ῳ*. This phrase recalls the expression (common on Anatolian metrical epitaphs) *στήλην δέ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ . . . ἔστησεν*, with several variations. *ατ* in XLIX. is the preposition (Latin *ad*, English *at*) which occurs in *αδδακετ*, *αββερετ*. Possibly *ατ* is the simple form of the preposition, and *αδδακετ=ατ-δακετ*, *αββερετ=ατ-βερετ*, *ασσεμονν=ατσεμονν*; *αδειτου* for *ατειτου* being due to dissimilation. In XLIX. *ατ* governs a dative, but *κνουμανα* cannot be in the dative case, and is accusative in form. We therefore have *ατ* governing the accusative, just as we might find *στήλην δέ ἐπὶ τύμβον . . . ἔστησεν* alongside of *στήλην δέ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ . . . ἔστησεν* in Greek. *'δδικετ*, with prodelision of *a* (Ramsay) is a part of the verb to which *αδδακετ* belongs, and *ειαν*, as Torp observes, is Latin *eum* (= *ει-αν*). *Ξεννεοι* is dative of a masculine name: compare *Ξεννα*, probably feminine, in line 6. *διθρεψα* is not to be confounded with *διθρεψα* in XLIX., where the reading is certain. *διθρεψα* is probably an adjective: *διθρεψα* is a noun: on its meaning see R(b). It cannot be an adjective here, because it is joined to *κνουμανα*, a well-attested substantive, by *κε*.

The words *Ξεννεοι* *'δδικετ* *ειαν* suggest that the first two lines were intended to be a rough hexameter. The third line, with *μαιμαρηνα* of the fourth, forms a pentameter. *ιαν* is scanned as a single syllable, as in XV. The construction is somewhat mixed: the name *Ξεννεοι* occurs in the principal clause, and the word *βρατερε* (fratri), agreeing with it, in the relative clause. The inscription (see R(b) *ad loc.*) must accordingly be translated: 'On this tomb and (dithrera) Poukros, son of Manisos made this memorial to Xeuno, (the memorial) which he set up in marble to his brother; and Xeuna equipped (?) the tomb. . .' The fact that Xeuno was the brother of Poukros is more evident in the original than in the translation, owing to the agreement of the cases. R(b) restores *Μανισ[ιο]ν* in lines 4 and 5. But the name *Μάνησος* (in the form *Μανισος*) suits better. It occurs in an inscription published by Lanekoronski, *Pisidien*, No. 155 b = C.I.G. 4366 t. Compare *Μανοσας* in Lycania, *Ath. Mitth.* xi. p. 163 (Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 200).

XXXII.

Κλάρος καὶ Δουνδα ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ
Σούσον νίῳ μνήμης χάριν,
καὶ Δουνδα ἑαυτῇ ζώσα.
ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει
5 κα]κουν αδδακει, γεγρειμ[ε]να-
ν εγεδουτ ιος ουταν.

Prof. Ramsay and I revised this inscription in 1910, and observed that lines 4 and 5 began thus:

ΙΟΝΗΙC
IO
ν ^ KOY

apparently the engraver began too low on the stone and corrected his mistake after cutting two letters.

The Greek portion of this inscription contains a peculiarity. In Phrygia, the preparation of the grave was a religious duty, which everyone had to fulfil, or have fulfilled for him. In this case a husband and wife make a tomb for their son (who is dead—*μνήμης χάριν*), and the wife provides for her own burial in the same grave. But the husband does not (as in XXXIII.); and the explanation must be that a grave has been provided for him already. Inscriptions recording the preparation of a grave commonly contain the names of the persons who were to be buried in it; and it would appear from this inscription that the obligation to lie in a grave so prepared was as binding as the obligation to prepare it. A single inscription is of course not sufficient to prove this suggestion; but the suggestion seems worth making in the expectation that further evidence may be found.

The formula occurring in the apodosis of this text, and in several other inscriptions in our collection has so far been found only in a very limited area of Eastern Phrygia, on the border of Lycaonia and Galatia. R^(b) divides γεγρειμεναν εγεδουτιος ουταν, taking γεγρειμεναν as equivalent to γεγραμμένην (from a verb *γρέφω); εγεδουτιος as a future indicative or as an adjective = ὑπεύθυνος with a substantive verb understood; and ουταν (on the suggestion of Professor Sayce) as corresponding to ἀξαταν, ἄτην (ἀόταν Pindar). The same root perhaps occurs in ὠτεῖλη, οὐτάω (cf. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Grecque* s.v. ἄτη).

Before the discovery of the bilingual No. LXIV. which almost certainly translates γεγρειμεναν (*σει . . .*) by χρῆμα (=κρῆμα), Professor Ramsay had suggested in conversation that γεγρειμεναν is the Greek κεκριμένην. This must be correct. But it is puzzling to find κ represented by γ: that the initial sound approximated to κ is proved by the assimilation of αδδακετ in the form αδδακεκ. A similar change from surd to sonant characterizes the modern pronunciation of ancient names in this country: e.g. Káva (in Lycaonia) becomes Gehne. This explanation confirms Sayce's interpretation of ουταν, which must mean either πρόστιμον or a calamity inflicted by the god. The verb εγεσιτ in LVIII., where the division is certain, shows that the division here must be εγεδουτ ιος ουταν.⁴² ιος is the demonstrative pronoun (see on No. XV.) shortened in this phrase for metrical reasons.

XXXIII. Μεῖρος τέκτων καὶ Ἀμμία ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ τέκνῳ ίδιῳ Μάρκῳ τέκτονι καὶ ζωγράφῳ ἀνώρῳ μνήμης ἔνεκεν ἐποίησαν καὶ ξῶντες ἑαυτοῖς.

ιος νη σεμουν κνουμαινει κακουν αδδακετ, γεγρειμεναν εγεδουτ ιος ουταν· ακκεοι βεκος ακκαλος τι δρεγρουν ειτου αυτος κε ουα κε ροκα γεγαριτμενος αιβαταν τευτους.

ἀνώρῳ should probably be written thus: the first two letters do not

⁴² I had thought of εγεδου τι οι ουταν, as the borrowed Greek demonstrative pronoun. comparing εγεδου with ειτου, taking τι as the particle in apodosis (=ετι) and regarding οι as the borrowed Greek demonstrative pronoun. But εγεδουτ ιος is more probable (so also Prof. Ramsay).

form a diphthong, but *v* is inserted to mark *a* and *o* as separate sounds. So *αυτος* in line 6 (if a true Phrygian word, as R(*b*) holds) was probably pronounced *āv̄tos*, like the Naxian *āf̄nt̄os*. The divisions in R(*b*) seem certain, except perhaps in ΤΙΔΡΕΓΡΟΥΝΕΙΤΟΥ γεγειμεναν may be a mistake of the engraver for γεγρειμεναν; or **P** may be dropped as in ποσποιήσει (see on XII). For *ακκεοι*, see also on XII.

R(*b*) prints **A****C****B****A****T****A****N**, leaving it doubtful in his note whether the second letter is **C** or **I**. The authority of XXXV., where we read **A****B****A****T****A****N**, is decisive for **A****I****B****A****T****A****N**. Professor Ramsay suggests (by letter) that this may be *aībatav* (Greek *āt̄n̄v*) which occurs elsewhere as *oūtav*. But it would be surprising, if this were the case, to find both *oūtav* and *aībatav* in a single text, as we do here and in XXXV.

XXXIV. Μοῦζος Δειναρχίδι συμβίω σεμνοτάτη καὶ Βωδορει καὶ Νάνα τέκνοις γλυκυτάτοις καὶ έαυτῷ ζῶν μνήμης χάριν. ιος νε σεμν κνουμανει κακονν αδδακετ, γεγρειμεναν εγέδουτ ιος ουταν.

With *νε* for *νι* compare *κακεν* for *κακιν*. *σεμν* is to be compared with *μνκαν* in IX. *νη* in XXXIII., as R(*b*) points out, is a mere orthographic variety of *νι*; *νε* for *νι* may represent a dialectic variety.

XXXV. 'Αλεξανδρος 'Αλεξάνδρου μητρὶ ἴδιᾳ γλυκυ-
τάτῃ "Ακκα μνήμης ἔνεκεν. ιος νι σαι κακο-
νν αδδακεμ μανκαι ΑΣΑΝΑΝΚΑΙΟΠΑΝΤΑΚΕΝΑ
ΝΝΟΥ

C in line 3 is more probable than **F**, which is also possible (R(*b*)). Dative terminations in *-ai* are well-attested in these texts (cf. Nos. L., LX., and LXVII.). In view of the infrequency of iota adscript on the Imperial Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor, it is likely that *-ai* in the Phrygian texts represents a diphthong. This termination is not, however, constant; in a majority of cases the dat. fem. termination is in *-a*.^{42a} The apodosis of this inscription is unique. Perhaps *και ou* or *κα ioi* may be read. The final letters recall *Ακενανολαf̄os* (gen.) in the Old Phrygian inscription (Ramsay, *Jour. R. Asiatic Soc.* xv. 21, 1.).^{42b} Compare 'Ακενᾶς in Sterrett, W. E. 504. But any attempt at interpretation would be, for the present, the merest fantasy. In the protasis, *αδδακετ* becomes *αδδακεμ* before *μανκαι*: cf. XXXII.

XXXVI. This inscription was revised, and the copy improved by Professor Ramsay and me in 1910. A fresh epigraphic copy is given.

^{42a} Cf. *aībatav* and *aībatav* above.

^{42b} This was pointed out to me by Prof. J. A. Smith. Prof. Torp also notices the

similarity (*Mindeskrift over Prof. Dr. Sophus Bugge* (1908), p. 214.)

Αλλεγόημαν·
Δουδα υδ[ίω] ἀνδρὶ κὲ ἐ-
αυτῇ μνήμης χ[άρι]ν ιο-
ς κε σέμουν κνουμαν-
ι κακούν αδ[δα]κετε ρα, γ[ε] γ-
ρειμεν[α]ν εγεδο[υ-
τ ιος ουταν· ατος κ(ε) ου-
α κ[ε] ρ[ο]κα [γ]ε[γαριτ] με[ν]ο-
ς αβαταν τ-
ευτευς.

The lettering of the last three lines is rude and sprawling, and the stone is badly worn. I did not think of the restorations given above till after we had left Sinanli; but they seem fairly certain, compare No. XXXIII. 'Αλλεγδήμων, the name of the dead man, is written in large letters, and placed at the head of the inscription to give it prominence. The Greek epitaph accordingly represents a mixture of two styles. A rare class of Anatolian epitaphs give simply the name of the deceased person in the nominative.⁴³ The commonest type records that 'So and so made a tomb for So and so'; the verb is often omitted. This inscription combines both styles, from a desire to lay emphasis on the name of the dead man.⁴⁴ Allegdeleon appears to be a new name. There was very probably no further line at the top.

The formula used here is the same as that in XXXIII., with omission of the words *ακκεοι* to *ειτον*. The lettering is so disgraceful that we may look for mistakes of spelling: but *αβαταν* certainly supports the reading *αιβαταν* in XXXIII. *ἀτός* for *αὐτός* is common in Greek inscriptions, as also is *έατόν* for *έαντόν*. *ἀτός* is probably the Greek word here.

A serious divergence between this inscription and XXXIII. is that the letters ΕΠΑ are inserted between *αδδακετ* and *γεγρειμεναν*. Professor Raumsay's 1905 copy reads ΣΩΛ, but in 1910 we both regarded Ε and Α as certain, and felt only a slight doubt regarding [Ρ], the stroke of which is lost, and which might just possibly be a small Ο engraved above the level of the other letters. These copies exclude *αδδακετ[ορ]*, which would in any case leave the following *α* unexplained. The best division for the present seems to be that given in the transcription, *αδδακετε* being *αδδακεται*, the middle form, and *ρα* being a particle corresponding to Greek (*ă*)ρα, or perhaps borrowed from Greek. *τευτες* and *τευτονις* are evidently attempts to write an identical sound in Greek letters, cf. *κακενν* for *κακονι* in XLV.

⁴³ E.g. Le Bas, No. 912.

⁴⁴ Cf. a similar arrangement, with the genitive, in *Class. Rev.* xix. p. 428.

XXXVII. . . . μνήμης χάριν *i<σ>ος* κε σεμουν κνουμανε κακουν
αδδακετ τετικμενο]ς ειτου.

R(b) is possibly right in taking ΙΕΟΣ as a slip of the engraver for ΙΟΣ. But it must also be regarded as possible that the reading is *is os ke*, etc. (Lat. *is qui*): *is* demonstrative occurs in XXVIII., and *os* relative in LIV.

XXXVIII. *ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει]* κακο[ν αδδακετ
· · · · · τετικμενος ειτου ΤΙΤΕΝ[-
· · · · · ΙC

About nine letters are lost at the beginning of lines 2 and 3.

XXXIX. -ιλ]λη ἀδε[ρ]φῆ [α]ν-
[τοῦ] seven lines defaced
ΤΟ - Γ Αττιη κε αδειτου.

This fragment is helpful for the division of ΑΤΤΙΕΑΔΕΙΤΟΥ: see on No. LXII.

XL. *ιος νι σ[ε]μουν κνουμανε κακεν*
αδδακετορ, δεως ζεμελως κε τιτ-
τετικμε[ν]ος ειτου.

With *κακεν* compare the still more broken-down form *κακε* (No. XXI.): on *αδδακετορ* see LXIII.

XLI. This inscription is given, the Phrygian part after Prof. Callander's copy, as No. LXVII.

XLII. Hogarth, *J.H.S.* 1890, p. 159. R(b) adds a few letters from a second copy made by Mr. Hogarth in 1890, but does not state whether ΠΑΤΡΗ in his copy is intended to supersede ΠΑΡΤΗ in Mr. Hogarth's earlier copy.

αὐτὸς κ[αὶ] ξῶντες]
καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς ἀνέστησαν μνήμης]
χάριν· ιος νι σεμον [κ]ν[ι]μαν[ει κακ]ο[ν] δακε-
τ]αι σα τρα[. . .]τη [. με ζεμελως]
κε [δ]ε[ως] ΜΕΚΟΝΝΟΥΚΕΙCΝΙΟ://
ΑΙΠΑΡΤΗC

This inscription is in too fragmentary a state to add anything to our knowledge till illustrative texts are found. R(b) seems right in dividing *με κοννι ν κε iσνι c ν*: but the sense is obscure. Perhaps *σα* in line 4 agrees with a feminine noun meaning part of the tomb, possibly joined to *κνιμανει* by enclitic *κε* (cf. XL.) or added asyndetically (cf. III.). If ΠΑΤΡΗ is right, it may be the genitive of the Greek word *πάτρα* borrowed, corresponding to

τευτούς and *τευτεύς* (XXXIII. and XXXVI.). These two inscriptions perhaps end in the same general way as the present one, with a curse on the race of the violator. But the 'Ionic' form makes this view difficult.

XLIII.

[μνήμης]

χάρ[ιν.
ι]ος νι σεμουν κνου[μ-
ανει κακουν α[δδ]ακετ αινι α-
[δατεα ?]

αινι (if this be the division, and not *αδδακεται νι*) requires a second word for the tomb (beginning with *a*); (see on XVIII.). Perhaps *αδατεα* is the word (cf. XIV.). If so, *αινι* does not suffer elision here. Mr. Hogarth says there was no fourth line: No. XLVI breaks off in the same manner.

XLIV. Sterrett, *Ep. Jour.* No. 174. Improved by Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 118. Recopied by me in 1908, when I counted the missing letters between ΔΟΚΕ and ΙΑΔΕΙΤΟΥ as four, without any theory as to the meaning. The restoration given below exactly fills the space.

ι]ος αν σ[εμουν κακο]ν κνου[μ-
μανει δοκε[τ, Αττ]ι αδειτον.

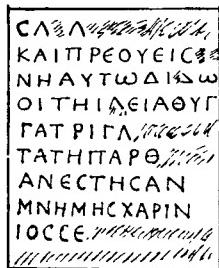
For *δοκετ* cf. LIV. *Αττι αδειτον*, with omission of *τετικμενος*, must mean 'let him belong to Attis,' a natural variation of 'let him be devoted to Attis.' See on No. LXII. With *κνουμανει*, cf. No. LIII; Μ at the end of line 1 is broken, but certain.

XLV.

ιος σεμου[ν κ]νουμ-
ανει κα[κ]εν[ν] αδακε[τ,
τιττετικμενος Αττι-
ε αδειτον.

An epigraphic copy of this inscription is given by Anderson in *Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1898, p. 122. For *κακεν* see on XXXVI.

XLVI. *Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1899, p. 119. With the help of Mr. Anderson's copy, I was able to read more of this text in 1910. A fresh epigraphic text is given.



10

Σα[γ]ά[ριος ? τοῦ δεῖνος
καὶ Πρεονεις [γν-
νὴ αὐτῶ (sic) Διδω-
οι τῇ ἰδείᾳ θυγ-
5 γατρὶ (sic) γλ[υκυ-
τάτη παρθ[ένω
ἀνέστησαν
μνήμης χάριν.
ιος σε[μουν . . .

ο 2

The former copy accidentally omits line 6. There were only two lines of Phrygian: the formula must have remained unfinished. $\Deltaιδωοι$ for $\Deltaιδωι$ is striking, and shows the extent to which vowel orthography had become confused. On $\Pi\rhoεονεις$ see XLIX.

XLVII.

$\Deltaιονύσιος$
 "Αννα β θυ[γ]α-
 τρὶ μνη[μη]ς
 ἔνεκεν.
 ιος νι σεμ[υ]
 κνουμ[α-
 νει κακο[υ]ν
 [αδδακετ . . .

$\sigma\epsilon\mu\nu\nu$ (cf. No. LXII.) is probably the correct restoration.

XLVIII.

$\epsilon[. . .]ΙΘΝΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ$
 πιοισιος ναδροτος
 ειτου Μιτραφατα
 κε Μας Τεμρογε-
 5 ιος κε Πουντας
 Βας κε Ενσταρν[α-
 δουμθ κε οιονθ-
 βαν αδδακετορ ον-
 αν. παρεθέμην τὸ
 10 μνημείον τοῖς προ-
 γεγραμμένοις θε-
 οῖς κε τῇ κώμῃ.
 ταῦθ' ὁ πατὴρ
 'Ασκληπιός.

This inscription depends on a copy and impression made by a Greek of Dorylaeum. About two letters are lost in line 1,^{44a} but there is no indication whether it is the first line in the original inscription, or whether the stone was broken at the top. That the divine names *Μιτραφατα*, *Μας Τεμρογειος*,^{44b} and *Πουντας Βας* (or *Πουντασβας* Kretschmer) are in the genitive may be accepted as certain: but whether the genitive depends on the words preceding *ειτου*, or whether there is a stop at *ειτου*, is obscure. Another difficulty in interpretation centres in the question whether *κε* is here enclitic (=Greek *τε*, Latin *que*), as Kretschmer holds, or interposed (=Greek *καί*), as Ramsay thinks. In the former case, the words *οιονθβαν αδδακετορ οναν* form a separate sentence: in the latter case they may be closely connected with the list of divine names. The former supposition

^{44a} Probably we should read $\epsilon[\tau\tau]ιθνιονμενος$; cf. *ετιτεικμενος*.

^{44b} The genitive termination *-ως* is common in Isauria. See *Class. Rev.* xxiv. p. 80.

seems more probable, because the case-ending in *οιονθβαν* and *οναν* is either accusative or dative, and it would be surprising to find either of those cases connected by *καὶ* with a series of genitives. R(7) has two powerful arguments on his side when he takes Ενσταρναδονμθ as an indeclinable divine name, against Kretschmer's view that δονμθ should be corrected into δονμ[ο] or δονμ[ω], making it equivalent to the word κώμη in the Greek.⁴⁵ For, firstly, the text appears quite certain, and secondly, the word corresponding to κώμη must now, after the discovery of Nos. XXXIII. and XXXVI., be held to be *οναν*. Names ending in -t occur sometimes in Asia Minor: see Ramsay in *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 514.

We find -ν as a feminine dative ending (see on No. XLIX.) and *οναν* may correspond exactly to κώμη. Or *οναν* may be accusative, governed by *αδδακετορ* (middle).

The meaning of *αδδακετορ* is the crucial point. Elsewhere it occurs twice as a middle form (Nos. XL., and LXIII.). The active *αδδακετ* is always used in the protasis *ιος νι . . . κακουν αδδακετ* 'whoever does harm,' apparently in the present (Torp, *Phryg. Inschr. aus röm. Zeit.* p. 12). *αδδικετ* (apparently for *αδδικετ*) appears to be the preterite in XXXI., and to mean 'made.'

Now, in the present inscription, the Phrygian formula evidently opens with a curse; the verb *ειτον* is regularly found with an expression equivalent to 'the violator of the tomb' as subject. In *αδδακετορ* the construction changes from the imperative to the indicative. The subject of *ειτον* can scarcely be the subject of *αδδακετορ*: and the meaning of *αδδακετορ οναν* must be sought in the corresponding words in the Greek, παρεθέμην τῇ κώμῃ. The Greek portion gives a brief summary, in one sentence, of the Phrygian portion, which consists of two separate sentences.

αδδακετορ must mean 'he makes for himself' (the subject being the maker of the tomb) or 'it is made' (the subject being the tomb). In the second case, we might translate (*τὸ μνημεῖον*) παρατίθεται τῇ κώμῃ Οἰονθβᾳ: but it is very unlikely that *αδδακετορ* can bear this meaning. A simpler explanation is to take *οναν* as accusative and translate 'he (Asklepios) makes the village his caretaker' treating *οιονθβαν* as a substantive meaning 'caretaker.'

In that case, *οιονθβαν* may be connected with the verb *οονιτετον* in II. b which we have translated 'let (the village) take care of . . .' ⁴⁶ The similarity of those two contexts is striking.

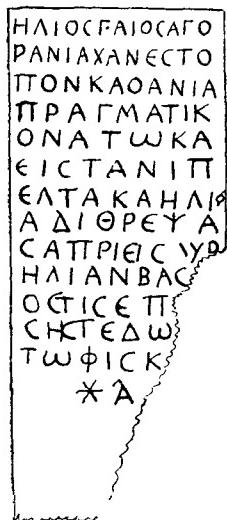
The equivalence of *οναν* to κώμη gives us the form *αδδακετορ*, for which see on No. LXIII.

⁴⁵ See on No. IX.

⁴⁶ As *οονιτετον* represents 'owiteton' (see on No. L.), we must assume, in order to connect the two words, that *οιονθβαν* is for *οι-Φονθβαν*. *Φονθ-* can be equivalent to *Fit-*, just as we find *τετοκμενος* for *τετικμενος*, θ here, as elsewhere

in these inscriptions, is a mere orthographic variation for τ. And the initial ο- and οι- apparently attempts to write an identical Phrygian sound; the dat. fem. alternates between -α and -αι. See on No. XXXV.

XLIX. Copied at Iconium by Sir W. M. Ramsay and me in 1910.



Ηλιος Γαιος αγο-
ρανι αχανες το-
πον Καοανια
πραγματικ-
5 ον ατ ω κα
ειστανι πε-
λτα κα ηλι-
α διθρεψα
σα πριεις [Α]υ[ρ]
10 ηλιαν Βασ[αν].
οστις έπι[ιβιά-
σηστε, δω[σει
τω φίσκ[ω
* α'.

This inscription is engraved in rude but clear letters on a stele with ornamented top. The stone is broken at the right-hand bottom corner. In the first line there is a stop-mark, which must be accidental, after Γ . In line 9 the sixth and seventh letters are very close together, but it is certain that they are $\epsilon\mu$ and not θ . The next letter is ζ ; the next was evidently intended to be α , but only part of the right-hand bar was engraved. The last remaining letter of line 10 was ζ , not σ . After the fifth letter in line 9 there is a horizontal bar: it is probably a slip of the chisel, but it is just possible that η is intended, in ligature with ϵ . This change would be of no consequence phonetically. Line 9 is more carelessly engraved than the rest; apart from it, we felt no doubt as to any of the letters.^{46a}

It is a remarkable fact that while the main part of this epitaph is written in (strongly Graecised) Phrygian, the formula against violation of the tomb is in Greek. In the case of all the other composite inscriptions containing a curse, the reverse is the case. This fact is easily explained by the position of the Phrygian language in the 'furthest city of Phrygia.' At this period (see below) Greek was the language used in official documents, in dedications to the gods, and on tombstones. Latin had never taken firm root in Iconium, even after its elevation to the rank of a Roman colony. The formula against violation of the tomb, with its provision of a fine to be paid to the fiscus, is couched in the everyday official language of the city, even when the main part of the epitaph is in Phrygian. In the country districts, on the other hand, the Greek epitaph was a sign of education, while the curse in the old language of the native religion was considered more effective.

^{46a} The symbol at the end of line 7 is an ivy-leaf.

The use of the name Aurelius or Aurelia as a sort of *praenomen* in the Greek East has been long and successfully used as indicating a date subsequent to 212 A.D., when Caracalla elevated the whole Roman world to Roman citizenship, and when it became fashionable to adopt his name.⁴⁷ The inscription is accordingly not earlier than the third century A.D.

Evidence of a novel and unexpected kind can thus be brought to bear on the vexed question whether and in what sense Iconium was a 'city of Phrygia' in the time of St. Paul. The best discussion of this subject is that in Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 37, ff. Xenophon calls Iconium 'the furthermost city of Phrygia.' The *Acts of the Apostles* describes the apostles as fleeing from Iconium 'to the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra and Derbe,' implying that Iconium was not in Lycaonia; and other authorities of later date speak of Iconium as Phrygian. On the other hand, Cicero, Strabo, and Pliny make Iconium a city of Lycaonia: geographically it belongs to Lycaonia rather than to Phrygia, and for the purposes of government the Romans generally united it to Lycaonia. Professor Ramsay resolved the apparent inconsistency by making Iconium Phrygian in the sense that its people were Phrygians, and that it had belonged to the Phrygian empire; Lycaonian in the sense that for administrative purposes—and this was the aspect under which it attracted the notice of Roman writers—it was classed to Lycaonia.

Inscriptions XLIX. and L. exactly bear out this conclusion. Until the present year (1910) Phrygian inscriptions—the safest witness to the extension of the Phrygian-speaking race—have been found only as far south-east as the neighbourhood of Laodiceia Combusta. The fact that Phrygian could be used at Iconium as late as the third century A.D. in composing an epitaph, and at some date probably not earlier than the second century A.D. in a dedication (No. L.) shows how tenacious the Phrygian character of the city was. Even the older form of the name—which, whether by the chance of Turkish pronunciation or by a real tradition, has maintained itself to the present day—was used at that period by the Phrygian-speaking inhabitants of the 'City of the eikon'⁴⁸ In *Kaoavia*, as often in Greek inscriptions, *o* (like *ov*) is inserted to mark a *w*-sound between two *as*. The divergence of gender between *Kóviov* and *Kaoavia* is not important: *Λύστραν* occurs beside *Λύστροις* in the *Acts of the Apostles*.⁴⁹ The vocalisation is peculiar, but we have no materials for discussion of this subject. A parallel pair are Halala and Loulon: see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of A. M.*, p. 353, and *Jahresh. Oest. Arch. Inst.* vii., (Beibl.) col. 112.

⁴⁷ Ramsay, *Studies in the . . . E. Rom. Provinces*, p. 255; and especially *Class. Rev.* 1905 (XIX.), p. 369.

⁴⁸ See Hill, *B.M. Catalogue of Coins*, Lycaonia, Introd. p. xxiii. and p. 4. I hope elsewhere to give reasons for regarding the form *Kóviov* which occurs in Pliny, in Byzantine writers (*e.g.* Chlecoond. p. 243), and on a rude Lycaonian milestone (*Thousand and One* ·

Churches, Ramsay and Bell, p. 512) as the original native name (Phrygian Kawania) corrupted into *Eikóviov* by etymologising Greeks under the influence of the stories of Perseus and Nannakos. Malalas, p. 36, gives Amandra as an old name of Iconium.

⁴⁹ See Harnack, *Apostelgeschichte* (1908), p. 86. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, etc. p. 128.

A common type of Greek inscription in Anatolia records the acquisition or preparation of a grave, and the erection *thereon* of a memorial of some sort. At Sengen, for example, an epitaph concludes thus: *iστήλην εύτυκτον πῆξεν ἐπὶ σήματι τῷδε*: one of Obruk as follows: *ἐν δὲ λιθῳ ξοάνῳ γράψας ἐπέθηκ’ ἐνη τύμβῳ*. Compare Anderson, *Jour. Hell. Stud.* xviii. p. 118, no. 61. No. XLIX. is of this type. Its general sense is clearly as follows: ‘Helios Gaios buys a large (?) plot of ground belonging to the community of Kawania, on which he also sets up a substructure and a two-chambered? tomb? to his daughter? Aurelia Bas(s)a. Whoever forces an entrance, shall pay to the fiscus 1000 denarii.’

The name *Ηλιος* (“*Ηλιος* or “*Ηλιος?*”) occurs (in the form *Ηλις*) on two inscriptions of Iconium, which I hope soon to publish in the *Revue de Philologie*. Cf. *Studia Pontica* (Anderson, etc.) Vol. III. p. 113. The forms *αγορανι* and *ειστανι* are peculiar. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion as Mr. Fraser pointed out to me) that *ειστανι* is a part of the Greek verb *iστάνω*, which occurs in the New Testament,⁵⁰ and was therefore familiar in a centre of Christianity like Iconium. *αγορανι* is evidently similar in meaning to the Greek verb *ἀγοράζω*. It can scarcely be a native Phrygian word, for we have no warrant to assume that Greek and Phrygian have developed independently a verb meaning ‘to buy’ from a substantive meaning ‘a place of assembly.’ (The meaning ‘market-place’ which *ἀγορά* developed in Greek is secondary.)^{50a} I accordingly take *αγορανι* as part of a verb *ἀγοράνω*, formed in local speech on the analogy of verbs like *iστάνω*. We must next consider its tense. Greek inscriptions recording the making of a tomb almost always have the principal verb in the aorist (first or third person); a few times in the imperfect.⁵¹ The present is very rare.⁵² But *αγορανι* and *ειστανι* are exactly equivalent in local orthography to *ἀγοράνει* and *iστάνει*, and we are driven to the conclusion that these are the forms intended. The forms cannot be aoristic, for the aorist of the Phrygian verb corresponding to *ἴστημι* occurs in No. XXXI., in the form *εσταες* (3rd person singular) and in No. LXVI., in the gracised form *στησον* (1st person? singular). It is just possible that *αγορανι* and *ειστανι* are imperfect: for we have seen that *ι* and *ε* replace each other in Phrygian orthography (*κακιν* = *κακεν*; *ευκιν* = *υκε*), and *ι* may here represent the Greek *ε*. But the absence of augment in *αγορανι* suggests that *ειστανι* is a variety for *ιστανι* (*ει* and *ι* are frequently interchanged) and this makes it almost certain that both forms are in the present tense. Phrygian has the augment in *εσταες* and *ει-επαρκες*, and in the Old Phrygian *ε[δ]αες*.

There seem to be two possible explanations of the term *αχανες*: (1) It may be the neuter of *ἀχανής*, in the meaning of ‘great,’ or ‘wide’ (see the *Lexicai*). The neuter form with *τοπον* (which is clearly the

⁵⁰ E.g. *Ep. Rom.* iii. 31.

^{50a} My notice has been drawn to the Phrygian town-name *Κεράμων Ἀγορά*; but this is probably the Greek translation of the Phrygian (or older) name.

⁵¹ E.g. *Ath. Myth.* vvvv p. 177 (*ἡγόραςε*): compare the use of *ἐποίει* on tombs and works of art.

⁵² It occurs (at Iconium) *Jour. Hell. Stud.* xxvii. p. 319 (Cionin), if the reading is correct.

well-known technical use of the Greek word)⁵³ is surprising. R(b) suggests on No. XXXI. that *τύμβος* was taken into Phrygian as *τυμ्बον*, the case which was most familiar on Greek epitaphs, and treated as neuter. If this be correct, we may regard *τοπον* as a second instance of the same phenomenon. (2) One is tempted to connect *αχαρες* with the word *άχαρη* used in a punning context in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, ll. 108–9, and signifying a Persian measure. In that passage, it is a measure of bulk or weight, but it may have been in use in Asia Minor as a square measure. As regards the construction, *αχαρες* might be a false form for *άχαραιον*: it can scarcely be a genitive (which would also suit the context): η often replaces ε, as in *Αττιη* for *Αττιε*, *ητιτετικμενος* for *ετιτ...*, etc.: but the reverse occurs only on the rudest Greek inscriptions, and is a proof of illiteracy.⁵⁴ The meaning of *πραγματικον* is obscure. Possibly the meaning approximates to the Polybian sense of 'fine,' 'strong' (of a fort); but the interposition of the city-name between the noun and the adjective suggests rather a meaning like *δημόσιον*. Cf. the Byzantine *pragmatica sanctio*, 'an Imperial decree that referred to the affairs of a community.' The sale of ground by a city for purposes of burial is attested.⁵⁵

ατ ω is probably the Phrygian preposition which occurs in the compounds *αδακετ*, *αββερετ*, *αδειτου* (see on No. XXXI.), and the Greek relative φ. The form *κα* in lines 5 and 7, as contrasted with the usual κε, must be due to variety of pronunciation.

The word *πέλτα* occurs several times in Greek inscriptions of Phrygia and Lycaonia.⁵⁶ Professor Bruno Keil (*Hermes*, xlivi. p. 544, n.) has ingeniously explained it as meaning a palisade or *δρύφακτος* of *έρατα*, comparing Suidas' gloss *πέλτων Θράκιον σπλον*. In the *Expositor*, 1908 (Nov.), p. 417, Professor Ramsay took the word to mean 'the basis or substructure on which the sarcophagus (of Eugenius, bishop of Laodiceia Combusta) was placed.' This explanation is confirmed by an inscription, copied at Iconium in 1910, which runs as follows: *Ἄλιος Δάριος κατεσκένασε τὰ πέλτα σὺν τῷ ἐπεστῶ[τι] βωμῷ αἰαντῷ* etc. Here the word clearly means the substructure on which the engraved memorial (which is shaped like an altar) stood. It is a Thraeo-Phrygian word, which passed into the ordinary Greek vocabulary of the district, and found a place even in the epitaph of a Christian bishop. The name suggests that the substructure was originally of wood: see Prof. Keil, loc. cit.

ηλια διθρεψα seem to be a substantive and an adjective agreeing with it.^{57a} We remembered *διθρεψα* in XXXI.,⁵⁷ and verified the Ψ several times:

⁵³ I.e. meaning *περίβολος*. The term *τόπος* often replaces *περίβολος*: at Hierapolis, it was the usual term. (Stemler, *Grech. Grabinschr.* p. 24.)

⁵⁴ E.g. *αεσεμβρί(αν)* *Thousand and One Churches* (Ramsay and Bell, p. 514). *Ἀρελία*, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 122, No. 69.

⁵⁵ E.g. *C.I.G.* 4303 h, add.

⁵⁶ E.g. Laodiceia Combusta, *Ath. Mith.* 1888,

pp. 247, 263, and *Klio*, 1910, p. 233: Savatia, *Studies in the E. Roman Provinces* (Ramsay), p. 160; Iconium (see below). The same word is clearly to be restored in Sterrett, *Eph. Jour.* No. 226, line 4. (Iconium.)

^{57a} The division *Ηλιαδι θρεψα* is made impossible by the preceding *κα*.

⁵⁷ Mr Anderson, the copyist, informs me that he felt no doubt as to the reading *διθρεψα*.

the reading is absolutely certain. *διθρεψα* has been shown above to be a noun : *διθρεψα* is probably an adjective. As Phrygian drops the aspirates,⁵⁸ Θ in both these words probably represents Τ : Θ for Τ occurs frequently in Greek inscriptions—e.g. θέκνοις for τέκνοις. Mr. Fraser suggests that *διθρεψα* means ‘two-chambered,’ connecting it with the root *treb-*. In that case, ηλια must mean ‘tomb.’^{58a}

Comparing *σα πριεις* (or *πριει[ε]?*) with *σα σορου* in XXI. and *σα τισκελεδριαι* in LXVII., we are enabled to infer that *σα* is the feminine dative of the definite article. In XXI. and LXVII. it would be possible to take it as a demonstrative pronoun (= *ταύτη*), but *σα πριεις* must be *τῇ* (*θυγατρί?*). The meaning of *πριεις* is not determinable (see on XII.), but, from its position, we must infer that it is a term of relationship, and it is perhaps connected with the female name spelt *Πρειονεις*, *Πρειεις*, *Πριβις*, etc., which occurs frequently in E. Phrygia and Lycaonia.⁵⁹ *πριεις* here must be dative : possibly there is an engraver’s mistake for *πριειε* (cf. *Αττιε*, *Βρατερε*) : but it is worth remarking that the proper name *Πρεις* occurs as dative in N. Lycaonia, within the Phrygian-speaking belt : . . . *μητρὶ Αὔρο*. *Πρεις γλυκιτάτῃ* . . . (J.H.S. 1899, p. 288). On the other hand, *Πριει* is twice dat. fem. (*Ibid.* p. 291). *A]ῳ[ρ]ηλίαν Βασ[αν']* is in the dative ; we find *σαν μανκαι*. (dat.) in LX., and *Αστιαν*, probably dat., in XIV. and LIII. The termination -ν is added to the dative also in *σεμουν* (on this subject see Solmsen in *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, N.F. xiv. p. 50 ; Fraser in Ramsay’s *Studies in the E. Rom. . . Pror.* p. 153). I have restored *ἐπ[ιβιά]ση<σ>τε* rather than *ἐπ[ισβιά]ση<σ>τε* because there is hardly room for the latter. The former is rare, but it occurs on two unpublished inscriptions of Iconium. The form *Βάσα* (for *Βάσσα*) occurs in Pontus : *Studio Pontica* (Anderson, etc., vol. iii., p. 142, No. 122).

L. Copied at Iconium in 1910 by Sir W. M. Ramsay and myself.



Γης παρθε-
κα Γδικαι ω-
χην.

⁵⁸ See Ramsay in *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, xxviii. p. 385.

^{58a} Perhaps it is connected with Greek ηρίον (see on No. XII.) cf. *τουσκελεδριας* (LVI.) with *τισκελεδριαι* (LXVII.) a parallel to which

Mr. G. F. Hill draws my attention.

⁵⁹ On the forms of this name, see Anderson in J.H.S. 1899, p. 119. In J.H.S. 1902, p. 357, Cronin wrongly corrects *Πρειει* to *Πρει[β]αι* in an inscription of Iconium.

We had left a Greek servant in charge of Sir W. M. Ramsay's excavations⁶⁰ in the wall of the old Seljuk palace at Iconium for an hour or two of noonday heat, when he came to the hotel with a copy of this inscription, which had just been dug up and cleaned. We at once concluded that it was part of a dedication ending $\theta[\bar{\omega} \circ\sigma\acute{\iota}\bar{\omega}] \kappa[\bar{a}]\bar{i}] \delta\bar{i}\kappa\bar{a}\bar{i}\bar{\omega} [\epsilon\bar{u}]\chi\bar{h}\bar{\nu}$. But examination of the stone showed this view to be untenable. The text is cut on the front of a small bemos, the sides of which are unengraved, and the back of which is broken away. An inscription is sometimes written consecutively round two sides of an altar, but never on the back and front only.⁶¹ The text as given is complete, and certain except in a single detail. It is just possible that the first letter is Γ , for there is a break in the stone close to the left of the vertical bar; but it is more likely Γ , as the vertical bar is exactly in line with the upright stroke of K in line 2, and, as the inscription is carefully cut throughout,^{61a} the alignment was probably attended to. There is apparently a stop-mark after Σ in line 1, but this is not quite certain: the hole is deep and clear, but it may be a natural flaw. Γ and Δ in line 2 are joined as shown in the epigraphic copy. The stroke which joins them is shallower in the middle than at the ends: but there is no doubt that the engraver wrote Γ and joined it with Δ .

The inscription is a dedication to $\Delta\bar{i}\kappa\bar{h}$ in the Phrygian form $\Gamma\delta\bar{i}\kappa\bar{a}$.⁶² This is better than dividing $\Gamma\delta\bar{i}\kappa\bar{a} \iota\omega\chi\bar{h}\bar{\nu}$, for the presence of iota at the beginning of the word corresponding to $\epsilon\bar{u}\chi\bar{h}\bar{\nu}$ would be hard to explain. $\omega\chi\bar{h}\bar{\nu}$ must be the Greek word according to Phrygian pronunciation—compare the series *κακευν κακουν κακον*.

The form $\Gamma\delta\bar{i}\kappa\bar{a}$ becomes highly interesting when we compare it with similar forms found in Greek inscriptions of Eastern Phrygia. We found in 1910 an inscription at Tsheshmeli Zebir (see Anderson, *Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1899, p. 282.), revealing the ancient name of the village and at the same time removing all doubt as to the true name of the Byzantine Bishopric 'Glavama' or Eudokias.⁶³ It runs as follows: $\Lambda\bar{u}\rho(\bar{h}\lambda\iota\bar{o}s) \bar{E}\bar{u}\sigma\acute{\e}\beta\bar{u}(o)s \chi\bar{h}\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{o}\bar{u}\bar{\nu} \Gamma\delta\bar{a}\bar{n}\mu\acute{a}\bar{a}\bar{s}, \bar{o}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{w}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{\chi}\bar{h}\bar{o}(\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{o})\bar{\nu} \bar{K}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{u}, \tau\bar{h}\bar{\gamma}\bar{l}\bar{u}\bar{k}\bar{u}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{\mu}\bar{o}\bar{s} \bar{\gamma}\bar{u}\bar{u}\bar{e}\bar{k}\bar{i}\bar{\nu} \bar{T}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{i}\bar{\theta}\bar{u}\bar{y}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{\nu} \bar{\Delta}\bar{i}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{s} \bar{\mu}\bar{u}\bar{j}\bar{u}\bar{m}\bar{h}\bar{s} \bar{\chi}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{\nu}$. This inscription will be discussed more fully elsewhere: for the present purpose it suffices to remark that *Gdanmaa* is evidently the correct form of *Egdaua* of the Peutinger Table, '*Εκδαύμανα* or '*Εκδαύμανα* of Ptolemy, *Γλαύμα* of Hierocles, and *Γάλβανον* and *Γάλμανα* in the Notitiae (Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1899, p. 126). The name is derived from a Phrygian form of *δαν* meaning 'earth' and the name of the Phrygian goddess Ma (cf. Nos. XIV., XLVIII.). The latter half of the name contains two *a*-sounds pronounced distinctly, like *Καοανια* in XLIX. This is clear in itself, and is proved by Ptolemy's '*Εκδαύμανα*, which is the nearest of all the corruptions to the true form (*εκδ-* replacing *γδ* is interesting). *Γδαν* is to be compared with *Γδικα*. An inscription of Savatra contains the

⁶⁰ To be described in the *Revue de Philologie*.

⁶¹ A separate inscription may be engraved on the back, or sides: e.g. *Class. Rev.* xix, p. 368, No. I.

^{61a} The lettering is much better than the

epigraphic copy suggests.

⁶² For *-αι* (dat. fem.) see on No. XXXV.

⁶³ Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, p. 344; Art. 'Lycaonia,' in *Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.* 1904 (Beiblatt), p. 97 ff.

expression ἐκ γδιαδοχῆς, where γ has arisen between κ and δ under the influence of this tendency in Phrygian to develop a sonant before Greek δ .⁶⁴

$\Deltaίκη$ as a goddess is a purely Hellenic conception; but we know that the Phrygian religion of Iconium borrowed at least one other goddess. The principal native deity of the district is the Μήτηρ Ζιζιμηνή of Sisima, many of whose cult-inscriptions have been found in the locality. One inscription records a dedication to Minerva Zizimene, the Athena of the Greek Iconium, who appears on coins.⁶⁵

$\Gammaῆς$ is found as a proper name on inscriptions of Phrygia and Lycaonia: e.g. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899, p. 129, No. 150 (copied again by me in 1910: the text is certain), *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 245, No. 36, where $\GammaΗ$ is certain (verified by me in 1908). In both these cases it is feminine, and also in the following inscription, copied at Beykuyu Mesarlik, west of Insuyu in northern Lycaonia, in 1910. $\text{Κονθατιακὸς κὲ Κοῖντος τῷ ἴδιῳ πατρὶ καὶ Γῆς ἀνδρὶ Κοῖντῳ [μ]νῆ[μης] χάριν.$ ⁶⁶ The inscription of Amasia (*C.I.G.* 8894 which was formerly read $\Gammaῆς ἀρχιερεύς$ has now been corrected to Tῆς ἀρχιερεύς (*Studia Pontica* (Anderson, etc.) iii. p. 115).⁶⁷

There remains ΠΑΡΘΕΚΑ, which can be either the genitive singular of a name: 'Ges, daughter of Parthekas,' or (more probably) part of a verb corresponding to $\pi\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\theta\eta\mu\iota$ (cf. XLVIII.) and meaning 'offered' (a vow). Perhaps it is a Phrygianised form of Greek $\pi\alpha\pi\theta\eta\kappa\alpha$. This view is strengthened by comparison with LII. (q.v.) where we read $\pi\alpha\pi\theta\theta\sigma\omega\ldots\epsilon\nu\chi\eta\nu$ in an inscription written in very rude Greek.

LII. Copied by Sir W. M. Ramsay and me at Suwarek (Psibela) in 1910. The stone had been hollowed out to make a water-spout: lines 2 and 4, where the restorations are certain, confirm our estimate of the number of letters lost in the Phrygian portion.

Α	Σ	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ι	Ο	Ω	Ν	Ι	Τ	Ε
Κ	Ν	Ω	Λ	Ι	Ι	Α	Τ	Ω	Λ	Υ	Τ
Τ	Ε	Κ	Ν	Ι	Ι	Α	Λ	Ω	Λ	Υ	Τ
Τ	Ω	Ζ	Λ	Ι	Ι	Α	Λ	Ω	Λ	Υ	Τ
Χ	Α	Ρ	Ι	Ν	Ι	Α	Λ	Ω	Λ	Υ	Τ
Ι	Τ	Ε	Ο	Ι	Ι	Α	Λ	Ω	Λ	Υ	Τ
Κ	Ε	Α	Τ	Ι	Ι	Α	Λ	Ω	Λ	Υ	Τ
Δ	Ε	Ι	Τ	Ι	Ι	Α	Λ	Ω	Λ	Υ	Τ

5 Λσκλ[άς Κλέω]ν τε-
κνφ [γλυκυτ]άτφ
<τ[έ]κν[φ]> και ἔα]υτφ
<τω> ξω[ντι μνή]μη[ς]
χάριν. [ιος σεμ]ον ρ[ε-
κ]τεο[ν κακον]ν αδ[α-
κεατ. τ, ε[τικμενο]ς Αττ[ι
αδει[του . . .] ασγ ?

The difficulty of restoring this text is made greater by the obvious carelessness of its composition. $\tau\epsilon\kappa\tau\phi$ is evidently repeated, as also probably

⁶⁴ *Studies in the E. Roman Provinces* (Ramsay), p. 160, from Callander's copy. Prof. Callander prints ἐκ(ι) διαδοχῆς (for ἐκ<ι> διαδοχῆς). I re-copyred this inscription with Γδικαι and Γδάνμα fresh in my mind in 1910, and regarded ΕΚΓΔ as quite certain. Cf. the proper name Αλλεγδημων in No. XXXVI., and the Homeric ἐρίγδουπος.

C.I.L. iii 13638. Hill, *Catalogue of B.M. Coins*, Lycaonia, p. 5.

⁶⁶ I find a fourth instance, also feminine, in my 1908 notebook, from Tchetme in Phrygia Paronios.

⁶⁷ If we read $\Gamma\eta\varsigma$ in No. L., we may connect it with the name Τᾶς found at Laodiceia Combusta, see Kretschmer, *Ephemeris*, p. 347.

⁶⁵ See Ramsay in *Class. Rev.* xix. p. 368.

the last two letters of *έαυτῷ*. The name Cleon is inserted *exempli gratia*. The mutilation of this inscription is the more to be regretted as it contains deviations from the normal formulae. The letter at the end of line 5 is almost certainly ε, but there is just a possibility that it may be ο. The first letter in line 6 is Κ; the upright stroke has disappeared. The fifth symbol in the same line is an upright stroke, which may be Ι, or the first bar of any relevant letter. The first letter after the gap in the seventh line is almost certainly Ζ. The third last remaining letter in line 4 was Ν, but this must be a mistake for Η. There was no trace of ligature between this Ν and the following Μ. There were probably more lines: but no trace of further letters appeared, except a doubtful Α. Λ, or Δ, where the 10th line would end.

This is an example of the commonest formula: but (1) a new word appears in place of *κρουμανεῖ*, (2) a new form of the verb *ἀδακεῖτ* is used. *ρεκτεον* is the most probable form of the word for 'tomb,' though *ρεκτεοι* is possible (cf. Ξεννεοι in XXXI). Is this a Phrygianised form of the Latin (*e*)*rectio*? (Compare λεγεών for *legio*.) The objection to this view is that *erectio* does not appear to have been used concretely—at any rate, not in the Latin inscriptions of Asia Minor. But Psibela was an important point on the road across Lycaonia, and several roads branched there.⁶⁸ It seems likely enough that there was a Roman element in the population, and that the word *(e)rectio* is an echo of the local Latin speech. This seems better than to take the word as native Phrygian. Perhaps *ἀδακεῖτ* (*ad+faciat*) is another Latinism. But if we read *ἀδακεῖτ*, we must assume that the first τ of *τετικμενος* was omitted. An alternative is to read *ἀδακε* (cf. No. LX.), and take *ατε* as the opening letters of a participle substituted for *τετικμενος*. The former alternative seems more probable.

LII. At Serai-ini, near Laodiceia Combusta, in the wall of the principal Djami. Copied by Sir W. M. Ramsay in 1905; copy revised and improved by Sir W. M. Ramsay and me in 1910. This inscription is given here as probably containing a Phrygian verb. It is engraved on a rough-hewn stone with a raised border, in very rude letters.



Αὐρ(ήλιος)

Φρού[γι ?

ος Νεστορι-
ανοῦ π(ρωτ)οκ-

5 ομήτης
παρεθθον
Τοη Ορονδί-
φ εὐχήν.

⁶⁸ Ramsay, Art. 'Lycaonia,' in *Jahresh. Ost. Arch. Inst.* 1904 (Beiblatt), p. 93.

At the end of line 2, Π is certain; but it is probably a mistake for Γι. The second last letter in line 6 may possibly be Α, but Ο is more probable. The rest of the inscription is certain. The main difficulty in this text is whether we are to take the letters ΠΟΚΩΜΗΤΗΣ as an abbreviation for πρωτοκωμήτης or to understand a village name Πόα. In the latter case παρεθθον can only be a verb, in the former case it may still be a verb, or it may be the name of the village in the genitive plural Παρέθθ(ω)ν. The substitution of ο for ω is not unknown in the ruder inscriptions of this period and locality: but Παρέθθα is a very unlikely village name. It is more likely that, in whichever way we explain ΠΟΚΩΜΗΤΗΣ, παρεθθον is part of the same verb which occurs in No. L.: with the termination compare στησον in No. LXVI. The meaning of παρατίθεσθαι in No. XLVIII. easily passes into that of 'set up,' 'dedicate'; παρθεκα and παρεθθον are probably Phrygian forms of the Greek verb.^{68a} παρίστημι is used in a similar sense in the phrase Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανοῖς παρεστήσαμεν τὸ ἔργον. (*Studies in the . . . E. Rom. Provinces* (Ramsay), p. 223 f. No. 21), in an inscription of Phrygia. On πρωτοκωμήτης see Cronin (*Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1902, p. 359), whose assumption of a village Πρώτα Κώμη or Πρώτη Κώμη is unnecessary.

This inscription has not been published before; but Ramsay's 1905 copy has been referred to by Ramsay (*Cities of St. Paul*, p. 448, N. 15) and by the present writer (*Classical Review*, 1910, p. 80, N. 2), where a wrong restoration (παρθένῳ Τροκούδῃ) of lines 6 and 7, which exactly suited the older copy, was used in an argument. This correction does not invalidate the argument.

The form Τοη must be still another of the Greek attempts to write the name Jehovah (see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 327 ff.). The latest discussion on this subject is that in Miss Ramsay's *Preliminary Report to the Wilson Trustees* (Aberdeen, 1909), with reference to an inscription of Sisma, north of Iconium, and not far from Serai-ini. I should read this inscription (adopting an alternative suggestion in Miss Ramsay's paper which appeared to be confirmed by re-examination of the stone in 1910) [ἐπέρ τῆς Καίσαρος τύχης καὶ Τυἱρέων δήμου Διὸς Μεγίστο[ν] Ὄλυ]νπίου Ιυδ Διονύσωι [εὐαντ]ήτῳ Ήτας Λοντσος Κ[αρικο]ῦ οἰκουόμον νε(ωτέρ)ον. The letter following ω in ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ seemed to me in 1910 to be certainly ι:⁶⁹ the above restoration abolishes the difficulty (felt by Miss Ramsay) of putting the name of Dionysus before that of Leto. The name Ήτας occurs in an inscription copied by me in Isauria in 1910 (feminine): εὐάντητος occurs as an epithet of Hecate at Amorium (*Klio*, 1910, pp. 232 ff.). Miss Ramsay holds 'that Ιυδ is a simplification of attested spellings, such as Ιαωνης, Ιεουαηω, aided by Greek Της.' The form Τοης is a similar local

^{68a} They are more probably Greek words modified by Phrygians than Phrygian words cognate with the Greek.

⁶⁹ On *Iota adscript* in Imperial inscriptions, see *Class. Rev.* 1910, p. 78. Prof. Ramsay in *Class. Rev.* xix. p. 370, prints ι, and indicates Ν as possible. In 1909 he and Miss Ramsay

preferred Κ (see Miss Ramsay, *loc. cit.*). In 1910 I considered that the letter could not by any possibility be Κ. There is a break in the stone close to the right of the vertical bar; but there is room for part of both oblique bars beyond the break, and they do not appear.

attempt at simplification.^{69a} The Orondian territory (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 332) occupied the mountains south of Sisma and Serai-ini. In *Class. Rev.* 1910, p. 79, I wrongly took 'Ινω in the above inscription to be a mistake for νιψ.

LIII. In the Eastern cemetery at Serai-ini, near Laodiceia Combusta copied by Professor Ramsay and myself in 1910.



Λούκιος Γαλ-
λι[κῷ] τῷ ἰδίῳ
τέκνῳ μνήμ-
ης χάριν.

5 ιος νι σεμουν κν[ου-
μμανει κακουν [α-
δδακεττ[α], κ[α]ι [ε-
τιττετικμεν]ος
Αστιαν ειτον.

Λούκιος is restored *exempli gratia*. The duplication of consonants (*κνουμμανει*, cf. XLIX. and *αδδακετται*) is remarkable. The two Λ's in line 7 are clearly mistakes for Α. On *και* in the apodosis, see on XII. To forestall a possible suggestion, it may be remarked that *i* in *και* is certain in both our copies. *αικαν* (cf. No. LXII.) can therefore not be read.

Αστιαν occurs also in XIV., where the word is perhaps an epithet of Ma. Occurring in place of *Αττι* or *Αττιε*, it is probably the name of a deity;⁷⁰ it is feminine dative in form (see on XLIX.). Prof. Ramsay suggests to me that this is the goddess who gave her name to the town 'Αστιβρία ('town of Astia'); see *Studies in the E. Rom. Provinces*, p. 363, where 'Αρτέμιδη Σατιπ[ρ]ειξηνῆ' in Sterrett W.E. 380, l. 13.f. is compared.

LIV. Copied by me at Beughru Delik in 1908. Copy revised and improved by Sir W. M. Ramsay and me in 1910.

^{69a} Or is it an attempt to write *Jovi*?

⁷⁰ See on LXII.

ΥΛΑΣΙΔΙΩΠΑ
ΤΡΙΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΩΚ
ΕΥΡΥΔΗΜΩΕΓΓ
ΟΝΩΦΕΜΝΤΔ
ΟΥΔΟΥΜΝΗΜΗ
ΣΧΑΡΙΝΟΣΚΕ
ΣΕΜΟΥΝΚΝΟΣΜΑ
ΝΕΙΚΑΚΟΥΝΔΟ
ΚΕΤΑΤΤΙΑΔΕΙ

"Τλας ιδίω πα-
τρὶ Διονυσίῳ κ(έ)
Εύρυδήμῳ ἐγγ-
όνῳ [κ]ε μ[η]τ[ρι] Δ-
ονδου μνήμη-
ς χάριν ος κε
σεμουν κνο[υ]μα-
νει κακον δο-
κετ, Αττι αδει[τον]
?

It is doubtful if there was a further line at the bottom, but it appeared probable that there was not.

For an explanation of the concluding formula, see on No. LXII. The Greek *ōs* replaces the Phrygian *tos*, as in LVI.⁽²⁾ For the form *δοκετ*, compare XLIV. On *Δονδου* (dative) see Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 337. This inscription confirms my copy of XLIV.

LV. Copied by me at Beughru Delik in 1908. In 1910 the stone had been broken, and I saw only the last four letters. The middle of the Phrygian portion was broken away.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣΑΟ
ΚΛΑСΛΗ ΙΛΛ
ΩΣ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΕ
ΛΑΣΞΙΚΕΥC
ΤΗΙΔΙΑCYM
ΒΙΩΘΕΟΔΩ
ΡΑΜΝΗΜΗC
ΧΑΡΙΝ
ΙΟΛΛΗΛΙΟΥΝ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΛΛΕΙ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ ΔΔΑ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΠΟΥ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΙCIN

Αύρηλιος Ἀσ-
κλᾶς [Αχ]ιλλ[έ-
ως Κλαυδιο-
λ[αοδ]ικεὺς
τῇ ιδίᾳ συμ-
βίῳ Θεοδώ-
ρᾳ μνήμῃς
χάρ[ιν.

: ιο[ς νι σεμ]ουν
κ[νουμα]νει
κ[ακον] αδδα
κ[ετ. .]ΙΟΠΟΥ
C[. .]ΙΔΙΙCIN

Laodiceia Combusta, like Iconium and Derbe, received the title of "Claudian" in the reign of the Emperor Claudius. The epitaph of Eugenius, composed about 340 A.D.,⁷¹ has the form *Λαοδικέων*. Ramsay (*Hist. Geog. of A. M.*, p. 388) quotes *ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ* as the form used on coins; but all the three known coins of Laodiceia Combusta (one of Vespasian, two of Titus and Domitian) bear the legend *ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ*.⁷²

⁷¹ Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, p. 351.

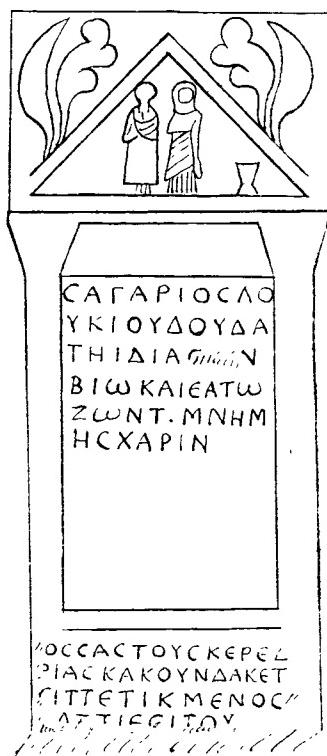
⁷² Hill, *B.M. Catalogue*, Lycaonia, Introd. pp. xxii.-xxiii. This was how Laodiceia Com-

busta distinguished itself from the city on the Lycus.

The present inscription shows that the form Κλαυδιολαοδικεύς lasted at least into the third century: the use of *Λύρήλιος* as a *pratenomen* is not earlier than Caracalla. Between the middle of the third and the middle of the fourth centuries it passed out of use, and the simple form *Λαοδικεύς* took its place.^{72a}

The mutilation of this inscription is regrettable, for the apodosis varies from the common formulae. Until the discovery of a fresh example, nothing can be attempted.

LVI. Copied by me at Kutchuk Besh-Kavak in 1908. Copy improved by Sir W. M. Ramsay and me in 1910.



Σαγάριος Δο-
υκίον Δούδα
τῇ λέιᾳ [συν-]
βίῳ καὶ έατῷ
ζωντ[ι] μνημ-
ης χάριν

10 ι]ος σας τουσκερεῖ-
ρ]ιας κακουν δακετ, [-
ε]ιττετικμενος
Ατ]τιε ειτου.

The last line of this inscription is broken, but fortunately sufficient traces of the letters remained to make the text certain. There is room for Ι at the beginning of line 7, and probably this letter has been lost: ος is, however, certain in LIV. The last letter of line 7 can only be Δ, and the circular part of Ρ remains at the beginning of line 8. The first letter of line 9 is represented in both our copies by a circular stroke as shown in the copy: [ΤΕ]ΙΤΤ . . . is probably the reading, for ει is constantly used as

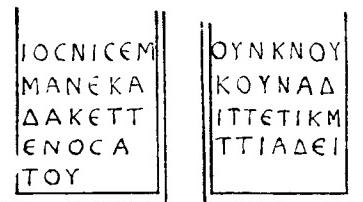
^{72a} The form Κλαυδιολαοδικεύς occurs in an inscription belonging to the reign of Gallienus. (*Klio*, 1910, p. 234).

equivalent to *i*. See, however, on LXV.) It is possible that two letters are lost at the end of line 9, but no trace of them appeared, and the alignment is not regular enough to compel us to assume any loss of letters. However, it is better to state that there is room for **ΑΔ** here, as it accompanies **ΑΤΤΙΕ** following it, however, in all the other cases, except No. LXV. See, however, on LXII., where it is argued that *αδ* is part of the verb, and does not govern **ΑΤΤΙΕ**.

On the Phrygian name Sagarios, see Cronin in *J.H.S.*, xxii., p. 116. I have divided *τουσκερεδριας*, comparing the form *τισκελεδριαι* in LXVII., but cannot feel certain that the division should not be *του σκερεδριας*, or even *τους κερεδριας*. *σας του σκερεδριας* for *σας* (= *ταύτης*) *τῆς σκερεδρίας* would be parallel to *σεμονν του κνουμανει* in No. LXI. *του* in that case might be a mistake for *της*.

If we read *σκερεδριας* here, we must read *σα τι σκελεδριαι* in LXVII.: in that case *τι* is either the Greek *τὴς* or Greek *τι* agreeing with *κακουν*. But considering how rarely the definite article occurs between the demonstrative and the substantive,⁷³ it seems better to read *τουσκερεδριας* and *τισκελεδριαι*.⁷⁴ *του* and *τι* are interchangeable, cf. *τετουκ-* for *τετικ-* in No. XXVIII.). Whether assimilation or dissimilation explains the variation in these forms, it will be impossible to say until more material is available. *σας τουσκερεδριας* might be genitive singular or accusative plural: the singular form in LXVII. supports the former alternative, and it is probable that this is an instance of the same confusion between genitive and dative as is common on Greek inscriptions of the Roman period. The form *δακετ* occurs in XXVI. The collocation **ΑΤΤΙΕ ειτον** is interesting. The Phrygian dative ends in *-ε* as in *βρατερε, μητερε, κνουμανε*, appended to the stem. The hexametric rhythm shows that in **Αττιε** in this text *i* and *e* were pronounced as distinct syllables. The usual form varies between **ΑΤΤΙΕ αδειτον** and **ΑΤΤΙ αδειτον**. In the former of these *i* had been modified to *y* before *ε*,^{74a} as before *o* in *ιος* (*passim*) and *ιουστος* (No. XLVIII., where see R(b)); in the latter, the Phrygian case-ending had disappeared in favour of the Greek. For the interpretation of this formula, see on LXII.

LVII. At Besh-Kavak: copied by Sir W. M. Ramsay and me in 1910. Of the Greek epitaph, only a few unintelligible traces remain. The inscription is cut in the two lower panels of a doorstone, surmounted by a circular pediment containing a representation in relief of the horseman-god.



*ιος νι σεμονν κνου-
μανε κακουν αδ-
δακετ, τιττετικμ-
ειος Αττι αδει-
τον.*

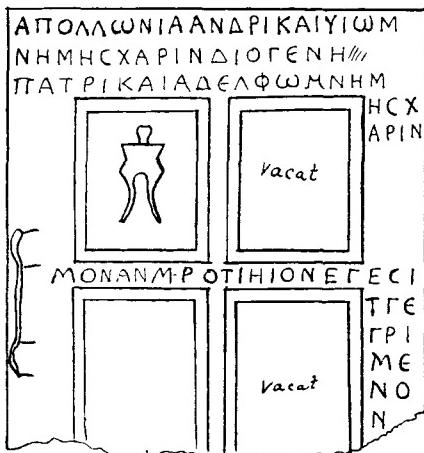
⁷³ *σα* is def. art. in XLIX. See on II. n.

⁷⁴ *σας τουσ κερεδριας* and *σα τισ κελεδριαι* would be still more difficult to explain.

^{74a} In view of the tendency in Phrygian to change *i* before a vowel into *yod*, this seems better than to assume elision of *e*.

This inscription exhibits no variation from the normal formula. The pure Phrygian dative form *κνουμανε* occurs also in VI., XXVI., XL., etc.

LVII. At Besh-Kavak: copied by me in 1908, and by Sir W. M. Ramsay and me in 1910.



Απολλωνία ἀνδρὶ καὶ νίῳ μ-
νήμης χάριν Διογέν[ης
πατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφῷ μνήμης χάριν.

MONANM-PO TΙΗΙΟΝ εγεσιτ γεγριμενον.

The names of the two dedicators, mother and son, are given: but not those of the two dead men. The Phrygian doorstone on which this inscription is engraved is crowned by a circular pediment containing a male between two female figures. The dedication is to two men. Evidently this type was 'in stock' in a local workshop, and the stone was used in spite of its unfitness for the dedication. The Greek portion is written above the Phrygian 'door,' on the raised middle bar and side of which the curse is engraved. The stone is broken under the last Ν, but sufficient of the surface remained to the right of Ν to carry another letter if one had been engraved, and none appeared. It seemed fairly certain that the inscription ended with *γεγριμενον*. The first letter of line 4 is certainly Μ, and there was no letter before it. It is uncertain whether the second Μ and the following Ρ are in ligature, but it appeared highly probable, and ΝΜΡ is an unlikely combination. With this reservation, all the letters down to the second Ο are certain. We did not feel so sure of ΤΙΗΙΟΝ as the epigraphic copy suggests. The stone was much worn here, and the following possibilities were noted: Τ can scarcely be Υ, but it is just possible (I is certain). Η may possibly be ΡΙ: the I following Η had two short strokes following it, which seemed accidental but suggested Κ as a possible variant of this I. ΟΝ, and the remainder to the end, are certain. We thought on the whole, that ΤΙΗΙΟΝ was the most probable reading.

I cannot offer any explanation of the opening letters of the Phrygian portion. Professor Ramsay suggested on the spot that it should begin [σε]μον αν, but we looked in vain for any trace of a letter before Μ. τιηιον (if the form be accepted) is perhaps equivalent to the common ουταν in the signification of penalty, and is connected with Greek τίω. εγεσιτ has

evidently the same suffix as Latin -esit (-erit): it is connected with *εγέδουτ*, and means 'he shall pay' or 'he shall suffer.' For *γεγριμενον* see on No. XXXII. The opening words must therefore contain a conditional protasis, or perhaps a participial form meaning 'the violator' (*ό ἀδικήσας* in Greek). The Phrygian portion is in rough iambic metre: compare the Greek curse quoted under LIX.

LIX. Copied at Kerpishli in 1910 by Sir W. M. Ramsay and me.

τ ΓΙΣΔΚΙΜΗΑΔΔΑΚΕ ΓΕΓΡΕΙΛΕΝАΝЕ ГЕДИЛЛЛЛЛОСОҮА Н	<i>τ]ις δ. ε: [κακο]н αδдакет, γеgeгreиmенав ε- γeгd[ouт] ιs οu(т)av.</i>
---	---

The accompanying Greek inscription is lost. This inscription begins with two Greek words: compare a common Greek formula:

*ούτως ἀώροις περιπέσοιτο συμφοράς
 τίς ἀν ποσάξει χείρα τὴν βαρύφθονον.*

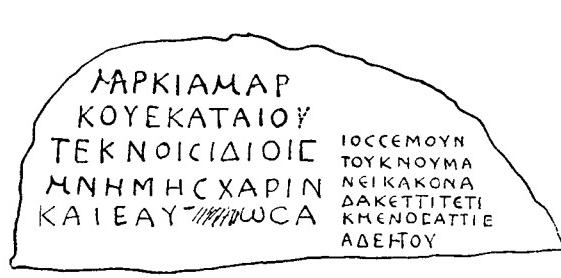
(copied by Professor Ramsay at Abia in 1884: *τίς ἀν ποσάξει* is often replaced in this formula by *δστις* or *δς ἀν προσοίσει*. The *τ* of *ουταν* has been omitted by mistake; cf. Nos. XXXII., etc.

LX. Copied at Kerpishli in 1910 by Sir W. M. Ramsay and me.

 <p style="text-align: center;">ΦАНМОУСОСАИИ ЛИПЛОСКАИРВА ЧІВАСКАНПІВА ІЕАТОІСЧВАНТЕ САНЕСТНСАМЕ НДЕІОСТЕКАІМ АННСАДЕЛФВА ШРВМННМНС ХАРІНІОСCNICAN КАКОУНАДВКЕ МАНКАІГЕВІМЕ НАНЕГЕДОУТІОС ОУТАН</p>	<i>Λ]αγμουσос Α[σκ- ληπίως και Βάβα νιδ 'Ασκληπιδ κα- Ι ἔατοῖς ζώντε- 5 ις ἀνεστήσαμε- ρ. Δεῖος τε και Μ- ἀνης ἀδελφῷ ἀ- ωρῳ μνήμῃς χάριν. ιος νι σαρ 10 κακονнι αδ[δа]кe маккаи. γе[гре]име- наи εгeдouт ιoс оутав.</i>
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The form *éat(ois)* is common in epigraphy : cf. No. LVI. There was no Τ at the end of line 10; cf. No. LI. (note). On the definite article *σαν* (dative feminine) see on No. XLIX. At the beginning of line 1, I could only read Λ]ΑΝ or possibly Μ]ΑΝ. Professor Ramsay's copy shows traces of a circular letter before Α: he would read Θλ]αμποντος.^{74b} The name is to be compared with Μοῦζος in No. XXXIV. The division can hardly be Λαν Μουσος, for a triple name is very unusual among the East Phrygian natives. This inscription is on a stele, with circular pediment, in which there is a female between two male figures. The ornaments at the bottom form a pretty exhaustive collection of the agricultural implements and household requisites usually portrayed on gravestones of Eastern Phrygia and the surrounding country. The mistake *έα(ν)τοις ἀνεστήσαμεν* is common on rude inscriptions.

LXI. Copied by me at Laodiceia Combusta in 1908. Revised by me without change in the Phrygian formula in 1910. The text, which is certain throughout, is cut on a rough shapeless stone.



Μαρκία Μάρ-
κην Έκαταιον
τέκνοις ιδίοις
μυημης χάριν
καὶ έαντ[ῆ ξ]ωσα.
ιος σεμονη
του κνουμα-
νει κακοι α-
δακετ. τιτετι-
κμενος Αττιε
αδειτον.

For *σεμονη του κνουμανει* see on II. For *Αττιε* see on LXII. *τι* goes with *τετικμενος* rather than with *κακονη*: see on II. In the last line, *ειτον* must be read: the horizontal bar following Ι must be accidental.

LXII. Copied by me in 1910 beside an old bridge east of the road from Bolavadin to Tshai. The text is complete, and certain throughout. There is no Greek inscription on the stone, a plain rectangular block which looks as if it had formed part of a built tomb.

ΙΟΣΝΙΕΧΥΝΚΝ^ῷ
ΛΑΝΕΙΚΑΚΥΝΑΔΔΑ
ΚΕΤΑΙΚΑΝΑΤΤΙΗΚΕ
ΔΕΩΣΚΕΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚЖЕ
ΝΟΣΕΙΤΟΥ

ιος νι σεμυν κνου-
μανει κακυν αδδα-
κετ αικαν, Αττιη κε
δεως κε τιττετικμε-
νος ειτον.

This inscription, which rivals in interest any in the whole series, was found by the merest accident. After a long journey, my horses failed me at Bolavadin (Polybotum), and I hired a local waggoner to take me to the railway

^{74b} Taking the element Θλαν- as Galatian.

at Tshai station. On the road thither I observed an old bridge some distance to the left of the road, but as my men had been drenched crossing a river, and as previous travellers had passed this way, I did not turn aside to examine it. We reached Tshai station two hours before train-time, and the station-master, on learning my trade, showed me his collection of antiques, and an inscription he had copied several years before beside the old bridge we had passed, which is nearly an hour's fast ride from the station. The copy was an inaccurate one, but it sufficed to show the interest of this unique formula, and I decided to return and look for the stone. I found a driver who was willing to gallop to the bridge and back for a dollar, and I had time to find and copy the inscription.

The ο in *κνούμανει* is added above the line. I looked for a similar ο in *σεμνν* and *κακνν*. The stone is chipped above the former, and if an ο was engraved, it has disappeared; but probably none was engraved. There was no ο above *κακνν*.

Standing where it does, *αικαν* may be either a substantive agreeing with *κακνν*, or an anaphoric pronoun introducing the apodosis. In the latter case, it is the nominative of *ακκεοι* (No. XII.). But it is much better to take it as a substantive meaning 'harm,' 'hurt.' Cf. Greek *ἀκή* 'impetus,' or *ἀκάλη* 'fraud,' rather than *ἀκία*=*ἀεικία*.

κακνν may be for *κακήν*, to which it is phonetically equivalent: but *σεμνν* in the same inscription suggests that ν in *κακνν* corresponds to ου in *κακονν*. If *αικαν* is feminine, *κακνν* in agreement with it is peculiar: but cf. *κακον* *ξειρ' α* in XII.

The discovery of this inscription and of No. LVI. confirmed an interpretation of **ΑΤΤΙΕΑΔ** or **ΑΤΤΙΑΔ**, which a study of the published inscriptions had already suggested to the writer. Before discussing the subject, let us collect the instances of this and similar groups of letters.

- XI. *τετικμε[νος Α]ττι αδε[ι]του.*
- XII. *τιττετικμενα Αττι[ε] αδειττου.*
- XIV. *Μα [ε]τιτετικμενος Αστιαν [ειτο]υ.*
- XXV. *με κ ε, Ατ[τι] τιττετικμενος ειτου.* (Reading uncertain.)
- XXXIX. *Αττιη κε αδειτου.*
- XLIV. *Αττ]ι αδειτου* 'without *τετικμενος*'
- XLV. *τιττετικμενος Αττιε αδειτου.*
- LI. *(τ ε[τικμενο]ς Αττ[ι] αδει[του].*
- LIII. *[ε]τιττετικμεν[ος] Αστιαν ειτου.*
- LIV. *Αττι αδει[του].* (Apparently sole apodosis.)
- LVI. *τε]ιττετικμενος [Ατ]τιε ειτου.*
- LVII. *τιττετικμενος Αττι αδειτου.*

LXI. *τιτετικμενος Αττιε αδειτου.*

LXII. *Αττιη κε δεως κε τιτετικμενος ειτου.*

LXV. *Α]ττιη [θ]ιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμενο[s] is ('αδε]ιτου.*

LXVII. *τ[ε]τικμενος Α[τ]τι αδ[ε]ιτου.*

The Greek formulae against violation of the grave in Eastern Phrygia and the adjoining lands very often invoke on the violator the anger of the Phrygian god Men. The commonest form of the curse is *ἔχοιτο* (or *ἔξει*) *τὸν Μῆνα κεχολωμένον τὸν καταχθόνιον*. We have seen (No. XLVIII.) that the Phrygian goddess Ma is similarly invoked in the Neo-Phrygian curses, and we shall see below that the heavenly and chthonian deities are frequently appealed to. Connected with Ma or Cybele in the religion of Phrygia, and a characteristic figure in the cult, was Attis, who appears as Men on the Greek inscriptions. We should expect to find Attis, if any deity, invoked in the Phrygian formulae, but, so far as I know, the words *τετικμενος ΑΤΤΙΕΑΔΕΙΤΟΥ* have not yet been explained in this obvious manner, which would see in them the equivalent of the Greek *κατηραμένος Ἀττι ἔστω*. This view is plausible in itself, and is proved definitely by LVI. and LXII.

The true Phrygian dative *Αττιε* occurs seven times in the above quotations (three times with the orthography *Αττιη*); the form *Αττι* occurs six times. I am not competent to discuss on philological grounds the question whether there was a change from the termination *-e* to the termination *-i* in *Αττι* and similar datives (under Greek influence) or not. The former hypothesis seems more probable, given the historical conditions; for, at the period to which the majority of our inscriptions belong Phrygian was being invaded and swamped by Greek, and if we find the *-e* suffix surviving to this period, it must have belonged originally to the Phrygian language. These remarks apply in particular to the pair *κνουμανε* and *κνουμανι* (or *ει*). In XXI., which Professor Ramsay regards as the oldest inscription in his list, we have the form *βρατερε*. In XL. and LXIII., two inscriptions containing the old reflexive form *αδδακετορ*, which was afterwards replaced by *αδδακεται* (see on LXIII.) and therefore presumably early, we likewise read the form *κνουμανε*. We conclude that the *-e* ending was used mainly in the period when Phrygian was less affected by Greek than it is in relatively later inscriptions: it therefore seems probable that the change to the *-i* termination took place under Greek influence.

The name of Attis is immediately followed by the verb *ειτου* once (LVI.); in all the other cases in which the name occurs immediately before the imperative the preposition *αδ* is inserted. But for the evidence of XXXIX. it might be possible to assume that the preposition follows its substantive⁷⁵ for metrical reasons,⁷⁶ as in Greek. No. XXXIX. renders this supposition untenable, for there *κε* is inserted between *Αττιη* and *αδ*. Professor Ramsay's copy of this inscription hardly supports the restoration

⁷⁵ *ατ* (= *αδ*) takes the dative in XLIX.

⁷⁶ See on LVI.

[δεως] Αττιη κε, but it is clear that some such expression was used : the name Αττιη was coupled with that of another god by enclitic κε, and the verb αδειτον followed.^{76a} This instance proves that we must read αδειτον compare for the form Latin *adesto*) : its frequent use is explained by metrical necessity, but in two instances the simple form ειτον is used (LVI. and LXII.). In a similar context we find the feminine dative Αστιαν used twice (once as an epithet or equivalent of Μα) : see on LIII. See also on No. XLIV.

Having established so much, we can appreciate the evidence of LXII. on the vexed question of the meaning of δεως ζεμελως, which occurs, with variations, in several of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions. No problem connected with the interpretation of these inscriptions has given rise to so much controversy as this. No. LXII. definitely rules out some of the interpretations proposed, and narrows down the possible meaning of the expression so far as to make it practically certain. Before discussing the subject, we shall bring together the instances : the expression is always in the apodosis and it makes for clearness to give the whole apodosis in each case.

- IV. δη διως ζεμελω[ς τιττετ]ικμενος ειτον (or ζεμελω [ετιτ . . .])
- V. με διω[ς ξ]ομολω ετιτετικμενος ητου
- VI. τος νι με ζεμελω κε δεος ετι ητιττετικμενος ε[ιτ]ου
- VII. δεος κε ζεμ[ελως . . . ακεοι ειροια τι ετιττ[ετικμενα ειττ]ουν
- XXI. με ζεμελως τιττετικμενος ειτον
- XXV. τος νι [δεος ξ]ιμ[ε]λως τι με κ' ε Ατ[τι] τιττετικμενος ειτον
- XL. δεως ζεμελως κε τιττετικμε[ν]ος ειτον
- XLII. [με ξ]ιμελως κε [δ]ε[ω]ς . . .
- LXII. Αττιη κε δεως κε τιττετικμενος ειτον
- LXIII. δεως ζεμελως [τ]ε τιτετ[ουκμενος ειτον]

Neglecting the vowel-variation, we find δεως ζεμελως standing together asyndetically in Nos. IV. and V. They are joined by κε (interposed in VI., VII., and LXII.) ; by τι or τε (enclitic) in XXV. and LXIII. ; by κε (enclitic) in XL. No. VI. is proof of the form ζεμελω, which occurs also in IV., and possibly in V. δη precedes the combination in IV., με in V., VI., LXII. : με also occurs before ζεμελως alone in XXI. Variations in the formula itself are XXI., where δεως is omitted XXV., where με κ(ε') Ατ[τι'] is subjoined to δεος ζεμελως τι and LXII., where ζεμελως is replaced by Αττιη, and κε occurs after both Αττιη and δεως (compare Latin . . . que . . . que').

Prof. Ramsay (R¹a, p. 397) referred to Hesychius' gloss ζεμελεν· βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον· Φρύγες, and suggested that ζεμελω might mean 'children.' (compare Inscr. No. I.). Torp takes με as a preposition = 'with' (and I think, with Ramsay, correctly) and he regards δεως κε ζεμελως as meaning 'himself and his family' *Phryg. Inschrift. aus rom. Zeit.* p. 16 f. and again *Zum Phrygischen* p. 4, where he defends his view

^{76a} This statement must now be modified : see *Addenda*, p. 214.

against Kretschmer's criticism). Solmsen (in *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, N.F. xiv. p. 55) takes δεως and ζεμελως to correspond to Gk. Διός and Σεμέλης. Prof. Ramsay in R(b) p. 107 regards the expression as meaning 'gods and men,' and takes με as a preposition meaning 'among.' Kretschmer (*Aus der Anomia*, p. 19 f.) gives δεως κε ζεμελως the meaning of 'heaven and earth,' and regards με (comparing δη in No. IV.) as an asseverative particle equivalent to Greek μά. Finally Kretschmer suggests (R(b), p. 79, N.I.) that δεως κε ζεμελως means 'heavenly and chthonian gods'—a suggestion which had already been made by Gustav Meyer, as I learn from Solmsen, loc. cit.^{59b} This suggestion I consider to be right, and I would use the following arguments in support of it.

It now seems fairly certain that με is a preposition meaning 'with' or 'among' (see R(b) on Nos. IV. and XVIII.). Prof. Ramsay notes that με is sometimes used for μετά in Greek inscriptions of Eastern Phrygia, and it is the form that has survived in modern Greek. Cf. με κ(ε) Απτι, p. 208.

The form δεως (or δεος, διως) is constant; but ζεμελω occurs at least twice in place of ζεμελως. ζεμελω might be a dative or ablative, singular (cf. σεμου) or a genitive singular: δεως, if singular, can only be genitive. But in LXII. (Αττιη κε δεως κε τιττετικμενος ειτου) we have δεως subject to the same government as Αττιη, a certain dative case: δεως must therefore be dative. In that case it can only be a dative plural, and Solmsen's view that it is equivalent to Διός must be given up, as well as Torp's opinion that it is nominative singular, and means αὐτός.

Now, since δεως is a dative plural, ζεμελως must be in the same case: for the two ideas are parallel in all the cases where they occur together, and the words are generally joined by τε or κε. Accordingly the form ζεμελω must be regarded as equivalent to ζεμελως. In two of the inscriptions in which ζεμελω occurs, it is doubtful whether ζεμελω[s] should not be read: in IV. it is easy to make this restoration, and V. depends only on Hamilton's unreliable authority. In VI. we read με ζεμελω κε δεος: the reading is certain, but, as Prof. Ramsay points out (R(b), p. 107), an engraver's error is very probable.^{59c} The word is parallel to δεος (clearly an orthographic variety of δεως), and must therefore be in the same case.

We must accordingly find a meaning for δεως κε ζεμελως which will suit the words whether the preposition με is used or not. Apart from the meaning 'heavenly and chthonian gods,' Ramsay's suggestion 'gods and men' comes nearest to fulfilling this condition, but it does not quite fulfil it.

In the cases in which δεως κε ζεμελως is preceded by με, we could understand it to mean '(let him be accursed) when among gods and men,' i.e. both when alive and when dead (for the dead were deified in Phrygia and were called θεοί—Anderson, J.H.S. 1889, p. 127). But this meaning does not suit the simple dative, for τιττικμενος with the dative, corresponding to κατηραμένος with the dative, must mean 'devoted to'; and it was only to the gods that wrongdoers were devoted, not to men.

^{59b} I have not seen Meyer's article.

^{59c} Or perhaps s is dropped like ν in κακε, τ in αδακε, etc.

On the other hand, the meaning suggested by Meyer and Kretschmer suits all the conditions.

In the Greek *devotiones* of Asia Minor, the anger of the gods is invoked on the violator of the tomb in several recurring formulae. In the representative list given by Stemler (*Griech. Gräberinschr. Kleinasiens*, pp. 70, 71), we find sometimes one or more gods invoked by name, e.g. Μῆν, Ἡλιος, Σελήνη, Ἀθηνά, Δητώ): sometimes the *καταχθόνιοι θεοί* are appealed to (Wiener Sitzb. xliv. 123); sometimes all the gods (Benndorf, *Reisen in Lykien*, ii. 6); sometimes the *θεοί καταχθόνιοι καὶ οὐράνιοι* (C.I.G. 4253, Benndorf, loc. cit. 16). Occasionally all the male gods and some goddesses or goddesses in particular are mentioned, e.g. ἀμαρτωλὸς ἔστω θεῶν πάντων καὶ Δητοῦς καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς (C.I.G. 4259), ἔνοχος ἔστω πᾶσι θεοῖς καὶ Σελήνῃ καὶ Δητῷ (Benndorf, loc. cit. 193); sometimes one chthonian deity in particular and the *καταχθόνιοι θεοί* in general, e.g. ἀσεβὴς εἰς τὴν Δήμητρα καὶ τοὺς *καταχθονίους θεούς* (Wiener Sitzb. xliv. 128).

I have been unable to find any instance of a person *κατηραμένος τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*, and, if this were the meaning of the commonest Phrygian formula, it would be certain to occur on Greek epitaphs of Phrygia. On the other hand, Kretschmer's etymology of the words (*Ans der Anomia* loc. cit.) exactly suits the meaning of *θεοῖς οὐρανίοις καὶ καταχθονίοις*, which is common in Greek epitaphs. And this meaning suits the words whether we find them in the dative form simply, or whether they are preceded by a preposition meaning 'amongst.' It is equally suitable if Prot. Kretschmer's explanation of *με* is correct.

And this meaning exactly tallies with that which we must give to the phrase *Αττιη κε δεως κε* in the inscription under discussion. Attis is mentioned as representing the *καταχθόνιοι θεοί*, and *δεως* means *οὐρανίοις θεοῖς*. It is not necessary to suppose that *δεως* always meant *θεοῖς οὐρανίοις*: it was doubtless the generic word for 'gods,' and acquired the meaning of 'heavenly gods' in opposition to *ζεμελως*, whose etymological affinities point to the meaning 'chthonian': see Kretschmer in *Ans der Anomia*, p. 20. *ζεμελως* must therefore be a substantive.

In No. XXV. I have read tentatively *με κε Ατ[τι]*. If this is correct, the name of Attis is added tautologically after it has been included in *ζεμελως*.^{76d} The words *με κε* would in that case correspond to the Greek *σὺν καὶ*, which occurs in Phrygian Greek epigraphy: *με* governs the dative in *με ζεμελως*, XXI., etc. But I do not overlook the possibility that *ΜΕΚΑΤ[.]* in XXV. (following *δεος ζεμελως τι*) may have to be explained by comparison with *ΜΕΚΟΝΝΟΥ* (following *ζεμελως κε δεως*) in XLII. Only a new inscription can afford certainty on this point.

LXIII. Copied by me at Bolavadin (Polybotum) in 1908. Copy revised and improved by me in 1910.

^{76d} Cf. Wiener Sitzb. xliv. 128, quoted above.

| IO(NICE MOYN KNOYMA N E KAKO Y N A D D A |
 ΙΟ(ΝΙΣΕ ΜΟΥΝΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕ ΚΑΚΟΥΝΑ ΔΔΑ |
 ΚΕ ΤΤΟΡΔΕΩΣ ΖΕΜΕΛΩΣ ΕΤΙΤΕΤΟΜΟ

*Ios νι σεμουν κνουμανε κακουν αδδ[α-
 κετορ, δεως ζεμελως [τ]ε τιτετ[ουκμενος ειτου.
 or [εικμενος ειτου.*

This inscription is engraved on a 'doorstone' with four panels, surmounted by a triangular pediment. There was no remaining trace of a Greek inscription. Note, on the text, that the space between Ο and Υ in ΚΑΚΟΥΝ is an old flaw in the stone, and never contained a letter. Σ in ΔΕΩΣ is written small between two horizontal lines, as if the engraver had begun the following Ζ and then corrected it to Σ. But for his care in making this correction, we should have been presented with a form δεω, like ζεμελω in some other texts'. ΖΕΜΕΛΩΣ is followed by a short empty space, which probably was never engraved: the next letter is part of Τ, not of Κ. The last remaining letter in line 2 is a round one: it can be Ο or Ε, but not Ι. We must choose between *τετουκμενος* (cf. XXVIII.) and *τετεικμενος* (cf. XIX.).

This inscription contains the third occurrence of the reflexive form *αδδακετορ*. Ramsay's discovery of XXXIII., where *ova* is certain, and means 'tribe' or 'village,' fixes the division *αδδακετορ ovav* in XLVIII., and the division *αδδακετορ* must certainly be accepted above, and in No. XL. *αββιρετο'ρ*) should probably be read in XXV. (see above, ad loc.,). It will not be doubted that XLVIII. must be placed early in the series: the important part of it is written in Phrygian, and a short explanation of its substance is added in Greek. This points to a date when the Phrygian language was in full vigour.

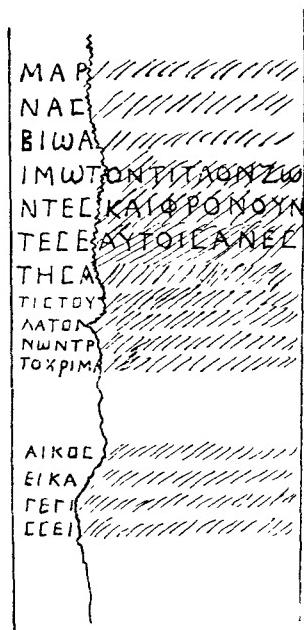
The most usual form of these verbs is *αδδακετ* and *αββιρετ*, but we find clear instances of forms in *-εται* (XIII., LIII., and LXVII.). We conclude that there was a reflexive (or perhaps a deponent) form in *-etor* in Phrygian along-side of the active form in *-et*, and that it was being ousted by the Greek reflexive form in *-εται*. The middle voice was especially affected by the Anatolian Greek-speaking population. Cf. *Studio Pontica* (Anderson, etc.), iii. p. 36: Ramsay in *Philologus*, 1888, p. 754.

We find the Greek reflexive form in what appear to be relatively later inscriptions, the Phrygian form in relatively earlier ones. The existence of a Phrygian reflexive voice is the hypothesis which best explains the occurrence of Greek reflexive forms in the inscriptions.⁷⁷ *αββιρετο*, if the reading is correct, is a broken-down form of the *-etor* termination: cf. *κακε* for *κακεν* in XXI., *αδδακε* for *αδδακετ* in LX.

⁷⁷ The alternative is to assume that the form in *-etor* as well as that in *-etor* was Phrygian.

I leave it to philologists to settle the relation between the termination in *αδδακετορ* and similar forms in Sanskrit, Celtic, and the Italic languages, and also whether the termination is likely to be due to Galatian influence.

LXIV. Copied in 1910 by Sir W. M. Ramsay and myself beside a well one hour north of Besh-Kavak.



5 Μαρκία θυγάτηρ Ἀθανασίου σὺν τῷ συνβίω αὐτῆς Αὐρ. Μαξιμώ τὸν τίτλον ξώτες [καὶ φρονοῦτες ἐ[αυτοῖς ἀνέστησα[ν μνήμης χάριν. τίς τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ λατου[ῖον κακῶς ἐπισβάιρων τρόπῳ τινι ποιήσει, τὸ χρῆμα [ἐκτείσει.

10 αἱ κοι[σα μαρκα κε κνονμαν-ει κα[καν αδδακεται ξειρα-, γεγ[ρειμεναν εγεδουτ ιο-ς σει[- - -

The epigraphist in Anatolia has often reason to regret the deliberate destruction of valuable texts, but seldom has the chisel of a vandal deprived us of so interesting a document as this bilingual. The stone containing the inscription had been fitted into a well-head, the right-hand side stood too high, and had been cut level. Fortunately, the size of the stone left it clear how many letters had been lost in each line: and in any case the restorations in lines 4 to 7 fix exactly the length of the lines. The restoration of the Greek epitaph was made by Professor Ramsay in presence of the stone.^{77a} I give a tentative restoration of lines 8 to 15 which were cut in smaller letters than the epitaph proper, and filled a space which could have held about 20 or 21 letters of the size of those which remained. The Phrygian portion is restored only *crempti gratia*: the Greek must have been somewhat as above. ΣΣΕΙ in line 15 probably contains the last letter of *ιος*, and a word (replacing *ονταρ*, 'penalty'), beginning with *σει*... Perhaps it is cognate to the Greek *σίνοματ*, but at present it cannot be restored. I thought also of *γεγρ[ειμεναν ονταρ εγε]σσει[τ]*, taking *εγεσσειτ* as = *εγεσιτ*, which occurs at Besh-Kavak, whence the stone has doubtless been carried. But the restoration given in the text seems the more probable.

^{77a} The proper names etc. of course, not certain.

Fortunately a few valuable details can be gleaned among the débris of this inscription.

The word *μανκα* has been generally accepted as the equivalent of *μηῆμα* or *μηῆμεῖον*, and these words may confidently be inserted.^{77b} The opening words in the second line of either version are clearly *λατομ[ίον]* and *κνουμαν[ει]κα[κ]* . . . and the first line in either version must have contained another word describing the tomb. In the Greek version, this is the only possible supposition. The restoration *λατομ[ίον]*, which Professor Ransay made immediately, is attested in the sense of 'grave' in *C.I.G.* 2032 (= Lebas-Waddington 1473) from Selymbria, etc.

In line 11, *τὸ χρῆμα* (= *κρῆμα*) is valuable as supporting the meaning we have assigned above to *γεγρειμεναν*, which clearly occurs in the corresponding passage in the Phrygian version, line 14. *αὶ κος* (line 12) has been discussed on XVIII.

LXV. Copied by me in 1910 at Kurshun'u (see Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1889, p. 293) in the cemetery. The inscription is engraved immediately under the pediment 'broken' of a buried doorstone (''). I thought there had been a line doubtless of Greek, above the inscription, but Τ was the only surviving trace of it. (Probably *ἀνέστρηστον*.)—

IOCCEMOYKNOYMAN^ΙKOY^ΥA^ΑTTI^Τ
ΗCIT^ΕTIKMEN^ΚY^ΥΛ^ΛTOY^Τ
ιος σεμου κνουμαν[ει] κα]κον[η] α[δακετ, Α]ττι-
η [θ]ιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμενο[η] ει[τ] αδειτον.

I made the following notes: 'ATTI is clear: the second letter in line 2 is almost certainly Θ, not Ε, and the third letter is certainly Ι, not Τ. After the fourth letter there is a break, containing room for one letter. There is space between *μενο[η]* and [*ε*]ιτον for three or four letters.' Possibly the space was not engraved; but the above restoration seems feasible. The name of Attis is generally followed by *αδειτον*: the fact that the participle is inserted here between *Αττοη* and the imperative would lead us to expect *ειτον* simply, to complete the hexameter; but *αδειτον* may have been retained from its association, for metrical reasons, with the name of Attis. For *ις* 'demonstrative' compare No. XXVIII.

For *σεμον* see on XIX., XXI., for *Αττοη*, No. LXII. I have restored the second letter in line 2 as Θ, understanding that θ has been written for τ as often in Greek inscriptions (*e.g.* θῆ for τῆ, θέκνοις for τεκνοις). It must, however, be noted that a semi-circular letter (which cannot be θ) precedes *ιττετικμενος* in No. LVI. I have restored it there [*τε*]ιττ . . .: but the possibility must be allowed that there was a form *ειτετικμενος* or *σιτετικμενος*. The letter in the present inscription, however, seemed circular, not semi-circular, and neither of those texts gives sufficient support for such a form. But it may be found later, necessitating a correction in the transcription of LVI. and LXV.

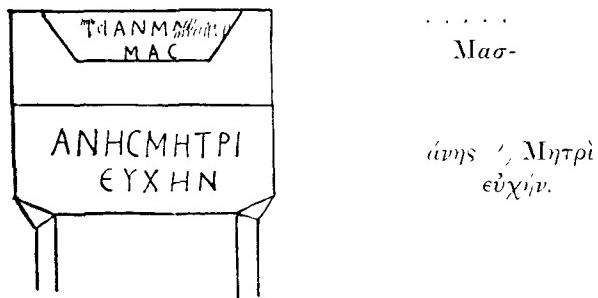
^{77b} See Note 25.

LXVI. Copied by Mr. Anderson in Sultan Mesarlik (1 hour 20 mins. S. of Kozanli), in 1898, and published by him, *J.H.S.* 1899, p. 123, No. 132. On an altar, with serpent in relief on one side. The letters are clear.⁷⁵

ΜΗΝΟΥΔΟΥΤΟ
ΕΣΤΑΡΤΩΝΟC
ΜΗΤΕΡΕΚΤΗC
ON

Mr. Anderson suggests as an explanation Μηνούδουτο^ν = Μηνόδοτον
Ἐστάρτωνος μήτηρ ἐστιησέννυ.

An inscription which I found at Kozanli in 1910 makes it probable that this is a dedication in Phrygian. It, too, is engraved on a small altar, which is octagonal in shape (but with four wide and four narrow sides). A wreath in relief occupies the front of the altar, below the inscription. On the back, there are two serpents, or a single serpent hanging in two portions. Part of the inscription is engraved in a sunk space at the top; the remainder on the face of the altar.



The connexion of the small letters in the sunk space at the top with the larger ones below is obscure. In the second last line, there is room for a letter before Α, but a careful inspection convinced me that none had been engraved. "Ανης is a possible name: "Αννα (fem.) is very common, and "Αννακος and "Ονης (cf. οδδακετ, δοκετ for αδδακετ, δακετ) are referred to the same stem (Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 344). But possibly the name is Μασάνης.⁷⁵ Μάσα (fem.) occurs at Iconium, *C.I.G.* 3998, and (probably fem.) in *J.H.S.* 1899, p. 290. The letters MAC in line 2 and ANM in line 1 are certain. Before Α in line 1 there appeared to be two letters, the first consisting of an upright stroke, with the top broken away: the second letter is possibly Δ, a late form of Δ: but the circular part is rubbed and faint. Or the two symbols together may be Μ. The letter after ΑΝΜ is the top part of Α or Λ or the first half of Μ or Ν. The rest of the line, about 2 to 4 letters, is lost. The next line is occupied by MAC, all certain: between this and line 3, there is room for a line but it appeared that none had

⁷⁵ cf. Masanes the Lydian hero; see B.M.C. *Lydia*, p. cxl.

been engraved. The first line can scarcely contain the name Πδάνμαα^{73d} which would suit the traces), for the presence of a local name would be hard to explain in this position. It is more likely to contain Masanes' first name.

This inscription shows that Cybele was known at Kozanli 'as in many other places) simply as 'the Mother.' We accordingly transcribe Mr. Anderson's inscription.

Μηνούδουτο
Ἐσταρτωνος
Μητερε στησ-
ον.

'Ι, Menondonto, son of Straton, made the dedication to the Mother.'

Μητερε has the same ending as βρατερε in XXXI. The influence of Greek on Phrygian vocalisation is evident contrast Μητερε with *Mutter*^{73e} in old Phrygian; στησον with εσταιε in XXXI : Μηνούδουτο (which, however, represents Greek Μηνόδοτος) with *Manes*. The termination in *o* is characteristic of Phrygian names: cf. Βαβω, etc. Ἐστάρτων is for Ἐστράτων,^{73a} which assumes a prothetic vowel like Ἰστέφανος, etc. Ἐστέφανος occurs unpublished) at Kara Euren in the Karadja Dagh. The thematic termination in στησον may be a peculiarity of the local Greek: so παρεθθον in No. LII. is probably παρετεθον. I find in my 1910 note-book an inscription copied at Kushdjha near Karanli Kale in N. Lycania, containing the form ἀρεστήσομεν.^{73b} The form στησον is probably first person singular.

LXVII. [= XLI. in R(b)].

I owe to the generosity of my friend Professor Callander, of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada the privilege of publishing his revision of Mr. Hogarth's copy of an inscription of Kestel, near Laodiceia Combusta (J.H.S. 1890, p. 159). I print the Greek portion from Mr. Hogarth's copy.

Ἀμμώνιος
Πατροκλέος
ἀπελευθερος
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
καὶ Διογενίδῃ
καὶ [Μ]ειδιάδῃ
τέκνοις μνή-
μης χάριν καὶ Σα-
τείρη γυναι-
κὶ ζώσῃ

ΙΟC
CATΙСКЕΛΕΔΡΙΑΙ
ΚΑΚΟΥΝΔΑΚΕΤΑ
ΤCTΙKΜΕΝΟCAC
ΤΙΑДCITOY

ιος
σα τισκελεδριαι
κακονν [δ]ακετα[ι.
τ[ε]τικμενος Α[τ-
τι αδ[ε]ιτου.

^{73d} See on No. I.

^{73e} Ματαρ occurs as a personal name in J.H.S. 1898, p. 84, and on an unpublished inscription copied in 1908 at Kelhassan in N. Lycania. On a Greek inscr. of Phrygia Paroreos (Sterrett,

J.H.S. 1908, No. 163, ματρι occurs for μητρι).

^{73f} As Professor Souter pointed out to me.

^{73b} [We found two further occurrences of ἀρεστήσομεν in the district of Laodiceia Combusta in 1911.]

Torp's conjecture that $\tauισκ$. . . in the older copy was the first part of a feminine noun meaning 'tomb' is confirmed by the new copy (*Phryg. Insch. aus röm. Zeit.* p. 10). The word is evidently identical with $\tauουσκερεδριας$, for which see on LVI. On $\sigma\alpha$, see on XLIX. $\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau$ occurs in XXVI. and LVI. The letter C at the end of line 4 must be a mistake of engraver or copyist for T: letters at the end of a line are often badly engraved, or worn and difficult. R(b) prints [AΔ]AKETAI from Hogarth's MAKETA. but Professor Callander's copy, while indicating the letter as difficult, supports Δ.

A note on the word *ετι* or *τι* may be added here. This word always occurs, in one form or the other, before *τετικμενος*, usually causing duplication of the initial *τ* (*ετιτετικμενος*), but sometimes not. That (*ε*)*τι* was felt to coalesce with the participle, and form a single word with it, is made probable by the fact that it is inserted before (*ε*)*τιτετικμενος* in II., III., VI., VII. (?), XXVI. In some cases, if they were isolated, it might be possible to treat *τι* as the Greek particle agreeing with *κακουν*: but in the majority of cases this is syntactically impossible, and in the above notes it has been treated as the Phrygian (*ε*)*τι* throughout. No satisfactory explanation of this word has been given. Is it possible that it is the copulative particle which occurs in No. IX., used in this case as an asseverative particle in the apodosis, like *και* in No. LIII.?

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APPENDIX

The following notes are added after a journey in Eastern Phrygia in the summer of 1911.

I have succeeded in revising Nos. XXXI, XXXIX, XLIII, and LXVII. (the third together with Sir W. M. Ramsay). I feel the greatest diffidence in introducing any change into the text of No. XXXI: Mr. Anderson's facsimile of this inscription is one of the most accurate I have ever compared with an original. Further, after searching for the stone throughout several hours of brilliant sunshine, I found and revised it during a rainstorm. But a long and careful inspection convinced me that the fifth letter from the end of line two is a Ε with very short horizontal bars. ὁδίκες is parallel to εσταες and ενεπαρκες in the same text. No. XLIII. is engraved on a broken doorstone: the inscription must have been continued below. In LXVII. Μειλιάδι should be Βασιλείδη. δακετα[ι] is certain, and so is Αττι: the first τ has lost its vertical bar, but is not open to doubt. Sir W. M. Ramsay has verified my 1910 copy of LXII.: every letter is certain. I made a complete copy of the Phrygian portion of No. XXXIX. A provisional transcription is appended: *ιος νι σ[εμ]ου τ[ου] κνουμαν[ε]* κακονν τι [αδ]δακετ, [δ]ιος [κ]ε [σ]ξεμ[ελ]ως κ[ε τ]ιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμε[ν]ος ειτον Αττιη κε αδειτον. κε after Αττιη accordingly connects two sentences, instead of

two divine names as argued above. With Αττιη κε αδειτον cf. Nos. XLIV. and LIV. The new text confirms the argument advanced on No. LXII. regarding the division of ΑΤΤΙΕΑΔΕΙΤΟΥ. In 1911 we have found four new texts in Phrygian, one consisting of twenty-two lines. These, with one further inscription which Professor Callander has kindly sent me, are reserved for a second paper.

W. M. C.

THE BIRDS OF HOMER.

BIRDS MENTIONED BY HOMER AS IDENTIFIED IN THIS PAPER.

1. Οἰωνοί ὄμησταί	Carnivorous Birds.	
2. Αἰγυπτίος	A Vulture-like Bird associated with 3 and 4, but never stated to eat carrion.	Particularly the Cinereous Vulture (<i>Gyps monachus</i>), and the Griffon Vulture (<i>Gyps fulvus</i>).
3. Φήνη	Associated with 2.	Bearded Vulture (<i>Gypaetus barbatus</i>) in immature plumage.
4. Γύψ	Carrion-eating Vulture.	Bearded Vulture (<i>Gypaetus barbatus</i>) in mature plumage.
5. Αἰετός ὑψηπέτης, -ῆεις . .	The High-flying Eagle.	Cinereous Vulture (<i>Gyps monachus</i>), Griffon Vulture (<i>G. fulvus</i>), and Egyptian Vulture (<i>Neophron percnopterus</i>).
6. „, αἴθων	The Ruddy Eagle.	Bonelli's Eagle (<i>Hieraetus fasciatus</i>).
7. „, μόρφνος, or περκνός.	The Morphnos or Perknos Eagle.	Bonelli's Eagle (<i>Hieraetus fasciatus</i>) in immature plumage?
8. „, μέλας	The Black or Dark Eagle.	Golden Eagle (<i>Aquila Chrysaetos</i>).
9. Ἀρπη	The Snatcher.	Red Kite (<i>Milvus ictinus</i>), and Black Kite (<i>M. migrans</i>).
10. Ἰρηξ }	General terms for Hawk or Falcon.	Goshawk (<i>Astur palumbarius</i>), Sparrow Hawk (<i>Accipiter nisus</i>), Peregrine Falcon (<i>Falco peregrinus</i>), Lanner (<i>F. lanarius</i>), Saker (<i>F. sacer</i>), Merlin (<i>F. acsalon</i>), Hobby (<i>F. subbuteo</i>).
11. Κίρκος }		Scops Owl (<i>Scops gu</i>).
12. Σκάψ	Owl.	Long-eared Owl (<i>Asio otus</i>).
13. Χαλκίς or Κύμινδις	A shrill-voiced mountain bird haunting pine-woods.	Cormorant (<i>Phalacrocorax carbo</i>), and Shag (<i>P. desmaresti</i>).
14. Κορώνη εἰναλίν	Sea-Crow.	Dalmatian Pelican (<i>Pelecanus crispus</i>), and Common Pelican (<i>P. onocrotalus</i>).
15. Αἴθυια	A diving coast-bird.	Probably all Mediterranean Gulls—Little Gull (<i>Larus minutus</i>), Black-headed Gull (<i>L. ridibundus</i>), Mediterranean Black-headed Gull (<i>L. melanocephalus</i>), Common Gull (<i>L. canus</i>), Yellow-legged Herring-Gull (<i>L. cachinnans</i>), Lesser Black-backed Gull (<i>L. fuscus</i>), Great Black-backed Gull (<i>L. marinus</i>), and Glaucous Gull (<i>L. glaucus</i>).
16. Αὔρος	Sea-Gull.	Chiefly the Common Tern (<i>Sterna fluvialis</i>); then probably Terns generally.
17. Κῆκις εἰναλίν	A diving sea-bird.	Common Crane (<i>Grus communis</i>), and Demoiselle Crane (<i>G. virgo</i>).
18. Γέραπος	Crane.	Mute Swan (<i>Cygnus olor</i>), and Whooper Swan (<i>C. cygnus</i>).
19. Κύκνος	Swan.	Grey Lag-Goose (<i>Anser cinereus</i>), Bean Goose (<i>A. segetum</i>), and others.
20. Χήν	Goose.	Grey Heron (<i>Ardea cinerea</i>).
21. Ἐρωδίος	Heron.	Jackdaw (<i>Corvus monedula</i>).
22. Κολοιός	Jackdaw.	Starling (<i>Sturnus unicolor</i> and <i>S. vulgaris</i>).
23. Ψάρ	Starling.	Rock-Dove (<i>Columba livia</i>).
24. Πέλεια	Rock-Dove.	Missel-Thrush (<i>Turdus viscivorus</i>), Fieldfare (<i>T. pilaris</i>), Redwing (<i>T. iliacus</i>).
25. Κίχλη	Thrush.	Common Nightingale (<i>Luscinia luscinia</i>).
26. Ἀηδῶν	Nightingale.	Common Swallow (<i>Hirundo rustica</i>).
27. Χελιδών	Swallow.	Great Titmouse (?) (<i>Parus major</i>).
28. Στρουθός	‘Sparrow.’	Ring-Dove (<i>Columba palumbus</i>).
29. Φάσσα (φασσοφόνος). . .	Ring-Dove.	

IT was with some misgiving that I set out in my attempt to identify the birds referred to by Homer in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. His greatness as a poet seemed to offer no guarantee of his faithfulness as an observer in an age when science as such did not exist, and the spirit of accuracy it begets was as yet unawakened. Moreover, I had long observed Homer to be before all else a poet of action. His references to natural objects are largely by way of illustration—short, crisp asides, as it were, in which the selected word and the packed phrase reveal the economy of his art in matters subordinate to the main theme. His references to colour in birds are extremely rare; those regarding form are epithetic, and recur with something of the conventional formality of the epithets applied to his heroes. However, whether in the form of epithet or by special description, Homer's portrayal of birds deals chiefly with essentials. In this lie the advantage and the disadvantage of the Homeric method for one whose main purpose is concerned with what in Homer was merely contributory to a fuller one. The advantage of such a method is that it forces essentials to the front, and the disadvantage, that the references to these may be limited by the nature of the matter they serve to illustrate; or that, being references to the characteristics of a class of birds, they may not suffice for the identification of a particular member of that class.

In *Odyssey* v. 50 Hermes, having been despatched by Zeus with a command to Calypso to release Ulysses, lights on Pieria, and descending to the sea

Σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κύμα λάρῳ ὅρνθι ἑοικώς,
Οστε κατὰ δεινοὺς κόλπους ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο
Ιχθὺς ἀγρώσσων πυκινὰ πτερὰ δεύεται ἄλμη·

Λάρος, now applied in the Latin form ‘*larus*’ to sea-gulls as the generic term, with little doubt served practically the same purpose in Homer's time; and Aristotle's statement (*H.A.* v. 9, 542 b) that the *λάρος* lays two or three eggs on sea-rocks in summer, is in keeping with this interpretation of the word.

It would scarcely have been thought that so early as Homer's time terns, so similar to gulls in their general appearance and ways, would already have been distinguished from them; and, indeed, Aristotle's statement that the *λάρος* lays two or three eggs on sea-rocks might apply both to gulls and to terns, if in the first instance sea-rocks be understood to refer principally to sea-cliffs, and in the second to lower rocky islands, albeit terns lay their eggs also among sand dunes and on shingly beaches. But, as will appear later, terns, under the name *κῆξ*, seem to have been distinguished from gulls by Homer, and his description of the *λάρος* would have been inadequate as the description of a tern. For though both gulls and terns seek their food largely in the sea, the gull snatches it from the surface of the water, whereas the tern dives bodily into the sea to capture fish beneath the surface. When a gull descends to the surface of the sea it hovers with quickly fluttering wings as it picks up with its bill some

floating morsel of food or surface-swimming fish, and during this operation its wings may well be 'drenched with brine': but the tern flies along at a height of some yards above the surface of the water and, upon espying a fish, arrests its flight at once, and after a momentary rapid beating of the wings, claps them close to its body and dives vertically into the sea.

I am disposed to read *πυκινὰ πτερὰ* 'quick-beating wings' rather than, as is often done, 'thick-feathered wings.' *Πυκνός* means primarily 'close,' with respect either to collocation of parts or to frequency in time. In the sense of 'quick-beating wings' the words serve to illustrate an action characteristic of a gull when pursuing fish, while the interpretation 'thick-feathered wings' merely ascribes to gulls a compactness of wing which they possess in common with almost every other kind of bird.

Upon arriving at the island of Calypso, Hermes stands to admire the scene which is described in part as follows (*Od.* v. 63):—

Τλη δὲ σπέός ἀμφὶ πεφύκει τηλεθόωσα,
Κλήθρη τ' αἴγειρός τε καὶ εὐώδης κυπάρισσος.
Ἐνθα δέ τ' ὄρνιθες τανυσίπτεροι εὐνάζοντο,
Σκῶπές τ' ἥρηκές τε τανύγλωσσοί τε κορῶναι
Εἰνάλιαι, τῆσίν τε θαλάσσια ἔργα μέμηλεν.

This is the only time when Homer mentions *σκώψ*, and it is the only reference by him to an owl under a readily recognisable name. For this name is still applied to the Small Tufted, or Scops Owl (*Scops ginn*), a bird distributed generally throughout Greece and the surrounding countries between the sea and pine levels. The Scops Owl is quite in its place where Homer has put it, for the poplar is one of its nesting trees.

Aristotle states (*H.A.* ix. 28, 617 b) that there were two kinds of *σκώψ*, one called *ἀείσκωψ*, resident, vocal, but not edible, and another kind, appearing sometimes for a day or two in autumn when west winds blew, silent, much esteemed for the table, and differing from the *ἀείσκωψ* ἄλλῳ μέν ὡς εἰπεῖν οὐδενί, τῷ δὲ πάχει. This bulkier *σκώψ* appears to be the migratory Short-eared Owl, which resembles *Scops ginn* in having tufts of feathers at the sides of the crown, but differs from it not only in being much larger, but also in form, colour, and general habits.

However, descriptions of a later date than Aristotle (Aelian, Athenaeus) leave no doubt that the *σκώψ* of their day was the *Scops ginn* of our own. But Aristotle, when he states (*H.A.* viii. 3, 592 b) that the *σκώψ* was smaller than the *γλαύξ*, settles the point for his own time also. For *γλαύξ* is *Curine noctua*, the Little Owl of Pallas Athene, as is amply attested by coins and sculpture. It is the civic emblem of Athens at this day. It is nine-and-a-half inches long, and *Scops ginn* is seven-and-a-half inches. There is no other owl smaller than the Little Owl which would answer to Aristotle's description of *σκώψ*. Therefore the *σκώψ* of Aristotle is *Scops ginn*. From Homer's meagre reference to *σκώψ* it is not possible to decide if the Homeric bird is that of Aristotle, but since the latter bird is common in Homeric regions and, as a resident species, had paramount right to the name of *σκώψ*

(for the migratory bird, being larger, could not be of the same species as the resident bird, and must have received its name of *σκώψ* from the resident bird simply because of superficial points of resemblance) it seems probable that the name *σκώψ* was inherited by the *σκώψ* of Aristotle from the *σκώψ* of Homer. In such a case the Homeric *σκώψ* would be the Scops Owl (*Scops giu*) of our own day.

The *ἱρηξ* of this passage is a general term for hawk, falcon or harrier, as may be seen by comparing it with the *ἱρηξ κίρκος* of *Od.* xiii. 86-7, where *κίρκος* defines the kind of *ἱρηξ*.

The third bird mentioned in *Od.* v. 63,—*κορώνη εἰναλίη* or ‘sea-crow,’ is a notable example of the confusion of names in early bird-lore, but it will be found to have a good deal of real observation behind it. *Κορώνη* is the Greek name for crow, the bird of the ‘curved’ bill. Homer uses *κορώνη* twice, once in conjunction with *εἰναλίη*, meaning ‘sea’-crow, and once without the qualifying *εἰναλίη*; but, since in the latter instance it is applied to shipwrecked mariners thrown into the sea, the qualification under such circumstances would have been superfluous.

The crows best known to the Greeks were the Carrion-Crow and the Hooded Crow. Both are ‘sea’-crows in so far as, besides placing their nests in trees, they build them also upon cliffs, and seek their food partly by the tide-line on the sea shore. There, however, their marine proclivities cease, and it would be impossible to describe either of them as *εἰναλίη*, literally ‘in-sea’ birds.

Κορώνη occurs the second time in *Od.* xii. 417. Zeus has struck with a thunderbolt the vessel in which Ulysses is conveying his comrades, and

πέσον δ' ἐκ νηὸς ἔταιροι.

Οἱ δὲ κορώνησιν ἵκελοι περὶ νῆα μέλαιναν

Κύμασιν ἐμφορέοντο. . . .

Here one obtains the force of *εἰνάλιος*, and the *κορῶναι εἰνάλιαι* would appear to be gregarious, swimming birds of the open sea.

Of gregarious birds that frequent the open sea, the Cormorant resembles crows in the general blackness of its plumage and in having a conspicuously bent bill. The word ‘cormorant’ itself is a corruption of ‘*cornus marinus*’ which is the equivalent of *κορώνη εἰναλίη*, sea-crow.

Homer does not make a sea-bird perch upon a tree for nothing. With him the word *εἰνάλιος* always carries the full weight of the prefix, and the Cormorant, the most crow-like bird of the sea, is *εἰνάλιος* as a frequenter of the open sea, a swimmer that goes with the body almost entirely submerged, and as a diver of the first rank. It is, moreover, the only bird that is *εἰνάλιος* and, in the East, perches upon and makes its nest in trees.

As demonstrating that the idea of ‘crow’ was not dissociated from the Cormorant even in Aristotle’s time, vide *H.A.* viii. 3. 593 b.—‘Among the heavier web-footed birds frequenting the neighbourhood of rivers and ponds,’ he mentions, ‘the bird called *κόραξ*, which is as large as the stork, but shorter in the legs. It is web-footed, a swimmer, and its colour is black;

it perches upon trees, and is the only one of this kind that builds its nest in such places.' Manifestly the bird described is the Cormorant; but κόραξ is the name of the principal member of the crow family—the raven. It is probable that the circumstance of cormorants building their nests both upon trees and cliff ledges, as is the case also with crows, accounts in part for their having received the name of sea-'crow.' This is borne out by Aristotle's statement (*H.A.* ix. 24, 617 b) that 'there is another kind of κολούς (jackdaw) . . . which is web-footed.' For, just as the Large Cormorant, from its habits of frequenting inland waters and perching upon and nesting in trees had been called sea-'crow,' so the Little Cormorant for the same reasons was called by the name of a smaller member of the crow family, namely, the jackdaw.

'Long-tongued (*ταυνύγλωσσος*)' in the literal sense of the words, the cormorant cannot be called, for the tongue is aborted: nor as denoting frequent outcry, for it is a quiet bird and screams only when molested; and, further, Homer does not as a rule use such words with their secondary meanings. There is no bird even remotely resembling a crow or cormorant which could be called 'long-tongued' in the literal sense of the words. It seems probable, therefore, that they refer to the conspicuous naked gular pouch of the cormorant—the *sputiosus guttura morgus* of Ovid—and are more akin to γλωττίς than to γλῶσσα—the 'wide-gulletted' cormorant. Evidence of passage between γλωττίς and γλῶσσα is afforded by Aristotle when he states (*H.A.* viii. 12. 597 b) that the bird called γλωττίς 'projects its *tongue* to a great distance.'

There is always a fitness in the bird selected by Homer to represent a god. Thus if a deity be likened to a bird on land, almost invariably some bird of prey of the nobler sort is chosen, evidently because of the swiftness, dignity, and power of birds of this class, from which characteristics they derive without doubt also their pre-eminence in augury. Thus Hermes is made to cross the sea as a gull, a bird of graceful aspect and despatch in flight, as becomes the messenger of the gods; Athene takes her stand upon the house of Ulysses in the form of a swallow, symbolic of her close attachment to the domestic fortunes of his household; and the god Sleep is likened to a Long-eared Owl, a bird that sleeps throughout the daytime. Therefore, when Homer causes Leucothea, the propitious, white sea-goddess to emerge 'like an *aīθνια*' from the sea and to sit upon the storm-tossed raft of Ulysses, and afterwards 'like an *aīθνια*' to plunge back into the waves, we look for him to select some bird peculiarly fitted for his purpose.

The passage occurs in *Od.* v. 333:

Τὸν δὲ ἵδεν Κάδμου θυγάτηρ καλλίσφυρος Ἰνώ
Δευκοθέη, ἡ πρὶν μὲν ἔην βροτὸς αὐδήσσα,
Νῦν δὲ ἀλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι θεῶν ἐξέμμορε τιμῆς.
Ἡ δὲ Ὀδυσῆ ἐλένσει ἀλώμενον, ἀλγεῖ ἔχοντα,
[Λιθνίη δὲ ἐικνῖα ποτῇ ἀνεδύσατο λίμνης.]
Ἴζε δὲ ἐπὶ σχεδίης πολυδέσμουν, εἰπέ τε μῦθον.

Her disappearance is described at line 352 :

Αὐτὴ δ' ἄψ ἐς πόντον ἐδύσατο κυμαίνοντα
Αἰθνίγ ἐκυνῖα· μέλαν δέ ἐ κῦμα κάλυψεν.

The bird which immediately presents itself to the mind is the Pelican, a great white bird common in Homeric regions and resembling the Gannet of our own shores. This bird seems eminently fitted to represent the White Goddess, and the manner in which it rises at once in easy flight from the sea answers well to the rather pointed allusion by Homer to the manner of approach of the *aἴθνια*.

It will be recalled that it was within sight of the coast of Phaeacia, by some identified with Coreyra and the modern Corfu, that the goddess boarded at dawn the battered raft of Ulysses, then in imminent peril of being drowned. Corfu lies in the line of the great migration of pelicans from the Danube, and some of these birds remain there throughout the year, as recorded by Lord Lilford.

Leucothea was for the Romans Matuta, the goddess ushering in the day, and her son Palaemon was Portumnus, the god of harbours, which points are of some interest, because it was at dawn and while vainly striving to make his port that Ulysses was visited by Leucothea.

Arrian (*Periplus*, 21) seems to support the interpretation of *aἴθνια* as pelican in a curious passage concerning λάροι, *aἴθνιαι*, and κορώναι *aἴθαλάσσαι*. He states that these birds, present in vast numbers about the island of Leuce (which lies off the mouth of the Danube, the great breeding-ground of pelicans), did service in the temple of Achilles situated there, flying every day at dawn down to the sea, whence, after wetting their wings, they flew back to the temple, which they sprinkled. It is not hard to recognise in these *aἴθνιαι* and 'sea-crows' the pelicans and cormorants which abound in that district, and which, after their usual early morning fishing, regularly settle on some sandbank, coast-rock, or tree to dry their wings. This they do by holding them outstretched in wind and sun for an indefinite time, occasionally shaking out their feathers and flapping their wings. From this to sprinkling the temple floor would probably be but a step in the lively imagination of the originators of the myth.

This combination of gulls, pelicans, and cormorants recalls a familiar picture of the Near and Middle-East—pelicans ranged in a line across some larger sheet of water and beating it with their wings as they close in shorewards, driving the fish before them; cormorants, their constant associates, diving within the enclosed area and carrying confusion to the fish below, while a screaming throng of gulls and terns hover and dash down to capture the fish driven to the surface. Upon arriving in the shallows, the pelicans put their heads and necks under water, and, swimming rapidly, scoop the fugitive fish into their great gular pouches. This method of capture is well adapted to their usual feeding haunts—the margins of large rivers and lakes.

But pelicans also go out to sea. And here there arises a difficulty. Homer's *aἴθνια* dives. Do pelicans dive? Dresser (*Birds of Europe*),

Jerdon (*Birds of India*), and Blanford (*Fauna of British India*), state that they do not dive; and to these must be added Brehm and Heuglin. Such a statement means at most that they personally had not seen pelicans dive, and it therefore becomes a question what pelicans they had observed and to what extent their observations were carried. I have seen *P. fuscus* frequently on the Pacific coast of South America, and though this bird is more marine in its habits than most pelicans and is stated to dive for fish, I have never seen it dive. I should, however, be slow to assert that it did not dive, especially as I have met it well off the coast and seen it disgorge upon being forced to rise from the sea. Bree (*Birds of Europe*, v. 131) states concerning the Common Pelican that 'it dashes like a lump of lead into the sea after its prey.' As this is not a personal observation of his own, nor recorded as being a personal observation at all, it may be set aside. Lady Cecil (*Bird Notes from the Nile*) writes as an eye-witness of pelicans 'with outspread wings drying themselves in the sun, only to plunge into the water and begin the same process again.' Professor Newton, who would not lightly take sides in a matter of dispute, writes (*Dictionary of Birds*, 702) of pelicans 'pursuing them (fish) under water, and rising to the surface to swallow those that have been captured in their capacious pouches.' Naumann (*Naturgeschichte der Voegel Mittel-Europas*, xi.), whilst admitting that he has not seen pelicans dive either from the wing or from the surface of the water, states that he believes the latter to be the case, and in connection with the Dalmatian Pelican he writes: 'Dass er (*P. crispus*), so wenig wie die vorige Art (*P. onocrotalus*), sich aus hohem Fluge ins Wasser stuerze, um unter die Flaeche zu fahren und so die aus der Hoehe schon zum Ziel erwaehlten Fische zu fangen, hat mir die glaubhafte Versicherung eines Augenzeugen ebenfalls bestaetigt, welcher in Dalmatien unter Oberstleutnant Feldegg selbst Anteil an der Jagd dieser Voegel genommen und die krauskoeppigen Pelicane zu fuenf bis sechs Stueck beisammen sich ohne Sturz auf das Wasser niederlassen, darauf herumschwimmen und, um zu fischen, aus dem Schwimmen unter die Flaeche tauchen sah.' (I have the credible assurance of an eye-witness who took part with Oberstleutnant Feldegg in shooting Dalmatian Pelicans in Dalmatia, that neither this bird (*P. crispus*) nor the preceding one (*P. onocrotalus*) dashes down from the wing upon the water in order to dive beneath the surface and capture fish which it may have marked out for itself during flight. This person saw five to six Dalmatian pelicans alight together without force upon the water and, after swimming round, dive beneath the surface to fish.) This has the appearance of genuine personal observation, and I think it may be accepted that, whilst the Dalmatian Pelican does not dive from the wing, it does dive from the surface of the water in order to fish. Such a conclusion is what might be expected; for it seems improbable that a bird admitted by all to fish in shallows with head and neck submerged should not be drawn to follow more deeply fish that sought to escape, and, failing physical disability for total submergence, should not come ultimately to dive beneath the surface of the water.

The two pelicans present in Homeric regions—the Dalmatian, and the Common Pelicans—haunt usually bays, estuaries of larger rivers, inland lakes and marshes, and breed in dense reed-beds, laying two, rarely three eggs from the end of February to the end of March.

It will be recalled that it was near the coast of Phaeacia that Ulysses' raft broke up, and that ultimately he escaped into an estuary. The pelican, like the allied Gannet, is a bird of powerful flight, and I remember being, in March 1906, off the Portuguese coast, proceeding at half speed against a furious north-easter, and noting numbers of Gannets forging slowly but stubbornly ahead in the teeth of the gale without any attempt to make for shore.

We must now hear Aristotle on the *aīθυια*; but, before doing so, let us take note of what he has to say concerning the pelican under the name *πελεκάν*, and, more important still, let us observe what he fails to record.

Of the *πελεκάν* Aristotle reports correctly (*H.A.* viii. 12, 597 b) concerning its migration to the Danubian breeding grounds, but concerning the feeding habits of this bird, so strange in themselves and so easily to be verified, he makes the erroneous statement (*H.A.* ix. 10, 614 b) that 'the pelicans, which inhabit rivers, swallow large smooth shells with their drink, and when these have been digested in the first part of their stomachs, they vomit them up, in order that they may pick out and eat the flesh when they have opened the valves.' This account is manifestly one of the pelican, and as manifestly one based on hearsay. That Aristotle should not have more than this to tell concerning the breeding and feeding habits of so common and conspicuous a Greek bird present in any larger lake or estuary, casts a side-light on the channels through which he obtained his information.

Of the *aīθυια* Aristotle writes (*H.A.* v. 9, 542 b) 'The *aīθυια* and the *λάρος* hatch their young among the rocks on the sea-side and produce two or three, the *λάρος* during summer, and the *aīθυια* at the beginning of spring, immediately after the solstice; it sits upon its eggs like other birds: neither of these birds conceals itself' (*i.e.*, is absent in winter).

Although Latham stated (*Bree, Birds of Europe*, v. 131) that pelicans 'breed on rocks near to water,' and 'lay two to four eggs,' it is well known that the principal breeding place of these birds is in the reed beds of large lakes and marshes, and the number of eggs usually two, rarely three.

Terns lay two or three eggs, and may be found breeding in the company of gulls, but only upon low rocky islands, not on cliffs as is usual with gulls. Their usual breeding places, however, are sand dunes and shingly beaches, and terns breed later than gulls.

The cormorant would nest with gulls upon sea rocks, whether cliffs or lower rocks, and it breeds earlier than gulls. But the cormorant cannot be the *aīθυια* of Homer, because we have already found that the *κορώνη εἰναλίη*, 'sea-crow' of Homer is the cormorant, this being the only crow-like diving bird that is *εἰνάλιος* and perches upon and nests in trees. Likewise the cormorant cannot be the *aīθυια* of Aristotle, for he has described the former in detail as *κόραξ*, stating it to be web-footed and the only bird of that kind

which perches on and nests in trees. The cormorant, moreover, lays three to five eggs.

The Shag, or Green Cormorant, is the only remaining bird that, like gulls, breeds habitually upon sea rocks. Its nest is placed among boulders, in clefts or in caves in cliffs, and nowhere else. The Shag is the earliest to breed of all birds that make their nests on sea rocks : it is exclusively marine in its habits, and lays three or four eggs.

In the passage quoted above, Aristotle writes : 'It sits upon its eggs like other birds.' By 'it' he means without doubt the *aἴθυια*, the second of the birds there mentioned by him. Most birds stand and sit with the body in a more or less horizontal position, and Aristotle's remark would lead one to infer that the position of his *aἴθυια* when standing was such as to suggest that it might not be horizontal when the bird was sitting. Of sea-going birds that stand with the body erect, cormorants, shags, and grebes breed in Greece. Of these only the shag nests always on sea rocks, and the cormorant sometimes. But the cormorant, as we have already seen, is the *κόραξ* of Aristotle, and the *κορώνη εἰναλίη* of Homer. Therefore it cannot be the *aἴθυια* of either.

Aristotle has the further remark (*H.A.* viii. 3, 593 b) 'The crow also lives on animals which are cast on shore ; the white gull, too, the cephus, *aἴθυια* and charadrius.'

In this statement concerning the feeding habits of the *aἴθυια*, Aristotle is wrong. Whatever the *aἴθυια* may be, it is beyond question a diving bird, and marine diving birds feed on fish and not on garbage cast up by the tide. Homer in the two passages quoted makes the *aἴθυια* come up out of the sea and dive back into it. Aratus has *εἰναλίδιναι αἴθυιαι*, and, further, *ἴκελοι δὲ κολυμβίσιν αἴθυισι πολλάκις ἐκ τῷών πέλαγος περιπαπταίνοντες ἥμεθ' ἐπ' αἰγιαλοὺς τετραμένοι*. *Αἴθυιαι* are *ἰχθυβόλοι*. This fish-striking *aἴθυια* lives on sea-worn cliffs (*Anth.* iv. 143)—*Σύραγγος ἀλίκτυπον δὲ τόδε ναίεις εὐστιβὴς αἴθυιαις ιχθυβόλοισι λέπας*. This is as good a picture of the shag's most characteristic breeding place as one could have—a sea-hollowed cave.

Upon reviewing all the circumstances it would appear that Aristotle's references to the *aἴθυια* combine materials collected concerning both the pelican and the shag. Reasons for this confusion are that both are very early breeders, though only the shag breeds habitually on sea rocks ; that both occur on coast waters, though the pelican occurs also elsewhere ; that both dive from the surface, though the pelican feeds also at the surface ; that the eggs are not dissimilar, though those of the pelican are larger, and it lays two or three eggs, whereas the shag lays three or four ; that both birds are permanently present in Greece ; that whilst Aristotle says nothing about the breeding habits of the *πελεκάν* in Greece, he describes those of the *aἴθυια* ; and that when he erroneously states the *aἴθυια*, a diving bird, to feed on animals cast up by the sea, he may well be referring to the fishing of the pelican in the shallows.

It is possible that the name *aἴθυια* was applied both to the pelican and to the shag ; but Homer's method in selecting birds to represent the deities

leaves little doubt in my mind that the bird to which he applied the name *aἴθυια* as representative of Leucothea, the White Goddess, was the pelican. I can well believe that with him the shag, like its congener the cormorant, would be a 'sea-crow (*κορώνη εἰναλίη*).'

The word *κίρκος* is used by Homer usually alone, but once it occurs in conjunction with *ἱρηξ*, the latter being a general term for hawk or falcon. As no other specific term is used by him except *φαστοφόνος* once, the term *κίρκος* manifestly served also to cover many kinds of hawk and falcon, and was scarcely more specific than the term *ἱρηξ* itself. *Κίρκος* would therefore include the Harriers, to denote which modern ornithology has strictly limited the use of *Circus* as a generic term.

Whether the word *κίρκος* has anything to do with circling and wheeling or not, such an explanation would be of no service for purposes of identification, for all birds of prey have this habit.

The Achaeans flee from Aeneas and Hector (*Il.* xvii. 755)

ὅστε ψαρῶν νέφος ἔρχεται, ἡὲ κολοιῶν,
Οὐδον κεκλήγοντες, ὅτε προΐδωσιν ίόντα
Κίρκον, ὃ τε σμικρῆσι φόνου φέρει ὄρνιθεσσιν.

Evidently the same bird is referred to under the name *ἱρηξ* when (*Il.* xvi. 582) Patroclus rushes among the combatants

ἱρηκι ἐοικὼς
'Ωκεῖ, ὁστ' ἐφόβησε κολοιούς τε ψῆράς τε.

The starlings of the foregoing passages probably include the *Sturnus unicolor*, resident in countries bordering the Mediterranean, and our own *S. vulgaris*, which occurs there in winter. The picture appears to be an autumn one.

The *κολοιός* is without doubt the Jackdaw. Aristotle (*H.A.* ix. 24, 617b) includes a rather miscellaneous assortment of four birds under the title *κολοιός*. One of these is the Red-billed Chough, another the Little Cormorant, and a further one he states to be a smaller kind of *κολοιός* called *βωμολόχος*, that is, 'one who lies in wait beside altars,' in allusion to the rabble of beggars who hung about the altars to beg or steal the meats offered. Those who have watched the Burmese House-Crow, an Eastern relative of the jackdaw both psychologically and physically, dispute with beggars the offerings cast aside from Buddhist altars, will have no two opinions as to which of Aristotle's *κολοιοί* is the jackdaw.

The foregoing passages recall the Hobby with its predilection for starlings: but the Peregrine and Lanner falcons come into mind when (*Il.* xxi. 493) Artemis retires before the infuriated Hera

ὅστε πέλεια
"Η φά θ' ὑπ' ἵρηκος κοίλην εἰσέπτατο πέτρην,
Χηραμόν.

The same strong attack is developed when (*Il.* xxii. 139) the chasing of Hector by Peleides is described—

'Ηντε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν, ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν,
'Ρηϊδίως οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πέλειαν.
'Η δέ θ' ὑπαιθα φοβεῦται· οὐδὲ ἐγγύθεν ὀξὺ λεληκὼς
Ταρφέ ἐπαίστει, ἐλέειν τέ οὐ θυμὸς ἀνώγει.'

Κίρκος is the messenger of Apollo and a bird of omen. Thus, when Telemachus (*Od.* xv. 525), referring to the wooing of Penelope by the suitors, states that Zeus alone knows if he will bring about an evil day for them ere the marriage of his mother takes place:

"Ος ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις,
Κίρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος· ἐν δὲ πόδεσσιν
Τίλλε πέλειαν ἔχων, κατὰ δὲ πτερὰ χεῦνεν ἔραζε . . .

The flight of **κίρκος** is so swift that, when Homer wishes to describe the speed of a ship as being very great, he states (*Od.* xiii. 86)

οὐδέ κεν ἵρηξ
Κίρκος ὁμαρτήσειν ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν.

The solicitude of Thetis bearing down the armour forged by Vulcan for her son Achilles, causes the poet to depict her as swooping down from Olympus like a **κίρκος**.

Neptune (*Il.* xiii. 62)

"ἄστρ' ἵρηξ ὠκύπτερος ὥρτο πέτεσθαι,
"Ος ρύ τ' ἀπ' αἰγάλιπος πέτρης περιμήκεος ἀρθεῖς,
"Ορμήσῃ πεδίοιο διώκειν ὄρνεον ἄλλο·

And Apollo (*Il.* xv. 237)

Βῆ δὲ κατ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων, ἵρηκι ἐουκὼς
"Οκεῖ, φασσοφόνῳ, ὄστρ' ὥκιστος πετεηνῶν.

It is not hard to draw the conclusion that these descriptions do not apply to the Harriers, the *Circus* of modern ornithology, whose leisurely beating over the ground for young birds and sitting old ones never results in a dashing chase, but usually ends in a cat-like spring upon the unwary victims. Any hawk or falcon would cause starlings and jackdaws to rise, but the hawk which 'brings death to small birds' is before all others the Sparrow Hawk. The flight of the sparrow-hawk, a comparatively short-winged hawk, does not render it 'the swiftest of birds,' but the advantage of the shorter wings comes out in a tacking flight, so that no hawk save the equally short-winged Goshawk follows so closely in the wake of a shifting bird, and adapts its course so rapidly to the deviating flight of its quarry. But the sparrow-hawk, like the goshawk, seldom follows swift-flying quarry far. Both haunt woods, skirting them to snatch birds from their perches by surprise, or to seize them as they rise. The bird that follows screaming in chase of the

Rock Dove, and the one that tears it in mid air, flinging the feathers to the ground, is not a sparrow-hawk. The 'mountain κίρκος' that charges, screaming, the rock dove in full flight, described in *Il.* xxii. 139, with an incisive brevity as comprehensive in substance as it is compressed in form, is a falcon. He who wrote those four lines had known peregrine and lanner in their mountain haunts, and the rock doves in their caves.

Although Aristotle states in one place (*H.A.* ix. 36, 620 b) that there were said to be as many as ten kinds of hawk, in another (*H.A.* viii. 3, 592 b) he refers to *both* the hawks, naming them respectively φαβοτύπος and σπιζίας (*σπίζα*, finch), the latter evidently a hawk preying on small birds. As Homer had done before him, Aristotle cleaves the confusion of hawks and falcons by a rough division into those attacking larger birds and those attacking smaller ones. The former are in the main the heavier kinds such as peregrine and lanner falcons and the goshawk: and the latter the Saker, Hobby, Merlin and sparrow-hawk.

Of the two pigeons mentioned in the foregoing passages the πέλεια is, as Homer's description serves to show, the rock dove. The φάσσα, which appears only in the word φασσοφόνος, is the φάττα which Aristotle states (*H.A.* v. 13, 544) to be the largest of the pigeon tribe. It is therefore the Wood Pigeon.

Homer likens Athene (*Il.* xix. 350) to a ἄρπη. Zeus having despatched her upon an errand to earth,

‘Η δ’ ἄρπη ἐικνῖα τανυπτέρυγι, λιγυφώνῳ,
Οὐρανοῦ ἐκ κατέπαλτο δὶ’ αἰθέρος.

It may with certainty be said of the ἄρπη that its selection by Homer to represent Athene, and the mode of its descent, show it to have been a bird of prey. "Ἄρπη" means 'snatcher:' and since ἄρπ- is the equivalent of Lat. *rapt-*, it might be supposed that any raptorial bird could be designated ἄρπη. But, where snatchers are many, the snatcher par excellence must snatch with a difference. There is, in fact, one bird that stands out from all others as a snatcher—the Kite, and it snatches in a manner to impress itself peculiarly upon men's minds. Out of many instances that have come under my own observation, I select one. At an hotel in which I was staying in Amritsar, a syce was crossing the courtyard with a wet cloth dangling from one hand. A kite swooped from the roof, clutched the cloth in passing, and was high in air ere the man was well aware what had happened. Being inedible, the cloth was forthwith returned to earth, and the kite, which had probably known the long-drawn-out delights of bovine intestines at the slaughter-house, may have made a mental note that things are not always what they seem. I have often watched kites on the Hooghly at Calcutta swoop to snatch quite small morsels of food from the surface of the river with marvellous dexterity. In fact, if any one resident in the East were asked which of all birds he would call the 'snatcher,' the answer would at once be given—the kite.

Further, Homer states the ἄρπη to be a bird whose voice is λεγύς. This word has been used to denote the shrill sounds of wind and of human wailing, the mellifluous speech of Nestor and the clear tones of heralds, the song

of the nightingale and the music of the phorminx. The underlying notion is one of a sound clear and sustained, whether it be shrill or sweet. Those who have known the incessant shrill ‘mewing’ of kites will have no difficulty on this score in accepting the kite as the ‘shrill-voiced snatcher’ of Homer. Hesychius states *ἄρπη* to be the Cretan word for *ἰκτῖνος*, a word which in *Milvus ictinus* has been applied as the specific term to the Common, or Red Kite.

We have, however, still to hear Aristotle concerning the *ἄρπη*. He states (*H.A.* ix. 1, 609) that the birds ‘which obtain their food from the sea are foes, as the *βρέυθος*, *λάρος* and *ἄρπη*'; and (*H.A.* ix. 1, 610) that ‘the *πίφιγξ*, *ἄρπη* and *ἰκτῖνος* are friends’: and further (ix. 18, 617), ‘the *φῶνξ* eats the eyes of other creatures, and is therefore the enemy of the *ἄρπη*, which lives upon the same food.’

If, in spite of the whimsical medley of friendships and enmities of the Ninth Book of Aristotle’s *History of Animals* and his evident lack of any real knowledge concerning the *ἄρπη*, we accept his statement that this bird obtains its food from the sea—which the kite in no special sense can be said to do—there remains only one famous ‘snatcher’ of the sea—the Osprey. Athene’s leap from Olympus would be not unworthily represented by the osprey’s mighty dash through twenty or thirty feet into the sea to clutch fish: but the osprey’s feat lacks altogether the deft snatching of the kite, which would perform the same swoop to secure a floating morsel of food and leave the water almost unruffled. In India, I have frequently watched the fishing of ospreys, but the operation would suggest ‘souser’ rather than ‘snatcher,’ as a name for the bird. It is, moreover, a very silent bird.

It is true that the White-tailed Eagle also snatches surface-swimming fish from the sea, but as this bird preys both upon marine and upon fresh-water fowl by flying them down, and also upon mammals, and feeds on carrion, it would scarcely receive the name *ἄρπη*, which could be applied to it in the distinctive sense of ‘snatcher’ only with reference to one of its modes of obtaining food, that, namely, of snatching fish, whereas *ἄρπη*, in its more extended sense, might be used as fitly of any other rapacious bird.

The *ἄρπη* is less likely to be a sea-bird because no sea-bird is mentioned in the *Iliad*, and the four that occur in the *Odyssey* are, as was to be expected, the commonest of sea-birds. Further, the poet, in the passage under consideration, appears to have some difficulty in getting his gods across the sea in the natural manner practised in the *Odyssey*, namely, in the form of a sea-bird; and Aristotle, who has an eye continually upon Homer, may well have concluded that, since Athene is made to appear in the form of a *ἄρπη* at the end of what would have been a sea journey had not the poet resorted to the expedient of making her swoop down direct from ‘heaven’ upon the *Trojans*, the *ἄρπη* itself must be a sea-bird. But Homer’s description of this bird as swooping down from heaven is final; it is a bird of prey. Reference to this passage will show that a boar had just been flung into the sea at the spot, the boar whose throat Agamemnon had slit at the ceremony of oath-taking.

Anyone working over Homer and Aristotle together will soon become aware that, as has been stated, the latter has an eye continually upon the former. Aristotle must, I think, be credited with a feeling that Homer's statements as a naturalist were to be accepted, a feeling which would have been converted into assurance had Aristotle been, as Homer was, an outdoor observer. In proof of this, take the *στρουθός* of Homer. It appears in Homer with a brood of eight young ones. The *στρουθός* of Aristotle's day was the sparrow of our own and, following Homer as he thought, Aristotle states the sparrow to lay eight eggs, whereas it lays only six. But the *στρουθός* of Homer was a 'sparrow' in no more definite a sense than the 'sparrow' of the Bible. Still it is due to Aristotle to state that, had some later and even recent commentators on the natural history of Homer had a share of his respect for the poet and some of the poet's own practical experience in the field, much comment would have been spared that did little credit to Homer or themselves.

Homer refers twice to the *φήνη*. The first occasion is in *Od.* iii. 372 when Athene departs from the great sacrificial feast held by Nestor on the sea shore at Pylos, *φήνη εἰδομένη*.

Beyond the reason a god may have for appearing in a certain place, there is in Homer always a reason on physical grounds for the appearance in that place of the bird selected to represent the god. Thus the *φήνη*, a bird of prey, is attracted to the scene of the great feast by the offal to be obtained at the slaughtering of many cattle.

The second mention of *φήνη* is in *Od.* xvi. 216, when Ulysses reveals himself to Telemachus, and

Κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, ἀδινώτερον ἢ τ' οἰωνοί,
Φῆναι δὲ αἰγυπιοὶ γαμψώνυχες, οἰστίτε τέκνα
Αγρόται ἐξείλοντο πάρος πετεηνὰ γενέσθαι.

Aristotle states (*H.A.* viii. 3, 592) that the *φήνη* belongs to the class of crooked-taloned, carnivorous birds, that it is as large as 'the eagle' and is ash-coloured. In the next sentence he proceeds at once to state that 'there are two kinds of vulture (*γύπτες*), one small and whitish, the other large and cinereous.' The first of these is the Egyptian Vulture, and the second the Cinereous Vulture.

In *H.A.* ix. 34, 619 b, Aristotle writes: 'The *φήνη* is dim-sighted (*ἐπαργεμός*) and has imperfect eyes (*πεπήρωται τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*.)'

Further (*H.A.* ix. 32, 619) he states the 'true' eagle to be the largest of eagles, greater than *φήνη*, and one and a half times as large as other eagles. The largest eagle known by Aristotle could not exceed forty inches in length, and the smaller class of eagles would consist of such as Bonelli's Eagle, which is 27–29 inches; so that the *φήνη* is larger than the latter, but is exceeded in size by the former.

It is to be observed that both Homer in the passage quoted (*Od.* xvi. 216) and Aristotle (*H.A.* viii. 3, 592) mention the *φήνη* in conjunction with vultures, though Homer couples them with *αἰγυπιοί*, which

are never stated by him to eat carrion, and Aristotle with *γῦπες*, which are always carrion-eating vultures. Homer never confounds the two classes, but while Aristotle mentions *aἰγυπιός* casually, he never discriminates between it and carrion-eating vultures.

There was evidently some connection between the *φήνη* and vultures causing them to become associated in the mind, though at the same time there was some distinction between these two birds causing each to receive a distinct name. In the case of Homer I believe the mental association of *φήνη* and *aἰγυπιός* to have arisen from their being the same bird, namely, the Bearded Vulture, regarded as *φήνη* when in mature plumage, and as *aἰγυπιός* in the very different and slowly developing plumage of the immature bird; and further, from the fact that the parent birds of the Bearded Vulture continue with their young ones even after the latter are fully developed for sustained flight. In the case of Aristotle I believe the association of *φήνη* and *γύψ* to have been due to the vulturine aspect and gait (the Bearded Vulture has the recruit-step and side-hop of *Neophron*) of the *φήνη* assimilating it to the *γύψ*.

The problem is to show that the *aἰγυπιός* and the *φήνη* were the same bird, and that that bird was the Bearded Vulture.

That the *aἰγυπιός* was a vulture of some sort, or a bird of vulturine aspect is beyond question.

Whether or not we accept the etymology founded upon the analogy between *aἰγυπιός* (*aἴξ*, goat; *γύψ*, vulture) and Laemmergeier (Lamm, lamb; Geier, vulture), it is a fact that bones and hoofs of goats are commonly found in the stomachs of Bearded Vultures.

Homer has (*Il.* xvi. 428):

ώστ' αἰγυπιοὶ γαμφώνυχες ἀγκυλοχεῖλαι
Πέτρη ἐφ' ὑψηλῇ μεγάλα κλάζοντε μάχονται.

This is amplified in Hesiod (*Sc. Herc.* 405) as follows:

ώστ' αἰγυπιοὶ γαμφώνυχες ἀγκυλοχεῖλαι,
Πέτρη ἐφ' ὑψηλῇ μεγάλα κλάζοντε μάχεσθον
Αἴγος ὁρεσσινόμον ἡ ἀγροτέρης ἐλάφοιο,
Πίονος, ἦντ' ἐδάμασσε βαλὰν αἴζηιος ἀνήρ
Ίφ ἀπὸ νευρῆς, αὐτὸς δ' ἀπαλήσεται ἄλλῃ
Χώρου ἄδρις ἔων. . . .

The passage from Homer refers to Sarpedon and Patroclus, who, having leaped from their chariots, rush upon one another in single combat. So vulturine birds attack one another, rushing along the ground with flapping wings until they close with loud outcry. The picture of the two birds contending noisily upon a lofty rock will be familiar to anyone who has known vultures in their mountain haunts.

However Hesiod came by the first two lines, what follows them shows that for him at any rate *aἰγυπιοί* were goat-eaters, but in describing these birds as eating dead flesh—assuming *ἐδάμασσε* to mean ‘killed’ and not

merely 'disabled'—he takes up a position which, though not necessarily opposed to, yet goes beyond the non-committal attitude of Homer on this point.

In *Il.* vii. 58, Homer has :

Κὰδ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων
Ἐξέσθην, ὅρνισιν ἐοικότες αἰγυπτιοῖσι,
Φηγῷ ἐφ' ὑψηλῇ πατρὸς Διὸς αἰγμόχοῳ
Ἀνδράσι τερπόμενοι.

The picture is the well known one of vultures perching, quietly observant, on a tree, awaiting events, whether it be the flinging out of offal from a slaughter-house or the slaughter of men, of which latter they seem to have instinctive anticipation which causes them to follow troops on the march. But, Homer, mindful of the dignity of the gods, causes Apollo and Athene to appear as *αἰγυπτιοί*, birds which he never states to eat carrion, and not as *γῦπτες*, which he never mentions unless to bring out their carrion-eating habits.

Tityus being in Tartarus, *γῦπτες* devour his liver (*Od.* xi. 578) :

Γῦπτε δέ μιν ἐκάτερθε παρημένω ἥπαρ ἔκειρον,
Δέρτρον ἔσω δύνοντες.

The Homeric distinction is well brought out in *Anth.* iii. 119 : *τὸν μὲν Τιτύον κατὰ γῆς δύο γῦπτες ἔδουσιν, ήμᾶς δὲ ζῶντας τέσσαρες αἰγυπτιοί.*

If Homer assumes a non-committal attitude towards the carrion-eating character of *αἰγυπτιοί*, he does not fail to exhibit them in pursuit of live prey. Thus, in *Il.* xvii. 460, Automedon is described as

Ιπποῖς ἀΐσσων, ὡστ' αἰγυπτίος μετὰ χῆνας.

Here, again, it will be observed that the course of Automedon is along the ground, as would be that of any vulturine bird delivering an attack.

On the other hand Hesiod exhibits *αἰγυπτιοί* as devourers of freshly killed—or disabled—animals. Probably the most pertinent statement on this point is to be found in Aelian, ii. 46 :—*ἐν μεθορίῳ γυπῶν ὄντας καὶ ἀετῶν, . . . καὶ τὴν χρόαν πεφυκέναι μέλανας.* Thus Aelian, in placing the *αἰγυπτιοί* in a position intermediate between the vultures and the eagles, suggests the vulturine affinities of the *αἰγυπτιοί* of Hesiod and the aquiline affinities of the *αἰγυπτιοί* of Homer.

But Aelian's statement is equally applicable to the Bearded Vulture : for this bird occupies a unique position between the vultures and the eagles. It is vulturine in appearance and gait, but, unlike any true vulture, it captures living prey, though, like true vultures, it consumes carrion also. Young birds in their first year have the head and neck black instead of white, and are darker than adult birds throughout.

Homer has one other passage exhibiting *aἰγυπτίος* in its aquiline aspect (*Od.* xxii. 302):

Οι δ' ὥστ' αἰγυπτιοὶ γαμψώνυχες ἀγκυλοχεῖλαι
 'Εξ ὁρέων ἐλθόντες ἐπ' ὄρνιθεσσι θόρωσιν.
 Ταὶ μέν τ' ἐν πεδίῳ νέφεα πτώσσουσαι ἔνται,
 Οἱ δέ τε τὰς ὀλέκουσιν ἐπάλμενοι, οὐδέ τις ἀλκὴ
 Γίγνεται οὐδὲ φυγή.

This passage has been variously translated. The difficulty lies in the words *νέφεα πτώσσουσαι*. Some will have it that the ‘smaller birds’ (Homer does not state that they are small birds) descend from the clouds to ‘flutter along the plain;’ others, still less satisfactorily, make them ‘cower in terror of the clouds.’ The first is improbable; the second impossible; birds do not cower in fear of clouds. Agar suggests *νέφει* for *νέφεα*, and would read ‘in a flock,’ supporting this reading by reference to *Il.* xvii. 755, where Homer has *ψαρῶν νέφος*, a ‘cloud’ of starlings, that is, a flock.

Homer does not state whether these birds are flying, or moving along the ground, but, since he is describing the helpless rushing about of the suitors within locked doors as Ulysses and his companions smite them on all sides, and has just referred to them in the preceding lines as being like a herd of cattle driven wild by gad-flies, there is little doubt that the birds are moving along the ground, running and crouching alternately in the manner of pheasants and the like. Homer has named geese as being pursued by *aἰγυπτίος*; birds of a comparable weight, but such as crouch like pheasants or partridges are probably what he had in mind when he composed this passage.

We have seen good reason to believe that the *aἰγυπτίος* is the Bearded Vulture. Therefore the two words employed in this passage to describe the method of attack are worthy of attention. Both *θόρωσιν* and *ἐπάλμενοι* denote ‘to leap upon.’ It would be possible to employ them in describing an attack from the wing, but the run-and-leap with which the Bearded Vulture takes possession could be described in no other way.

The evidence seems to point preponderatingly to the conclusion that the *aἰγυπτίος* is the Bearded Vulture. Let us now examine the evidence for a similar conclusion in the case of the *φήνη*.

It is noteworthy that Aristotle has nothing to say of the *aἰγυπτίος* beyond stating in his fanciful list of friendships and enmities alleged to exist between certain birds and animals, that it fights with ‘the eagle’ and the aesalon. It is the more noteworthy because he has a good deal to say concerning the *φήνη*. When describing carnivorous birds (*H.A.* viii. 3, 592), he mentions them in couples, eagles with kites, the ‘pigeon hawk’ with the sparrow hawk, the *φήνη* with the vulture (*γύψη*), and immediately after, the White, and the Cinereous Vultures. It is quite evident that, as in the other couples, so in the *φήνη* and *γύψη*, he recognises some natural relationship as existing between them. If we find the *φήνη* to be the Bearded Vulture, we

shall understand that this relationship consisted in the vulturine aspect and gait of that bird.

After stating that the *φήνη* is ash-coloured (*τὸ χρῶμα σποδοειδές*), Aristotle passes immediately by a natural transition to the statement that there are two vultures, one small and whitish, and the other large and cinereous, (*σποδοειδέστερος*). Like Aristotle's *φήνη*, the Bearded Vulture is ash-coloured in its upper parts. The only vulture with which, because of its similar colour, the *φήνη* might have been confounded, is the Cinereous Vulture. But Aristotle has precluded any such confusion by distinguishing the *φήνη* from the vultures.

Further, Aristotle writes (*H.A.* ix. 34, 619 b). ‘The *φήνη* is dim-sighted and has imperfect eyes.’—This most remarkable statement that the *φήνη*, a powerful bird of prey, has defective sight refers in my opinion to the equally remarkable fact that the sclerotic membrane (in most animals ‘the white of the eye’) is in the Bearded Vulture crimson and unusually conspicuous. It was natural that early observers should believe that the eyes were permanently in ill condition and the sight impaired; and I consider this piece of evidence as conclusive in establishing the identity of *φήνη* and the Bearded Vulture.

In *H.A.* ix. 34, 619 b, Aristotle states the *φήνη* to be so good a nurse that it feeds not only its own young ones diligently, but that, when the eagles cast off their progeny, the *φήνη* comes and takes them up and feeds them also. Though the latter part of this statement is probably incorrect, the parent Bearded Vulture still attends its young ones after they are fully developed for flight. In any case, this statement serves to show that the *φήνη* was regarded as being so excellent a parent, that the loss of its young might be assumed to fill it with a frenzy of despair, and their restoration with as vehement feelings of joy. Homer, too, knew this. Recall the passage (*Od.* xvi. 216) wherein he described the reunion of parent and child: of Ulysses, returned from twenty years of wandering, and Telemachus, his son, grown to manhood with the half-abandoned hope of his father's restoration. Locked in each other's arms, ‘they wept, keenly wailing, more vehemently than Bearded Vultures of crooked claws, from whom rustics have taken away their young ones ere they were fledged.’ The massive simplicity of the simile is truly Homeric. Who, save Homer, to whom nature and human nature were equally known, would have recognised at such a juncture in the common self-abandonment to an overpowering affection the one saving touch of nature that makes kin of man and these wild things of the air?

It is no part of my present purpose to trace the metamorphoses of the Bearded Vulture in the pages of Aristotle, but there is little doubt that this bird re-appears in *H.A.* ix. 32, 618 b as the *όρειπελαργός*—mountain-stork. The description runs—‘There is another kind (of eagle) which is dark-winged (*περκνόπτερος*). It has a white head and is of the largest of eagles (*μεγέθει μέγιστος*). Its wings are very short, and its rump very long like the vulture: it is called *όρειπελαργός* and *ίπταιετος*.’

So far Aristotle appears to be writing of the Bearded Vulture, the

white head and neck of which, in contrast to the ash-coloured upper parts, would strike an ordinary observer to the exclusion of the pale, ruddy-tinted under parts. It is a mountain bird, and *πελαργός* being a compound of *πελός* and *ἀργός*, the term Black-White applies as well to the Bearded Vulture as to the *πελαργός*, the stork. But when Aristotle states that the wings of the *ὄρειπελαργός* are short, this characteristic of *πελαργός*, the stork, was probably reacting upon his mind or upon that of his informant so as to make him apply it to the Bearded Vulture, the wings of which are in reality very long.

The description continues—'It inhabits groves. It has all the faults of the rest, and none of their good qualities: for it is taken and pursued by ravens and other birds. It is a heavy bird, and its mode of life is bad. It carries about dead creatures: it is always hungry, and screams and cries.' This is a description of a kite such as would rejoice the heart of an Anglo-Indian. The Red Kite (*Milvus ictinus*) has the head and neck whitish. Kites are everywhere molested by birds of the crow family.

A perusal of the passages in which Homer refers to birds, to which he gives the common name *αιετός*, will, I think, suffice to show that they were true eagles. They are stated to be the greatest in size and power, the keenest in sight, and the surest birds of augury.

Homer's references to eagles are numerous, but those to one class of eagle far outnumber his references to others. That eagle is the *αιετός οὐψιπέτης*, the High-flying Eagle. Since most eagles fly high, the term 'high-flying' might appear to be used as a general epithet applicable to any eagle; but I think it has more specific value. To prove this it would be necessary to show that some eagle was in a special sense a high-flying eagle, that its habits were such as those ascribed by Homer to the High-flying Eagle, and that it was sufficiently common in Homeric regions and sufficiently in evidence by its superior activity to justify the prominent position accorded to it by Homer. I think that Bonelli's Eagle, one of the Hawk-Eagles, will be found to meet these demands.

While Telemachus, in parting from Menelaus, is speaking of the possibility upon his arriving in Ithaca, of finding Ulysses returned home from wandering (*Od. xv. 160*):

ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις,
Αἰετὸς ἀργὴν χῆνα φέρων ὄνυχεσσι πέλωρον,
Ημερον, ἐξ αὐλῆς.

Helen interprets the sign:

‘Ως ὅδε χῆν’ ἕρπαξ ἀτιταλλομένην ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
Ἐλθὼν ἐξ ὄρεος, ὅθι οἱ γενεή τε τόκος τε. . . .

The same goose-lifting eagle occurs in the dream of Penelope (*Od. xix. 536*). She refers to it thus:

Χῆνές μοι κατὰ οἶκον ἔεικοσι πυρὸν ἔδουσιν
 Ἐξ ὕδατος, καὶ τέ σφιν λαίνομαι εἰσορόωσα·
 Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐξ ὅρεος μέγας αἰετὸς ἀγκυλοχείλης
 Πάσι κατ' αὐχένας ἥξε καὶ ἔκτανεν οἱ δ' ἐκέχυντο
 Ἀθρόοι ἐν μεγάροις, οἱ δὲ ἐς αἰθέρα διαν ἀέρθη.

It is scarcely necessary to state that Homer caused this eagle to act in an unnatural manner simply because it is an eagle appearing in a dream.

This eagle, which ‘rose high in air’ seems to be the kind of bird which appeared to the suitors when deliberating concerning the projected murder of Telemachus (*Od.* xx. 242):

αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀριστερὸς ἥλυθεν ὅρνις,
 Αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης, ἔχε δὲ τρήρωνα πέλειαν.

Again, when Athene (*Od.* xxiv. 538) is turning back the Ithacans who have come to be avenged upon Ulysses for the slaughter of their rulers, Ulysses, disappointed of the fray, cries aloud, and

Οἴμησεν δὲ ἀλεῖς ὥστ' αἰετὸς ὑψιπετήεις.

Besides geese and pigeons, the quarry of the High-flying Eagle included a snake, as is shown when (*Il.* xii. 201) the Trojans, having reached the trench defending the approach to the enemy’s ships, stood deliberating whether or not they should attempt to break through and burn them.

"Ορνις γάρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν,
 Αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης, ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἔέργων,
 Φοινήεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὄνυχεσσι, πέλωρον,
 Ζωόν, ἔτ' ἀσπαίροντα · καὶ οὕπω λήθετο χάρμης.
 Κόψε γάρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στῆθος, παρὰ δειρήν,
 Ιδηνωθεὶς ὀπίσω· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἥκε χαμᾶζε,
 Ἀλγήσας ὁδύνησι, μέσω δὲ ἐν κάββαλ' ὄμιλω.
 Αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας πέτετο πνοιῆσ' ἀνέμοιο.

Further, the advance of Hector against Achilles (*Il.* xxii. 308) is described as follows:

Οἴμησεν δὲ ἀλεῖς, ὥστ' αἰετὸς ὑψιπετήεις,
 Οστ' εἰσιν πεδίοιδε διὰ νεφέων ἐρεβεννῶν,
 Ἀρπάξων ἡ ἄρν' ἀμαλὴν, ἡ πτῶκα λαγών.

Thus it appears that the characteristics of this eagle were that it flew high; that its occurrence was frequent enough to warrant frequent mention; that it had its eyrie in the mountains, but was not unknown as a robber in the court-yard, whence it made its escape at once in high flight; that it preyed upon geese, pigeons, lambs, hares and snakes; and that, having captured one of the last which proved troublesome, it let the snake fall to earth. Let us see how far this agrees with the record of Bonelli’s Eagle.

Bonelli's Eagle is common in Greece, and is found on all sides beyond Homeric limits ; it breeds among mountains and descends to marshes in winter ; it is noted for its frequent, regular, and lofty soaring even among a class of birds with which this is an almost general practice : in fact, it is peculiarly a bird of the upper air, whither it makes its escape at once on being disturbed ; it is a notorious marauder among domestic fowls and pigeon-cotes : its quarry includes hares, rabbits, rats, land-birds up to the size of pea-fowl, and water-birds as large as herons ; a 'tender' lamb, as Homer calls a very young one, would not exceed its powers.

A snake occurs among the fare provided by Homer for this eagle. I have not heard that snakes form part of the diet of Bonelli's Eagle, and the ill luck attending the capture of one by Homer's bird goes to prove that, unlike an eagle that preys habitually on snakes, it did not know where the life lay. The Short-toed Eagle, which resembles Bonelli's in a general way as to size and colouring, would have pinned the snake at once near the head. If, however, the eagle that dropped a snake among the Trojans was a Bonelli's Eagle, that is exactly what that bird would have done when it found the snake troublesome. Bonelli's Eagle is an eagle of second rank as to size, but there is none of more intrepid spirit. It follows like a falcon, eats of its own catching only and no carrion, and having a great spirit in a two-foot body, it sometimes has trouble with its more refractory victims. After capturing its prey, this eagle often indulges in a sort of aerial promenade before carrying its captive off to be consumed, and the writhing and biting of rat or hare will cause the bird to hang in flight and flap its wings as if in distress. When the captive becomes too restive to be held, the eagle gives it a long drop to earth, and recovers it in more tractable condition. If Homer's bird had dropped a hare among the Trojans, I should have concluded that the scream with which it flew off was a cry of disgust at being unable to recover it in such a spot ; but I am afraid that the bird had taken prey which it had better have left for its relative the Short-toed Eagle, a bird which beats over the ground in low flight for its serpent diet, and yet which, in spite of its experience, has sometimes been taken with its wings imprisoned in the coils of a snake whose head it had pinned to earth. But the Short-toed Eagle would not have served Homer's purpose. It would never have taken the snake aloft, and consequently never have dropped it among the Trojans.

Besides the High-flying Eagle, Homer mentions two other eagles—the *αἰετὸς αἴθων* once (*Il.* xv. 690), and the *αἰετὸς μόρφων* or *περκνός* twice (*Il.* xxiv. 315 ; xxi. 252). The reference to the 'Ruddy' Eagle is as follows :

'Αλλ' ὥστ' ὄρνιθων πετεηνῶν αἰετὸς αἴθων
 "Εθνος ἐφορμᾶται, ποταμὸν πάρα βοσκομενάων,
 Χηνῶν, ἡ γεράνων, ἡ κύκνων δονλιχοδείρων
 "Ως" Εκτωρ ἵθυσε νεὸς κνανοπρώροιο
 'Αυτίος ἀίξας.

The attack to which Hector here addresses himself is no less than the storming of the Greeks in their own ships and fortifications ; and the task

assigned to the Ruddy Eagle is one of more than common magnitude. Hector was beaten off in the end; and it was fitting that the simile employed should suggest the possibility of failure on the part of the Ruddy Eagle. That there are eagles, however, capable of delivering an attack upon geese, cranes, and swans, is beyond question. Such work suggests a Hawk-Eagle such as Bonelli's rather than the larger, but sluggish, Golden, Imperial, Steppe and Large-spotted Eagles, unless these were roused by hard times. The colour of the plumage of Bonelli's Eagle in its immature stages is earth-brown above and cinnamon-brown below, and is therefore such as could appropriately be called *aἴθων*.

However that may be, *aἴθων*, applied by Homer to the horse, lion and bull, and by Pindar to the fox, evidently refers to the generally rufous or fulvous colour of these animals. But he would be a bold theorist who, from this single reference by Homer to the 'Ruddy' Eagle, would undertake to determine what eagle it was. For it is not reasonable to suppose that Homer could discriminate by colour alone between many kinds of eagle which, in one phase or another of their varying, slowly developing, and in many cases not dissimilar plumage, might be called ruddy. In this respect it is well to recall what Aristotle writes (*H.A.* ix. 32, 619). 'They say that these alone of all other birds are true, for the other kinds are mixed and crossed with each other, both eagles, hawks, and smaller kinds.' And much of this confusion concerning various species of eagle continued down to the end of the nineteenth century.

Homer's references to the eagle *μόρφων* or *περκνός* are rather fuller in details. It is mentioned in *Il.* xxiv. 315:—

Αὐτίκα δ' αἰετὸν ἡκε, τελειότατον πετεηνῶν,
Μόρφωνος, θηρητῆρ', δν καὶ Περκνὸν καλέονσιν.
"Οσση δ' ὑψορόφοιο θύρη θαλάμοιο τέτυκται
'Ανέρος ἀφνειοῦ, ἐν κληϊσ' ἀραρυῖα,
Τόσσ' ἄρα τοῦ ἐκάτερθεν ἔσαν πτερά.

Evidently this eagle was more than usually large, for Homer has in no other instance made special mention of the size of an eagle.

The reference to a 'black, hunting eagle' in *Il.* xxi. 252, seems to knit this bird up with that just mentioned. The passage runs:—

Πηλείδης δ' ἀπόρουσεν, ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ δουρὸς ἐρωή,
Αἰετοῦ οἵματ' ἔχων μέλανος, τοῦ θηρητῆρος,
Ος θ' ἄμα κάρτιστός τε καὶ ὕκιστος πετεηνῶν.

What truth to nature there is in these Homeric vignettes! I remember coming upon an eagle feeding upon a carcase on a sand-bank in the river Jumna. A narrow strip of water divided me from the bird. It was too intent upon its task to notice my approach, but immediately it espied me it flew swiftly back a dozen yards, came sharply to earth again, and turned half-face-on to me, looking over its shoulder with a fine insolence. So Homer must have seen his bird.

There is some doubt as to the meaning of *μόρφνος*, by some referred to *όρφνός*, dark-coloured, dusky: but *περκνός* seems to be allied to *περκάζω*, used to denote the darkening of grapes and olives when they are ripening, and of young men's cheeks upon the first appearance of hair upon them. Since there is good reason to suppose that the *Morphnus-Percenus*, the 'hunter' of the first passage, is the same bird as the 'Black' eagle, the 'hunter' of the second one, the term *μέλας* in the latter supports to that extent the interpretation of *μόρφνος* and *περκνός* as meaning dark or dusky. Homer has used *μέλας* in connection with wine, blood, and the waves of the sea, and the general sense of it is evidently 'dark.' So the Golden Eagle in Scotland is called the 'Black' Eagle.

Hesiod (*Sc. Herc.* 134) writes of arrows being winged with feathers of the *μόρφνος φλεγύνας*, which I read, not as a colour epithet, but as the 'flashing' *μόρφνος*, in allusion to the swift flight of arrows.

The epithet 'hunter,' though it occurs at times in connection with the taking of fowl and fish, carries with it primarily, as in English, the notion of the hunting of mammals.

Thus there emerges a very large and very dark eagle that chases mammals. The Golden Eagle, a common eagle in Greece and the largest of them, with blackish brown plumage, preying upon gallinaceous birds, and on mammals such as hares, lambs, kids, fawns, etc., fulfils all the conditions in a way in which no other eagle of Greece can be said to do.

Aristotle (*H.A.* ix. 32, 618 b) mentions an eagle called by him *πύγαργος*, i.e., White-Rump, and states that some people called it *νεβροφόνος*, Fawn-Killer. There is no eagle with a white rump that kills fawns, but immature Golden Eagles, which attack fawns, have the basal two-thirds of the tail white.

In the same passage Aristotle continues: 'There is another kind of eagle called *πλάγγος*, of the second rank in point of size and strength, which lives among wooded glens, hollows, and marshes. It is called *νητοφόνος*, and *μόρφνος*. Of this kind Homer speaks at the departure of Priam.'

It is sufficiently evident that Homer does not speak of *μόρφνος* as an eagle of second rank as to size and strength, but explicitly as one of the greatest size and strength; and that Homer's 'hunter' means a good deal more than Aristotle's 'duck-killer.' As usual, Homer, the observer, seized upon the salient features of his eagle: it was the great one, the dark one, the hunter. With due respect for Aristotle, it is not hard to distinguish the account of the man who has seen from that of one who has only heard. Pliny's *plungus* belongs to the realm of unnatural history.

A hare-catching eagle is referred to in *Il.* xvii. 674—

ώστ' αἰετός, ὃν ρά τέ φασιν
 'Οξύτατον δέρκεσθαι ὑπουρανίων πετεηνῶν,
 "Ον τε καὶ ὑψόθ' ἔοντα πόδας ταχν̄ οὐκ ἔλαθε πτώξ,
 Θάμνῳ ὑπ' ἀμφικόμῳ κατακείμενος· ἀλλά τ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 "Εσσυτο, καὶ τέ μιν ὥκα λαβὼν ἐξείλετο θυμόν.

Several kinds of eagle catch hares. The passage therefore suggests no particular kind.

Γῦπτες, carion-eating vultures, are mentioned by Homer in *Il.* xxii. 42—

τάχα κέν ἐ κύνες καὶ γῦπτες ἔδονται
Κείμενον.

Il. iv. 237—

'Αλλ' οἴπερ πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὄρκια δηλήσαντο,
Τῶν ὥτοι αὐτῶν τέρενα χρόα γῦπτες ἔδονται.

Il. xi. 162—

οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ γαιῆ
Κείατο, γύπεσσιν πολὺ φίλτεροι ἢ αλόχοισιν,

and *Od.* xi. 578.

Γῦπτε δέ μιν ἐκάτερθε παρημένω ἡπαρ ἔκειρον,
Δέρτρον ἔσω δύνοντες.

There is little difficulty in identifying the carion-eating vultures, Aristotle states (*H.A.* viii. 3, 592)—‘There are two kinds of γῦπτες, one small and whitish (ἐκλευκότερος), the other large and cinereous (σποδοειδέστερος).’ The first of these is the Egyptian Vulture (*Vultur percnopterus*), whose diet consists for the most part of human excrement; and the second is the Cinereous Vulture (*V. monachus*). The latter is a dark-coloured bird throughout; but the Griffon Vulture (*Gyps fulvus*), which is similar in size, but buffy-brown in colour, and has a white head, neck and ruff, would without doubt be known by Homer, though Aristotle seems to have overlooked it.

Evidently it is to the same class of birds that Homer refers under the very general designation οἰωνοὶ ὡμησταί, Devourers of Raw Flesh, in *Il.* xi. 452:

'Α δεῖλ', οὐ μὲν σοί γε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
Οσσε καθαιρήσουσι, θανόντι περ, ἀλλ' οἰωνοὶ¹
'Ωμησταί σ' ἐρύσουσι, περὶ πτερὰ πυκνὰ βαλόντες.

There is no mistaking the manner of vultures, though this is the only description in any detail left us by Homer of these birds at their ghastly work. It is a one line description, and a perfect one. Often in the East I have stood to watch such a group of vultures at their ghoulish task, closely packed, their spread wings overlapping to form an encircling fence, all necks down and heads hidden within, like men in a football scrimmage; and just as these move in a mass, following the shifting of the ball hidden among their feet, so those sway all together, now in one direction, now in another, as the carcase is dragged about the ground. πτερὰ πυκνὰ in this passage I understand to refer to the ‘close-packed’ wings of the vultures, overlapping so as to screen the carcase they are devouring.

The only reference in Homer to *χαλκίς-κύμινδις* is in *Il.* xiv. 283—

"Ιδην δ' ικέσθην πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν,
Λεκτόν, ὅθι πρῶτον λιπέτην ἄλα· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ χέρσου
Βήτην· ἀκροτάτη δὲ ποδῶν ὑπὸ σείετο ὑλη.
"Ενθ' "Τπνος μὲν ἔμεινε, πάρος Διὸς ὅσσε ιδέσθαι,
Εἰς ἐλάτην ἀναβὰς περιμήκετον, ἢ τότ' ἐν "Ιδη
Μακροτάτη πεφυνῦα δι' ἡέρος αἰθέρ' ἵκανεν
"Ενθ' ἥστ' ὅξοισιν πεπυκασμένος εἰλατίνοισιν,
Ορνιθὶ λιγυρῆ ἐναλίγκιος, ἦν τ' ἐν ὅρεσσι
Χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Κύμινδιν.

Aristotle writes concerning this bird (*H.A.* ix. 12, 615 b)—‘The *κύμινδις* is seldom seen, for it inhabits mountains. It is black, and about the size of the hawk called Pigeon-killer. Its form is long and slim. The Ionians call it *κύμινδις*; wherefore Homer writes in the Iliad ‘the bird which the gods call *χαλκίς*, and mortals *κύμινδις*.’

Homer states that this bird is clear-voiced, and he places it in concealment in the daytime among the branches of a pine tree growing on a mountain. His use of this bird to represent a god implies that it is almost certainly a bird of prey; and his selection of it to receive the drowsy spirit of the god Sleep, gives assurance that the character of the bird will be in keeping with that fact.

Beyond what Aristotle may have gathered from Homer, he states (*H.A.* ix. 12, 615 b) that this bird is black, that it is long and slight in build, and of the size of the ‘pigeon-killing’ hawk.

There is no bird of which Aristotle’s account, taken as a whole, can be an accurate description. But a study of a mythical bird called *νυκτικόραξ*, Night-Raven, and usually associated by Aristotle with owls, will throw light upon his description of *κύμινδις*.

Thus (*H.A.* viii. 3, 592 b), he writes—‘Some of the night-birds have curved claws, as the *νυκτικόραξ* (night-raven), *γλαύξ* (the Little Owl), and *βρύας* (probably the Eagle-Owl).’

Further (*H.A.* ix. 34, 689 b)—‘*Γλαύξ* and *νυκτικόραξ*, and other birds which see ill in the daytime, hunt for food at night.’

Again (*H.A.* viii. 12, 597 b)—The *ώτος* (Long-eared Owl) is like an owl (*γλαύξ*), but (*καὶ*) has small tufts of feathers at its ears. *καὶ*, in this passage, can but have the force of ‘and in addition;’ for *γλαῦκες*, if the word be regarded as meaning owls in general, very rarely have ear-tufts; and it in the stricter sense of the word, as the Little Owl (*Curine noctua*), this species is without them.

It will be observed that, just as Homer distinguished the *χαλκίς-κύμινδις* from the *σκώψ*, so Aristotle distinguishes the *ώτος* from the *γλαῦκες* when he states that it is like them, but has tufts of feathers at its ears. In concluding his remark concerning the *ώτος*, Aristotle writes—‘*Some people call it the νυκτικόραξ*.’

Here, I think, we have the key to the mystery of the Night-Raven, and

of the ascription by Aristotle of black plumage to the *κύμινδις*. For I have little doubt that the *ωτὸς* received its name from the conspicuous tufts of feathers at the sides of the crown of the Long-eared Owl (*Asio otus*). This *ωτὸς*, which according to Aristotle ‘some people called the *νυκτικόραξ*’, was in my opinion the original of the mythical Night-Raven, and the name Night-Raven reacted upon the mind of Aristotle or upon that of his informant, so as to cause to be ascribed to *κύμινδις*, the Long-eared Owl, the blackness of plumage belonging to a real raven.

Any one who during the daytime has seen the long, spare figure of the Long-eared Owl drawn up close to the stem of a fir, will recognise that the remainder of Aristotle’s description is appropriate to that bird. A bird of mountain forests, frequenting by preference fir trees, close to the stem of one of which the slim form of the sleeping bird is pressed throughout the daytime, no fitter representative could have been chosen for Sleep when he went up into a lofty pine on Mount Ida and remained close-screened from the eye of Zeus like the clear-voiced bird which in the mountains the gods call *χαλκίς*, and men *κύμινδις*.

Λιγυρός is more than ‘clear-voiced.’ It connotes just that acuteness of tone and continuity of sound which, with clearness, make up the cat-like ‘mewing’ of the Long-eared Owl.

Homer states that ‘in the mountains’ the gods call this bird *χαλκίς*, but men *κύμινδις*. The Long-eared Owl nests and lives in mountain forests in summer, but descends to the plains in winter.

Liddell and Scott have suggested ‘night-hawk, night-jar,’ for *κύμινδις*; but, though the night-jar, sometimes called night-hawk because of its rather hawk-like form and flight, may by its nocturnal habits have contributed toward the creation of the mythic Night-Raven, it cannot have been the Homeric *κύμινδις*. For the night-jar sleeps during the daytime on the ground.

Homer uses only once the word *κῆξ*. It is when the woman of Sidon, travelling by ship, is struck by Artemis, and (*Od. xv. 479*)

"Αντλω δ' ἐνδούπησε πεσοῦσ" ώς εἰναλίη κῆξ.

Aristotle has nothing to say of this bird, but Homer gives a strong lead when he calls it *εἰναλίη*. From this we know that it goes into the sea in the full sense of the words. How it goes may be gathered from the dive of the Sidonian woman from the deck into the ship’s hold,—probably into bilge water. All birds that dive merely from the surface of the sea may be ruled out, for we have had sufficient indication of Homer’s methods to know that the *κῆξ* will dive from the air. The kingfisher, when fishing in the sea, dives only from coast rocks. The oblique entry of the shearwater does not recommend it. The osprey and white-tailed eagle are not ‘in-sea’ birds, for they merely souse upon its surface. There remains but one kind of bird that dives vertically from the air and is to be found in the same situation as the Phoenician vessel, namely, on the open sea in Greek waters. That bird is the tern. The note of the Common Tern is *kik! kik!* *Kῆξ*, as

appears probable from the analogy of *κόκκυξ* and *ἔποψις*, is onomatopoeic. The aptness of the simile is what we have learned to expect from Homer, the common situation on the open sea, the headlong dive of woman and bird, the sudden thud (*ἐνδούπησε*) of the one and the hollow ‘suck’ of the clean-cut waters as they receive the other.

The Scholiast comes out best when he states his own case—*ὅρνεον θαλάσσιον παραπλήσιον χελιδόνι*—a sea-bird like a swallow. As soon as he begins to repeat what ‘other people’ say, he goes wrong. The *κῆξ* is, in fact, the tern, often called at this day ‘Sea-Swallow,’ because of the extended tail-feathers.

When Ulysses was about to set out with Diomed from the Greek camp by the sea in order to spy upon the Trojan forces by night, he said—Let us be going; for night draws to a close, and dawn is near. The stars have moved forward; fully two-thirds of night have passed: a third part still remains. Then, to these two, stealing from the sea-board across the still land in the last watch of the night (*Il. x. 274*)

δεξιὸν ἡκεν ἐρωδίὸν ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη· τοὶ δ' οὐκ ἵδον ὀφθαλμοῖσι
Νύκτα δὶ' ὄρφναιν, ἀλλὰ κλάγξαντος ἄκουσαν.

The way lay by the river coming down from Ilion to the sea, and Pallas Athene had choice of several herons on its banks. The Night-Heron, a very common bird in the Troad, and one which in its nocturnal flights has the habit of uttering from time to time a mournful *qua-a!* is the bird that first suggests itself. But that same lugubrious note scarcely answers to Homer’s *κλάγξας*. Readers of Homer will remember how he plays on the different forms of this word, using the thin vowels for piercing sounds, and the broad ones for broader sounds. Thrice he employs the form *κλάγξας* in connection with sharp, metallic cries of birds, once for the scream of an eagle, again for the trumpeting of cranes, and a third time for the cry of the heron in the passage under consideration. One is tempted to believe that this bird was the Grey Heron of our own shores; for there is no other heron with a note like its ringing *frank!* least of all the Night-Heron. In setting out, Ulysses had said that dawn was near. Any one who in that last watch before the dawn should be where some heron-haunted stream drains through marsh-land and mud-bank to the sea, might hear, while it was still only not night, the alarm-note of the Grey Heron coming from its inland haunts and catching sight of an intruder. For the Grey Heron is almost crepuscular in its habit of early and late fishing. And as day broke, such an observer might see the grey ghost of a bird become gradually visible where it stood midleg in water as grey as itself. Ulysses and Diomed did not see the heron ‘through the dark night,’ but they heard its clangling cry. The heron however, saw them, and the metallic alarm-note attested the fact. It was well for them the heron was not a Trojan of equal vigilance, or they might not have returned to the Greek camp at break of day with the white steeds of Rhesus the Thracian.

In *Od.* xxii. 468, is Homer's only reference to Thrushes. The simile is used in connection with the hanging of the unfaithful women servants of Ulysses.

Ως ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ πεῖσμα νεὸς κνανοπρώροιο
 Κίνονος ἐξάψας μεγάλης περίβαλλε θόλοιο,
 'Τψός' ἐπεντανύσας, μή τις ποσὶν οὐδας ἵκοιτο.
 'Ως δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ κίχλαι τανυσίπτεροι ἡὲ πέλειαι
 "Ἐρκει ἐνιπλήξωσι, τόθ' ἐστήκη ἐνὶ θάμνῳ,
 Αὐλιν ἐστέμεναι, στυγερὸς δ' ὑπεδέξατο κοῖτος,
 'Ως αὖ γ' ἐξεύης κεφαλὰς ἔχον, ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσαις
 Δειρῆσι βρόχοι ἥσαν, ὅπως οἴκτιστα θάνοιεν.
 "Ησπαῖρον δὲ πόδεσσι μίννυθά περ, οὐ τι μάλα δήν.

Twitching feet—what a touch is there! One can see them both—birds and women.

The name *κίχλη*, and especially the Modern Greek *τζήχλα*, recalls the alarm-note of the Thrush—*tsick!* and that of the Fieldfare—*tsack!* It is a generic term; for, Aristotle writes (*H. A.* ix. 20, 617)—‘Of *κίχλαι* there are three forms. One is called *ἰξιθόρος*, mistletoe-berry eater, for it eats nothing but mistletoe-berries and resin: it is as large as the Jay. Another is called *τριχάς*: its voice is shrill, and the bird is of the size of the Blackbird. There is another kind which some call *ἰλιάς*; this is the smallest of the three and less variegated.’

Only the first of these, the Missel-Thrush, breeds in Greece; and Aristotle's fuller account of it is probably due to this fact.

It is also of the missel-thrush that Aristotle writes (*H.A.* ix. 49, 632) ‘The *κίχλη* also changes its colour; for, in winter it has the parts about the neck plain (*ψαρά*), but in summer these parts are variegated (*ποικίλα*); but its voice does not alter.’ Aristotle here refers to the variegation of the plumage of young missel-thrushes before the autumn moult, after which both old and young have the parts named plain.

The *τριχάς* is without doubt the fieldfare, and the *ἰλιάς* the redwing, both of which appear in Greece during winter.

Since only the missel-thrush breeds in Greece, Aristotle's account of the nesting habits of *κίχλαι* makes strange reading. He writes (*H.A.* vi. 1, 559). ‘The *κίχλαι* make nests of mud like Swallows in the tops of trees, placing them in order close to each other, so that from their proximity they look like a chain of nests.’

The fieldfare, which breeds in Northern Europe, forms colonies, but there is seldom more than one nest in a tree. Aristotle's better acquaintance with missel-thrushes than with their habits was probably due to the common practice of snaring thrushes for the table. It was for this purpose that the snare named by Homer was set in the thicket.

Homer mentions twice the *χελιδών*, the name of which, as *chelidon*, is now applied to the martins, and its cognate *hirundo* to the swallow. There can be little doubt as to which of these birds is referred to when Homer

describes Ulysses' handling of the fatal bow in presence of the suitors (*Od.* xxi. 410).

Δεξιερὴ δ' ἄρα χειρὶ λαβὼν πειρίσατο νευρῆς·
'Η δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄεισε, χελιδόνι εἰκέλη αὐδήν.

It was the single, clear, air-dividing ‘*wheet!*’ of the swallow to which Homer likened the sharp sound of the bowstring when released.

Another reference to the swallow is made when Homer states (*Od.* xxii. 240) concerning Athene, that

Αὐτὴν δὲ αἰθαλόεντος ἀνὰ μεγάροιο μέλαθρον
Ἐξετ’ ἀναιξασα, χελιδόνι εἰκέλη ἄντην.

Among much that must remain shadowy and conjectural for one who tries to seize the exact images as they were present to the poet's mind, how clearly natural pictures such as this of the roof-perching swallow stand out unobscured by time. Thousands of generations of swallows have followed the old Greek singer into the dark, but his bird sits for ever on the roof-beam of Ulysses, as clearly as any swallow which in these remote islands and at this long stretch of time, ‘having darted up, settles upon the roof ridge.’

There is another occasion upon which Athene disappeared from the house of Ulysses, when (*Od.* i. 320)

"Ορνις δὲ ὡς ἀνοπαῖα διέπτατο.

It has been proposed to read *ἀνοπαῖα* as ‘heron’ from the analogy of Hebrew נְסִינָה anaphah, heron, and D'Arcy Thompson in his ‘Glossary of Greek Birds’ suggests Night-Heron. But it is little in keeping with Homer and his methods to cause him to introduce a heron into the *house* of Ulysses, much less a Night-Heron in the daytime. The nice discrimination practised by Homer in the selection of birds to represent the deities has already been alluded to, and his choice of the swallow to represent Athene in the house of Ulysses because of the close attachment of this goddess to the domestic fortunes of Ulysses' household, was adduced as an instance of this. It was after having been present in Ulysses' house in the guise of Mentor upbraiding him with slackness in dealing with the suitors who had violated his home, that Athene, ‘having darted up, sat, in form like a swallow, on the smoky roof-beam.’ In the passage under consideration (*Od.* i. 320) Athene comes as Mentes, the leader of the Taphioi, to the house of Ulysses in order to urge Telemachus to go in search of his long-absent father, so that an end may be put to the misdeeds of the suitors in his home. The situation is so similar to that of *Od.* xxii. 239, that one would have looked for some special reason if in the present instance Homer had employed any other bird but the swallow. It may be urged that when Athene, having accompanied Telemachus to consult Nestor at Pylos, vanished from their company, she did so in the form of a φήνη. That is true: but there she vanished from a sacrificial feast at which eighty-one bullocks had been slaughtered on the sea shore. In such a scene a φήνη (Bearded Vulture) had good natural cause to be present, but a

swallow would have had no special call to be there. Homer does not go back on his knowledge of birds even to accommodate a deity: he knew them too well to do otherwise than use them as they were, and where they were.

It was long ago suggested that the word in dispute should be read *ἀν'* *ὁπαια*, making the passage read ‘Like a bird she flew up through the smoke-hole in the roof,’ which, upon comparison with *Od.* xxii. 239, where the action is similar and the swallow is mentioned by name, leaves little doubt that the ‘bird’ here mentioned is also a swallow. Thus, the swallow is mentioned thrice by Homer, and always in the house of Ulysses; no other bird is made to appear there, and the swallow occurs nowhere else.

'Αηδών means singer: the supreme singer is the nightingale; and, besides Aristotle’s unmistakable description of some of the habits of this bird, Greek literature generally bears abundant testimony to the supremacy of *ἀηδών* in song. Homer’s one reference to the nightingale is in *Od.* xix. 518. It is Penelope who speaks:

‘Ως δ’ ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρη χλωρής ἀηδῶν
Καλὸν ἀείδησιν ἔαρος νέον ισταμένοιο,
Δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεξομένη πυκινοισῖν,
“Ητε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυνηχέα φωνήν,
Παιδ’ ὄλοφυρομένη Ἰτυλον φίλον, ὃν ποτε χαλκῷ
Κτείνε δὶ’ ἀφραδίας, κούρον Ζήθοιο ἄνακτος,
‘Ως καὶ ἐμοὶ δίχα θυμὸς ὄρώρεται ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
‘Ηὲ μένω παρὰ παιδὶ καὶ ἔμπεδα πάντα φυλάσσω,
Κτῆσιν ἐμήν, δμωάς τε καὶ ὑψερεφὲς μέγα δῶμα,
Εὔνην τ’ αἰδομένη πόσιος δῆμοιό τε φῆμιν,
‘Η ἥδη ἀμ’ ἔπωμαι Ἀχαιῶν ὅστις ἄριστος
Μνᾶται ἐνὶ μεγάροισι, πορών ἀπερείστα ἔδνα.

The ‘frequent changes’ of the ‘many-toned voice’ of the Nightingale as it sings from the ‘thick foliage’ in the ‘newly come spring,’ are not so many pleasantly strung phrases to which others equally relevant or irrelevant might be added; they are the essential characteristics of the nightingale. It sings only in the early spring; it loves to sing from close cover; the abrupt transitions that mark its song are as characteristic as the varying tone. The essentials are there—all but one. The nightingale sings also at night. Homer has not forgotten this.

The lines quoted are some of those addressed by Penelope to her husband Ulysses, who, after twenty years of wandering by land and sea, has returned to his home in the guise of a beggar, unrecognised save by his aged nurse and an old hound. Penelope, unaware that the man she is addressing is her long-absent husband, prefaces her reference to the Nightingale by the following lines (*Od.* xix. 509):—

Ξεῖνε, τὸ μέν σ’ ἔτι τυτθὸν ἐγὼν εἰρήσομαι αὐτῇ·
Καὶ γὰρ δὴ κοίτοιο τάχ’ ἔσσεται ἥδεος ὥρη,
“Οντινά γ’ ὑπνος ἔλοι γλυκερς, καὶ κηδόμενόν περ.

Αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ πένθος ἀμέτρητον πόρε δαιμων·
 "Ηματα μὲν γὰρ τέρπομ' ὁδυρομένη γούωσα,
 Εἰς τ' ἐμὰ ἔργ' ὄρώσα καὶ ἀμφιπόλων ἐνὶ οἴκῳ·
 Αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν νῦξ ἔλθη, ἔλησί τε κοῖτος ἀπαντας,
 Κεῖμαι ἐνὶ λέκτρῳ, πυκναὶ δέ μοι ἀμφ' ἀδυνὸν κῆρ
 'Οξεῖαι μελεδῶναι ὁδυρομένην ἐρέθουσιν.

Then follows :—

'Ως δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρη, χλωρη̄ς Ἀηδών, . . .

Thus, in this night, prepared by a stroke of anticipative art as unobtrusive as the act of nature itself, Homer pours out the passionate song of his bird of longing and regret. The unwritten poetry of Homer lies everywhere beneath the written word, and nowhere more richly than in this passage.

It is rarely that Homer refers to colour in birds, and his description of the nightingale as *χλωρής* is more remarkable because the nightingale that nests and sings in Homeric regions is *Daulias luscinia*, the brown-backed, white-breasted bird that each spring returns to parts of our own country. The russet-brown of the upper parts of the nightingale becomes redder towards the tail and greyer on head and neck; the under parts are dull white with ashy shadings. The nightingale is common in Homeric regions in summer, but neither there nor elsewhere could the term *χλωρής* in its primary signification of 'green' be applied to this bird. Some would avoid the difficulty by referring the word to the green surroundings of the nightingale when singing from cover, and others to the apparent greenness of the bird's plumage when light filters through the foliage upon it. The first quite lacks the directness of Homeric epithets, and the second, which also suffers from this defect, suggests that Homer was misled by appearances in his observations of the nightingale, or that, knowing it to be brown, he chose to call it green, as to some extent it might appear among green leaves. But Homer's description of the nightingale proves him to have known this bird well, and it would have been unlike him to call green what he knew to be brown.

Besides the primary notion of 'greenness,' *χλωρός* connotes also 'palleness' and 'freshness.' These, though secondary notions, are, as literary forms, quite as primitive as 'greenness.' In the sense of 'palleness' Homer uses the word to denote the pallor of fear, and Hesiod applies it to a 'grey' mist. In the sense of 'fresh,' both Homer and Hesiod apply the word to wood that is fresh as distinguished from dry, Aristophanes to 'fresh' cheese, Theocritus to 'vigorous' limbs, Pindar to 'fresh' dews: and so on to 'dewy' tears and 'sparkling' wine.

That Homer did not use the word *χλωρής* in connection with the nightingale in the sense of 'freshness,' a glance at the context will reveal. He might have used it as denoting colour with complete neutrality as to this context: but as indicating freshness suggestive of gladness in the song of the nightingale in such a conjunction, never. There, the daughter of

Pandareiūs, metamorphosed into a nightingale, is bewailing the slaughter of her son by her own hand as ‘with frequent changes she pours out her many-toned voice.’ ‘So,’ says Penelope, referring to the legend and to the agitated song, ‘my own heart sways hither and thither, debating whether to remain with my boy and keep close guard on all my goods, my servants and high-roofed house, or to follow him who may seem best of the Achaeans who seek my hand here in the house, and offers great gifts.’ It is the ‘divided heart’ that links Penelope and the daughter of Pandareiūs in the tumultuous singing of the nightingale. For the ‘quick changes of the many-toned voice’ spring from passion, and he who listens to them may read into them exultation or despair according to his mood. But Homer’s own mood in this passage is clear; it is not for the fresh burst of song of a spring nightingale, but for the passionate outpourings of a distracted human heart. The double sway of contrary emotions divides the heart of Penelope as it had divided the heart of the mother of Itylus, and as it appears to divide the quickly shifting strains of the nightingale. Therefore the nightingale is here invested with the wanness of ineffectual grief by the use of the word *χλωρηίς* in its sense of ‘paleness,’ while at the same time it serves not unfittingly to recall the subdued colouring of a bird whose appearance offers so striking a contrast to the richness of its song.

With Homer, as with most Greek writers later, the gender of *ἀηδών* is feminine, and it remains so even when the singing bird is referred to. But it is another matter when Aristotle states (*H.A.* iv. 9, 536) that both the male and the female nightingales sing. He has some excuse in the fact that the plumage is indistinguishable, so that even if he had seen the bird as it sang, he could not without other knowledge have decided whether it was male or female.

The *στρουθός* of Homer is mentioned only in *Il.* ii. 311:—

“Ενθα δ' ἔσαν στρουθοῖο νεοσσοί, νήπια τέκνα,
“Οζω̄ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ, πετάλοις ὑποπεπτηῶτες,
“Οκτώ· ἀτὰρ μῆτηρ ἐνάτῃ ἦν, ἡ τέκε τέκνα.
“Ἐνθ' ὅγε τοὺς ἐλεεινὰ κατήσθιε τετριγῶτας.
“Μήτηρ δ' ἀμφεποτάτο, ὁδυρομένη φίλα τέκνα.
“Τίν δ' ἐλειξάμενος πτέρυνγος λάβεν ἀμφιαχυῖν.

Aristotle’s description of *στρουθός* leaves no doubt that it was the Sparrow (*Passer domesticus*) of his day and of our own, omitting one particular which, in too great faith, he copied from Homer, as to the number of eggs laid by the *στρουθός*, clearly, in Homer, a bird different from his own. For *στρουθός* in Homer’s time, like Lat. *passer* and our own ‘sparrow,’ was probably used for many species of small birds not easily distinguishable, until ultimately the sparrow, by sheer force of numbers and closer association with man, was left in exclusive possession of the title as observers, beginning to differentiate species more nicely, sought different names to distinguish them.

The *στρουθός* of Homer was made to be sacrificed, and I am afraid the

Homeric ‘sparrow’ will have to meet a similar fate. The serpent that swallowed the eight young birds and their mother was in the end himself turned to stone by Zeus ; and the whole episode, as expounded by the augur, was held to signify that Ilion, besieged for nine years, should fall in the tenth. Now, the sparrow is a willing bird in the matter of progeny, but it has its limit, and that limit is six to a brood. Therefore, Homer had either to shorten the Trojan war by two years or to increase the brood of a sparrow by two. Seeing which deadlock, I am of opinion that the Homeric *στρουθός* was not a sparrow. Young sparrows do not shrink beneath the leaves at the tops of trees. Usually they bawl from the gutter-ledge in a way to make their parents thankful there can never be more than six of them at once. But there is a kind of bird, the young of which perch high in trees, and on June days you may hear the small twitter of them that seems never to cease, but is little louder than the chinking of mice, and if you look up and have a clear view, you may see so many small balls of fluff, seven or eight, or even ten of them, ‘tender little ones,’ indeed ! For the titmice are wonderfully elastic in the matter of offspring, and while a brood of seven to ten is usual, one of twelve or more is not unknown. Of these, the Great Titmouse, a six-inch bird, with white cheeks and black cravat extending down his stomach, is, in a rough way, a sort of glorified sparrow, and is resident in great numbers in Homeric regions.

Having in the course of this investigation won a confidence in Homer the field-naturalist which has been in the nature of a rebuke to the superfluous fears on his account with which I set out, I shall elect to believe until better instructed that the *στρουθός* of Homer was not a sparrow, and that, with his first-hand knowledge of birds, he was not capable of the shuffling work of later and lesser men. Aristotle has stated that Homer, both in word and thought, surpassed all poets. To this might be added that, in truthfulness, a faculty of slower growth, no poet has yet surpassed him.

Two fine passages in the Iliad connected with the subject in hand describe the marshalling of the Greeks and the advance of the Trojans. The first occurs in *Il. ii. 459* :

ὅστ' ὄρνιθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλά,
Χηνῶν, ἡ γεράνων, ἡ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων,
Ἄσιώ ἐν λειμῶνι, Καῦστρίου ἀμφὶ ρέεθρα,
Ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσι,
Κλαγγῆδὸν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμῶν

The second passage is in *Il. iii. 1* :

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἄμ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἔκαστοι,
Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγὴ τ' ἐνοπῆ τ' ἵσαν ὄρνιθες ὡς,
Ἡύτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό,
Αἴτ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὅμβρον,
Κλαγγὴ ταίγε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὄκεανοῦ ρόάνω,
Ἀνδρύσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι
Ἡέριαι δ' ἄρα ταίγε κακὴν ἔριδα προφέρουσαι.

The geese mentioned in the first of these passages would without doubt include the Grey Lag-Goose and the Bean Goose, but the word certainly served to cover also other species of goose. The swans were the Mute Swan, which breeds sparingly on the lakes of Greece, and the Whooper, which visits that country on migration. The Crane was the Common Crane.

Whenever I read the second of these passages, I recall one October morning in 1905 when, on the Peninsular and Oriental steamer 'Marmora,' we were approaching Port Said. Out east the sun was rising, causing the sea, which lay like glass, to shine like brass, broken only by flying-fish that spurted from beneath the bows, trickling golden fire. I had spent most of my time during the passage up the Mediterranean in collecting evidence of migration then in full swing. The result had been meagre and limited to observation of smaller birds; but, as we drew near Port Said, the low-lying land being still invisible, I soon observed that we were in the focus of converging streams of birds which grew more numerous and compact the nearer we approached the land—clouds of the *Limicolae* shading white and brown as they flew; wavy lines of duck, hundreds deep in single file, hugging the surface of the sea; V's of geese and greater birds with traile legs, forming and re-forming as they went; and now and again the sudden chirping of a flock of small birds passing close, to cut aside at once for the shore. And away to sunward, all showing black against the gold, more clouds and wisps and lines and V's pouring headlong into what seemed a very sink and vortex of birds.

'Some migrate,' writes Aristotle (*H.A.* viii. 12, 597) 'from places close at hand, and others from the very ends of the earth. The cranes do this, for they travel from Scythia to the marshes in the higher parts of Egypt, from which the Nile originates.'

In March of the following year we were passing northwards through the Suez Canal, and on the left bank lay the barren land with salt-rimmed lakes and pools. There, drawn up rank beyond rank, thousands of Flamingoes stood like white-coated troops in line, and, scattered among them, like bushes among trees, innumerable hordes of lesser fowl flitted and flashed in the morning sun, or moped in patches like vari-coloured islets in the expanse. Where one flock alighted, there was ever and anon a flutter of wings as some member of it flitted forward to forestall the rest; or, when one flock passed bodily ahead, it provoked to flight another, which in turn passed further still, the common action stimulating both to common outcry. Σμαραγέι δέ τε λειμών, says Homer—and 'the mead crashes' with the cries of birds.

I did not hear that in Egypt. It was in India, one evening in February, 1906, outside Peshawar, by the Jamrud Road. In grass-land, bordered by detached trees, not unlike an English meadow, a host of rooks, with some jackdaws, which I computed by area at something like ten thousand birds, covered the ground. Ten thousand crows are not an extraordinary gathering in India, especially at Peshawar. But, as if at a word of command, the great host of rooks peeled itself from the ground with a dull roar and a general shout. To say the meadow 'crashed' were modesty; but crash is the only

word. It was a sound in which there were many parts, each flung down, as it were, to ring like metal and smash like glass, a sound that leaped along the nerves and seemed to touch a spring that set free impulses belonging to a time when man himself was more intimately a part of that Nature he now stands aside to contemplate. *Σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμών!*

J. MACLAIR BORASTON.

NAUARCH AND NESIARCH.¹

THE conclusion here reached, regarding the government of the Aegean under Ptolemy II., is as follows. The sea and all the Egyptian fleets were under the sole control of one nauarchos or admiral ; he had, in addition, the powers that would have been exercised by the strategos or general of the Islands, had one existed ; the two offices together made him almost a viceroy of the Sea, and he exercised a general control over the Islands. As the islands gradually passed from Egypt, it is possible that the office of nauarch remained attached to the strategia of those that remained : when this strategia finally vanished and Egypt retired from the Aegean, the office of nauarch became attached to another strategia, that of Cyprus. The nesiarch, on the other hand, had no military authority and very little power ; he was the Ptolemaic Resident.

I will take the nesiarch first.

We know of three ; (1) Bacchon son of Nicetas, a Boeotian, about 280, a contemporary of Philocles, king of the Sidonians ; (2) Hermias, possibly of Halicarnassus,² who founded the festival at Delos in honour of Arsinoe Philadelphos, afterwards known as the Philadelphieia, the first vase of which appears under the archon Meilichides II. (267),³ and who therefore was probably Bacchon's successor ; and (3) Apollodorus son of Apollonius of Cyzicus, who was a private person in 279,⁴ and was nesiarch some time later,⁵ and who probably succeeded Hermias, though it is also conceivable that he may have preceded him.

As Bacchon and Apollodorus are foreigners to the League of the Islanders, Delamarre very justly deduced that the nesiarch was appointed by Ptolemy and not by the League,⁶ a conclusion now perhaps strengthened by the nationality of Hermias. Otherwise, all that we know about the functions of the nesiarch relates to Bacchon, and (apart from the fact that the Islanders

¹ The locus classicus is J. Delamarre's commentary on the Nikouria decree, *Rev. Phil.* 20 (1896), 103. See also, on the nauarchs, P. W. Meyer, *Das Herrwesen der Ptolemaer und Romer in Ägypten* (1900), p. 20 ; on the nesiarchs, Werner Konig, *Der Bund der Nesiarchen* (1910), pp. 66 seq.

² *B.C.H.* 34 (1910), p. 363, No. 10, decree of Delos in honour of 'Ερμίαν Δ . . . ον Αλικαρνασσέα (cire. 260), who may perhaps be

the nesiarch. His title nesiarch from Demares B. l. 71 (Dittenb. *Syll.*² 588).

³ E. Schulhof, *B.C.H.* 32 (1908), pp. 106, 114.

⁴ Hypsocles, A. l. 31 (*B.C.H.* 14 (1890), p. 389, seq., Michel 833) : see Homolle, *Archives*, p. 45.

⁵ Decree of Cyzicus, Michel, 534.

⁶ *Rev. Phil.* 20, p. 112.

erected two statues to him on Delos⁷ and that he made offerings there, the earliest appearing in 279⁸) depends on the interpretation of four inscriptions: the decree of the Islanders found at Nikouria;⁹ a decree of Carthaea in Ceos;¹⁰ a decree of Naxos;¹¹ and a decree of Ios.¹²

In the Nikouria decree, the circumstances of which were entirely special, Philocles and Bacchon together write to the synhedroi of the League of the Islanders to come to Samos in order to hear the proposals of Ptolemy II. as to the festival which he was about to institute at Alexandria in honour of Ptolemy I. (The decree can be dated almost with certainty to 280; for Egypt did not possess Samos prior to Lysimachus' death in 281, and the festival referred to was probably first celebrated in 279/8.)¹³ Philocles and Bacchon both address the synhedroi, who then vote; among other things, they vote that Bacchon shall nominate the person to collect the extraordinary contributions to be made by the cities of the League to pay for the theoria and wreath that are to go to Alexandria. Note that Bacchon has no power here of any kind; Philocles and he, on Ptolemy's instructions, ask the representatives of the League to come to Samos to consider a very special matter; they both put Ptolemy's proposal before the representatives; and that is all. There seems to be no question of Bacchon convening an ordinary assembly or presiding in an ordinary assembly: the whole thing is a matter of courtesy to Ptolemy. That the synhedroi ask Bacchon to name a treasurer ad hoc is a matter of courtesy also: they could have named one themselves. The only thing this decree shews is, that Bacchon is a channel through which Ptolemy communicates with the League, and that he was less important than Philocles, who is named before him twice.

Next, the decree of Carthaea.¹⁴ There were the usual troubles in Carthaea, probably between debtors and creditors. Bacchon, in order to do what he could for the citizens, wrote (something—the word is lost) to them so that they might be reconciled. He probably outlined a scheme, for the people voted that what he wrote should be done (*κυρίαν αὐτὴν [εἴναι]*). This shews that he was only using his good offices, and not giving an order; if he had had power to *order*, the people could not have voted that his *order* should be *κυρία*. The scheme, however, was not carried out, for some reason: and Carthaea appealed to Philocles, when he came later on to settle with Bacchon the affairs of the islands, to have the scheme carried out. Philocles thereon appointed a judicial commission, who decided the matters

⁷ Homolle, *B.C.H.* 15 (1891), p. 120, *Archives*, p. 45, No. 1; see P. Roussel, *B.C.H.* 33 (1909), p. 480.

⁸ Hypsocles B. I. 12, a vase: mentioned again in Acridion (240), I. 38; see Homolle, *Archives*, p. 45.

⁹ Dittenb. *Syll.*² 202 = *I.G.* xii. 7, 506 (where there are references to its literature).

¹⁰ *I.G.* xii. 5 (ii), 1065.

¹¹ *B.C.H.* 1894, p. 400, with Holleaux' commentary.

¹² *I.G.* xii. 5 (ii), 1004 = Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 773.

¹³ H. von Prott, *Rhein. Mus.* 53 (1898), p. 460; see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, vol. iv., add. to vol. i. 155. See further as to date, Werner Konig, *I.c.* 20: and it may be noted that offerings both of Philocles and Bacchon at Delos appear in the inventory of Hypsocles, 279.

¹⁴ See Graindor's commentary, *B.C.H.* 30 (1906), p. 92.

in dispute. Here we see Bacchon concerned to restore peace, but without power to enforce his recommendations or to appoint a commission with judicial powers; for these things appeal has to be made to Philocles.

The Naxos decree is to the same effect. Internal troubles in Naxos; the League desire arbitrators from some state outside the League; Bacchon has no power; and (Philocles not being there, or for some reason not in question) the League have to apply, presumably through Bacchon, to the ultimate Court of Appeal, Ptolemy himself, who instructs Bacchon to apply to Cos for arbitrators and conduct them to Naxos, which Bacchon does.

This is all. I find it impossible, on these facts, to agree with Delamarre, that the nesiarch convoked and presided in the assemblies of the synhedroi, or represented the League in its external relations; still less with the wide-spread view that he was governor. He seems rather to have been a kind of Egyptian Resident, concerned to watch Ptolemy's interests, give good advice, and form an easy channel of communication.

There remains the Ios decree; and here the view has been put forward that Bacchon was the naval commander of the fleet that protected the islands.¹⁵ The circumstances are as follows. Zeno and his squadron of aphracts were at Ios with Bacchon; some runaway slaves took refuge on the ships; the owners, naturally enough, seem to have applied to Bacchon, Ptolemy's representative on the spot, and he left Zeno to deal with the matter:¹⁶ to Zeno the owners' emissaries then went. It seems fairly simple. The ships were Egyptian (it was the squadron which provisioned Athens for Ptolemy in 288, and there is no trace whatever of any ships of the Islanders till the time of the Rhodian protectorate); and once on board, the slaves *were on Egyptian territory*. Bacchon had no power over Egyptian territory; Zeno, the commander of the squadron, had: Bacchon therefore naturally referred the complainants to Zeno, and went his way, leaving Zeno to settle the matter, which he did, after assembling and questioning his trierarchs. There is nothing whatever to show that Bacchon was Zeno's superior officer. He gives Zeno no *orders*.

I now turn to the nauarch. Putting aside for the moment Philocles, king of the Sidonians, whose position has to be considered, we know of three nauarchs of this period: Callierates, son of Boiskos, of Samos; Patroclus, son of Patron, a Macedonian; and Hermaphilos (?), son of Philostratos, a Rhaukian of Crete.¹⁷ Two others, given as nauarchs by P. M. Meyer, Philotheros and Dikaios,¹⁸ are not nauarchs at all, but *τεταγμένοι ἐπὸ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον*.

Philocles is fixed to *circ.* 280 by the Nikouria decree: Patroclus, of course, belongs to the Chremonidean war. Callierates is generally placed at the

¹⁵ Werner Konig, *l.c.* p. 70. See also W. S. Ferguson, *Klio*, 5, p. 178, n. 1.

idea of delegation.

¹⁶ Καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ Βάκχωνος means just 'left,' and not 'the delegate of'; see Dittenberger, *ad loc.* Unnecessary difficulty has been caused by the introduction of the

¹⁷ Known from a decree of Thera, *I.G.* xii. 3, 1291. The name is not certain.

¹⁸ Heerwesen, p. 20.—Philotheros is *I.G.* xii. 5 (ii), 1066; Dikaios, *C.I.G.* 2267.

end of the reign of Ptolemy II. and the beginning of that of Ptolemy III.; but there can be no doubt whatever that he really comes between Philocles and Patroclus. It may be as well to get the order right first.

It seems probable that at some period in the lifetime of Arsinoe Philadelphos, subsequent to her marriage in 274/3, Callicrates was not yet nauarch; for he does not use the title in the inscriptions on the bases of the statues of Ptolemy II. and Arsinoe II., which he set up at Olympia.¹⁹ I say 'probable,' for the conclusion is by no means imperative: he was not bound to use his own title himself. On the other hand, he *was* nauarch in the lifetime of a queen Arsinoe, as is shewn by his dedication at Maamourah of a temple to Isis and Anubis on behalf of 'king Ptolemy and queen Arsinoe.'²⁰ On the face of it, the queen, who has no distinguishing words of any kind, should be Arsinoe I., the first wife of Ptolemy II., as Breccia supposed; but this cannot be regarded as certain. If the dedication from Samos on behalf of Ptolemy and Arsinoe and Callicrates²¹ were complete, the matter would probably be settled; but Dittenberger's restoration 'Αρσινόη[ς βασιλίσσης] has been challenged by Wilcken, who would read 'Αρσινόη[ς Φιλαδέλφου];²² and it is not possible to be sure which of the two queens is intended. The fact, however, that, in the Samos dedication, Ptolemy is called son of Ptolemy and Berenice the Saviours, *while Arsinoe is not*, seems to me to point strongly to Arsinoe I. The conclusion seems to be, that Callicrates certainly became nauarch some time prior to the death of Arsinoe II. in 270, and *may* have become nauarch prior to the repudiation of Arsinoe I., though this cannot, on present materials, be decided. He must have died, or ceased to be nauarch, prior to the outbreak of the Chremonidean war in 266/5, when Patroclus held the office.²³ We know, however, from other sources that Patroclus was not yet nauarch in 270, for in that year he was eponymous priest of Alexander and the Θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί:²⁴ and with this agrees the fact that Callicrates was certainly still nauarch at some time after July 270, the date of Arsinoe's death: for he was nauarch when he built to her memory the temple of Arsinoe Zephyritis, as the two epigrams of Poseidippos shew: both call Callicrates nauarch.²⁵

¹⁹ Dittenb. *O.G.J.* 26, 27.

²⁰ Discovered at Maamourah by Prince Omar Pacha Toussoum, and published by E. Breccia, *Bull. de la Soc. archéologique d'Alexandrie*, 1905, p. 107: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης | τὸ ἵερὸν Ἰσεῖ Ἀνούβει Καλλικράτης | Βοϊσκου Σάμιος ναυαρχῶν | ἔδωκεν Πασιτῆ(ι) ἵερει. I can see no distinction between *ναυαρχῶν* and *ναυαρχος*, and Breccia admits that his attempt to distinguish them is over-subtle.

²¹ Dittenb. *O.G.J.* 29.

²² Ib. Add. et Corr. ii. p. 539.

²³ Paus. i, 1, 1.

²⁴ Hibeh Pap. 1 (1906), No. 99: b.c. 270 (269). That the Patroclus, son of Patron, here

mentioned is the future nauarch seems certain. Patroclus is not a common name at this time; and though there are several other instances of *Patron*, the conjunction of the two is most unlikely to be a coincidence. This priesthood was held by persons of importance, even by members of the royal house; Menelaos, son of Lagos, brother of Ptolemy I. and his general in Cyprus in 396, held it for 5 years; Hibeh Pap. 84 a, Elephantine Papyri (1907) No. 2 (p. 24), with O. Rubensohn's commentary.

²⁵ The first, given Ath. 7, 318 b, is well known. The other, from a papyrus, is not so often quoted; I therefore give the material lines. (Published by H. Weil in *Monuments Grecs* for 1879, p. 31) The temple speaks:—

The offerings at Delos do not add much. One Callicrates dedicated a wreath some time before 279 (Hypsocles l. 54 = Charilas B. l. 76 = Sosisthenes l. 6) and the inventory of Charilas gives the important information that he called himself *Καλλικράτης Μακεδών*.²⁶ If we were sure that it was the nauarch we should have here a very valuable instance of *Μακεδών* taken as a title of honour. But though probable, it cannot be called certain.

The inscriptional evidence, however, is complete. Callicrates son of Boiskos of Samos was nauarch from some date between 280 and 270 to some date between 270 and 265. If, as is probable, he be the Callicrates, *τῶν φίλων*, sent to Cyprus by Ptolemy I., in 310,²⁷ he was not a young man; the Boiskos who appears as a Ptolemaic official in Cyprus somewhere *circ. 295–290* is as likely to be his brother as his father.²⁸

The grounds on which Callicrates has been put later seem to be mere mistakes. Dittenberger's note says that the lettering of *Syll.*² 223—the base of the statue of Callicrates dedicated by the League of the Islanders—points to a later date, to the reign of Euergetes. But it appears that the lettering is even later: the stone has been recut,²⁹ like some others commemorative of the Lagid domination in the Aegean. Again, Dittenberger³⁰ refers to the building of the Zephyrion temple as interrupted by the death of Ptolemy II., citing Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karytos*, p. 338, and deduces that Callicrates lived to Euergetes' reign. But the temple that was incomplete at Philadelphos' death, and to which Wilamowitz alludes was not the Zephyrion temple at all, but the famous Arsinoeion in Alexandria, the temple which is said to have been planned to contain a magnetic room with an iron statue of Arsinoe floating in mid air.³¹

Lastly, Euphantos ap. *Ath.* 6, 251 d, refers to a Callicrates as a flatterer of Ptolemy III. Either this is not the admiral, or *τρίτου* is a mistake: in any case, it cannot be set up as evidence for a moment against the inscriptions. That Euphantos of Olynthos, pupil of Eubulides of Megara and teacher of Antigonus Gonatas, survived till the reign of Ptolemy III. is, other things apart, almost

1. 4. *Ενθα με Καλλικράτης ιδρύσατο καὶ
βασιλίσσης
ιερὸν Ἀρσινόης Κύπριδος ὄνομασεν.
Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ζεφυρίτιν ἀκονσομένην
Ἀφροδίτην
Ἐλλήνων ἄγναι βαίνετε θυγατέρες,
οἵ θ' ἀλλοὶ ἐργάται ἄνδρες · δὲ γὰρ ναύαρχος
ἔθηκεν
τοῦθ' ιερὸν παντὸς κύματος εὐλίμενον.*

Poseidippus was a contemporary of Zeno and Cleanthes, living at Alexandria. What *πρώτος δ ναύαρχος θήκατο Καλλικράτης* (in No. 1) means is obscure. It cannot mean that Callicrates only began the temple, seeing that he named it (No. 2, l. 5). Perhaps it means that it was the first temple erected to the worship of Arsinoe.

²⁶ Cited by Homolle, *Archives*, p. 38, n. 5.—Hypsocles (279), Michel 833 = *B.C.H.* 1890,

p. 389. Sosisthenes (250), *B.C.H.* 1903, p. 62. Charilas (269), unpublished; will be *I.G.* xi. 203, as Professor F. Durrbach kindly informs me.

²⁷ *Diod.* xx. 21, 1.

²⁸ Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 20. This inscription cannot fall before 306, as Ptolemy is *Βασιλεὺς*. From 306 to 295 Cyprus belonged to Demetrius: it is therefore later than 295. At the same time Berenice is not yet *βασιλισσα*: as she must have got the title when her son was recognised as heir, it cannot be very long after 295.

²⁹ P. Roussel and J. Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.* 1909, p. 480.

³⁰ Notes to *Syll.*² 223 and *O.G.I.* 26–27.

³¹ Plin. *N.H.* 34, 138; 36, 68; 37, 108. See Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 1, 374, n. 1.

incredible.³² It is worth noting that we know of another Callicrates of Samos, son of Isitheos, who may have been of some importance at the time, as he received the proxeny of Oloos in Crete at the same time as the nauarch Patroclus.³³

Having got the succession fixed, it remains to consider the powers and functions of the nauarch.

The Egyptian method of governing *conquered* provinces, as is well known, was through *στρατηγοί*.³⁴ We have as instances the strategos of Cyprus,³⁵ of Cilicia,³⁶ of ‘the elephant-hunts,’ who developed into the strategos of the Indian and the Red Sea,³⁷ and of ‘the Hellespont and the parts about Thrace,’³⁸ after the conquests of Ptolemy III. in that region. There is *some* slight evidence that the strategos, like a Roman proconsul, had authority over the sea bordering his province; the strategos of the Red Sea has ships and marines under his orders;³⁹ the strategos of the Hellespont is found taking measures for the defence of Samothrace against pirates.⁴⁰

The League of the Islanders, however, was not in the position of a conquered province. It was, nominally, an autonomous state, which had been ‘freed’ by Ptolemy from the tyranny of Demetrius. There were difficulties about a strategia of the Islands; and in fact such a strategia was missing from the Ptolemaic system. It appears in another guise.

To take Patroclus first. He was nauarch⁴¹ and commanded the fleet in the Chremonidean war. He was also ‘sent as strategos to Crete’;⁴² this does not mean that he was strategos of Crete, which was not Egyptian, but that it was his business to superintend the growing interests of Egypt in that island.⁴³ He was strategos so far as regarded the town of Carthaea;⁴⁴ and if the Carthaeans called him strategos, then he must have also been strategos in relation to the other towns of the League of the Islanders. The literary

³² Wilamowitz defended it; *Antigonos von Karytos*, 87, n. 3. E. Schwartz (*Hermes*, 35, pp. 106, 128) cannot believe it, and would read *πρώτου* for *τρίτου*, with Mallet (*Hist. de l'école de Mégarie*, 1845, 96). Natorp (*Euphantos* in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. (i), 1907) inclines to follow Schwartz and Mallet, saying that it is hardly possible, as a matter of chronology, that Euphantos could mention anyone at the court of Ptolemy III. With this last I agree; but I note that Schwartz’ argument, that Euphantos ought to have been born before 318, being called an Olynthian, will hardly do; Olynthus was in existence again by 300, see P. Perdrizet in *B.C.H.* 1897, p. 118 (= *S.G.D.* I. 2768), citing *I.G.* ii. 611 (300/299 B.C.). References to Olynthians become common in the 3rd century. See, too, *I.G.* ii. 963, a list of mercenaries which includes ‘Ολύνθιοι’, somewhere about 300. The real point seems to be, that Euphantos was Eubulides’ pupil.

³³ *B.C.H.* 24 (1900), p. 225, No. 5, 1.

³⁴ P. M. Meyer, *Heerwesen*, p. 17; Bouché-

Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, iv. pp. 11 seq.

³⁵ *B.C.H.* 15, 136; Diod. 19, 79; (under Ptolemy I.). Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 84, under Ptolemy IV. Often later.

³⁶ The ‘amicus Antiochus’ of Jerome on *Dan.* xi. 8.

³⁷ Refs. in Meyer, *l.c.*

³⁸ Dittenb. *Syll.*² 221.

³⁹ Elephant-transports, *ἐλεφαντηγοί*, Petr. Pap. ii. n. 40 (a). Grenfell, Pap. i. n. 9 (239/8) *μισθοφόροις πληρώματος ἐπ' Ἐρυθρᾶ θαλάσσῃ*. Bouché-Leclercq, *l.c.* iv. p. 63, n. 1, has some doubt if these really belonged to the navy; but if they were a gang of ‘galériens’ working on land, why the phrase ‘on the Red Sea’?

⁴⁰ Dittenb. *Syll.*² 221.

⁴¹ Paus. i, 1, 1.

⁴² Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 45.

⁴³ Cf. the proxenia conferred on him by Oloos, *B.C.H.* 24 (1900), p. 225, No. 5, 1.

⁴⁴ Decree of Carthaea for Hieron son of Timokrates of Syracuse, *I.G.* XII. 5, ii. 1061.

texts, for what they are worth, generally refer to him as strategos.⁴⁵ He exercised absolute authority over Thera,⁴⁶ and must therefore have been strategos of that island. Patroclus then is nauarch, admiral commanding the fleet in war, with the authority of a strategos over the Islands of the League and Thera, and with a commission as strategos to watch Egyptian interests in Crete. Here we seem to have the missing strategia of the Island world,⁴⁷ conjoined in one hand with the office of nauarch.

To turn now to Philocles, whom some have considered to be nauarch, others to hold an exceptional position as a kind of Egyptian viceroy. We have seen that he had power to appoint a judicial commission in a city of the League;⁴⁸ and the same decree of Carthaea which shews this also implies clearly that he could enforce obedience to the verdict, if it came to that. We find, that when he requests the representatives of the League to come to him he summons them to Samos;⁴⁹ his headquarters then are the headquarters of the fleet. No document expressly calls him nauarch; but this has really no bearing either way, for he had a higher title, that of king of the Sidonians, and the documents always use his higher title. He has power to compel the islands to pay their debts to Delos, and he uses that power.⁵⁰ The decree of Carthaea before mentioned also shews that he had a general power to regulate the affairs of the Islands, and came from time to time for that purpose. A literary text also calls him strategos.⁵¹

He had then very extensive powers; but a comparison seems to shew that those of Patroclus were just as extensive. If Philocles could compel the islands to pay their debts to Delos, Patroclus can appoint, of his own motion, a governor (*ἐπιστάτης*) in this or that town, in Arsinoe of the League equally with Thera.⁵² These governors were as a rule appointed by the king, and derived their power from him: Patroclus then is pretty nearly viceroy. We find that Patroclus can also, of his own authority, appoint a judicial commission to go to Thera,⁵³ just as Philocles had done

⁴⁵ Phylarchos ap. *Ath.* 8, 334 a; Hegesander, ap. *Ath.* 14, 621 a.

⁴⁶ Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 44.

⁴⁷ Though we are not actually told that Patroclus commanded any land forces, this must follow from his being strategos of Thera: for the later nauarch Hermaphilos, as strategos of Thera, disposed of the troops in that island, *I.G.* XII. 3, 1291.

⁴⁸ Decree of Carthaea, *I.G.* XII. 5, ii. 1065.

⁴⁹ Nikouria decree.

⁵⁰ Dittenb. *Syll.* 209.

⁵¹ Polyae. III. 16.

⁵² In Arsinoe; *I.G.* XII. 5, 2, 1061. In Thera; Dittenb. *O.G.* I. 44. Arsinoe must be in Ceos; Graindor thought Koresia (*B.C.H.* 30, 1906, pp. 95 seq.), Wilamowitz Poissa (note in *I.G. ad loc.*); anyhow it was in the League. Mentioned again, Dittenb. *Syll.* 261. It has

nothing to do with Arsinoe-Methana.—Hieron, the epistles of Arsinoe, came to Ceos with Patroclus, having been *τεταγμένος ἵπδ τῷ μ βασι[λέα] Πτολεμαῖον*, i.e. he was a 'royal official,' generally speaking (Graindor, *ad loc.*), but with his sphere not marked out; thereupon Patroclus appoints him epistles. Apollodotos the epistles of Thera (Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 44) seems to have been chosen entirely by Patroclus; he may, like the arbitrators, have been from Iulis in Ceos; the text leaves it uncertain.—On the office of epistles in the Macedonian kingdoms, see Holleaux in *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 52: the appointment of these magistrates or governors by the king, to represent him, was the regular method in the Macedonian monarchies of administering newly acquired territory, autonomous or otherwise.

⁵³ Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 44.

in Carthaea: that is to say, he is the fount of judicial, as well as the repository of military, authority: he is vice-king.

There seems no room for doubt (save in one point)⁵⁴ that the two men occupied similar positions, with co-extensive powers. Patroclus' appointment of an epistates seems to be as clear an exercise of the royal authority as is Philocles' letter to the representatives of the autonomous League asking them to come to himself at his headquarters. Practically, then, both were viceroys of the sea-province: and Philocles' position was only exceptional *when created*. It was at the time a new thing. But the powers conferred on Philocles were continued in the line of Egyptian nauarchs; and the immense importance of these viceroys of the sea may be illustrated by the dedication made by a Samian on behalf of three persons jointly, Ptolemy II., and his queen, and the nauarch Callicrates.⁵⁵ It is quite clear that, with such powers vested in the nauarch, there was no room for another official who should either be governor of the League-province or independent commander of its protecting fleet; hence the position of the nauarch appears to bear out what I have already said about the nesiaarch.

It remains to consider the decay of the office of nauarch. Egypt finally withdrew from the Aegean in 146, when her last garrisons quitted Arsinoe-Methana, Thera, and Itanos in Crete:⁵⁶ after this, no strategia of any Aegean islands can have existed, and there was nothing to carry with it the office of nauarch. *One* island, however, remained elsewhere; and we know for certain that after this date the office of nauarch became attached to the strategia of Cyprus.⁵⁷ We can also trace an intermediate period in an inscription from Thera,⁵⁸ probably of the time of Ptolemy Philometor. Every military commander had a γραμματεύς,⁵⁹ and we find here one γραμματεύς for the 'soldiers in Crete, Thera, and Arsinoe of the Peloponnese,' and one οἰκονόμος for the same places; these were all that remained to Egypt in the Aegean, and were in one military hand. It is difficult to avoid seeing here the remains of the extensive strategia exercised by Patroclus; and this must still have carried the office of nauarch, seeing that it had not yet shifted to the strategia of Cyprus.

Hermaphilos, the Rhaukian, is difficult to place, save that he must be later than Patroclus. The decree of Thera which mentions him calls him 'nauarch and strategos of our city.' There cannot of course have

⁵⁴ It is a question whether the words τῷ ναυάρχῳ in the broken part of the decree of Delos for Philocles, Dittenb. *Syll.*² 209, refer to Philocles or not; that is, whether he was in *actual* command of the fleet, as was Patroclus, or not. His headquarters at Samos, and the fact that he seems to have power to enforce his awards (the Carthaea decree), incline one to take the common view that he was himself the nauarch; but the evidence would be consistent with the name not yet being attached to Philocles' new office, and with Philocles (not a

young man) having under him an actual fleet-leader or praetextus classis. It is a matter of names rather than of things.

⁵⁵ Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 29.

⁵⁶ Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera*, 1, 169.

⁵⁷ Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 140, 143, 145, 151, 152, 153, 155 to 162.

⁵⁸ Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 102. (The Aristippos here mentioned as δὲ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ Θήρας is not necessarily the strategos of this strategia.)

⁵⁹ P. M. Meyer, *Hierowesen*, 65; Dittenberger *ad loc.*

been a separate strategia for the little island of Thera so long as Egypt retained the Cyclades ; but the above words can be explained in two ways, and I see no means of deciding. Though we do not know Patroclus' military title, we have concluded that he was in fact strategos of the Cyclades, Thera, and Egyptian interests in Crete, doubtless too of other islands, *e.g.* Samos : his title may have been something like 'strategos of the Cyclades and Thera (and of the other islands).' After the loss of the Cyclades, it is possible that the name of the strategia would be 'of Thera (and of the other islands).' The loose reference in the decree of Thera to Hermaphilos as 'strategos of our city,' would fit, whether his date be the end of the reign of Ptolemy II., before the loss of the Cyclades, or later, after their loss. Till his date can be ascertained, this decree is of no use for drawing deductions as to the intermediate period, during which I suppose that the office of nauarch remained attached to a mutilated strategia of the island world before finally shifting into the keeping of the strategos of Cyprus.

W. W. TARN.

AN ARCHAIC MALE HEAD FROM ATHENS.

By kind permission of Commander Down, R.N., of Wokingham, Berks, I am allowed to publish an archaic head (Fig. 1) in his possession. It was



FIG. 1.—ARCHAIC HEAD IN THE POSSESSION OF COMMANDER DOWN.

found by him in Athens when cruising in Greek waters about the year 1879.

The head, which has been broken off abruptly at the neck, is .13 m. in height, .105 m. in depth, and .315 m. in circumference. The material is a rather coarse-grained white marble. The face has unfortunately suffered con-

siderably: the lower part of the nose has been broken off and the surface of the mouth and chin is damaged, and there is a deep indentation over the left eye. The left side of the face is much better preserved than the right.

To take the features in detail:—enough of the mouth remains to show that it was represented in a short, straight line with a considerable depression at each corner, and that the lips were thin. The result, as far as can be judged, is that the face must have had something of the ‘archaic smile.’ The neck is massive; the structure of the cheekbones and forehead is clearly indicated. The eyes, like those of all primitive Greek heads, protrude unduly, a characteristic which Lechat¹ has termed *l'œrophthalmie archaïque*. They are neither on the one hand set properly in the head, nor on the other hand are they merely engraved on the rounded surface of the marble. The sculptor seems to have realized that the eye ought to be represented in the same plane as the front of the face, but he has been unable to carry out this idea successfully. The eyes are not set obliquely as in many of the earliest archaic Greek heads. In shape the eyes are somewhat long; the lids are represented by narrow ridges. The ears, though set back slightly too far in the head, are well rendered compared with those of most archaic heads: the details of their structure, however, have not been carefully studied. The fact that they are not represented conventionally is a proof that the head does not belong to the earlier part of the archaic period.²

The hair and back of the head are well preserved and show several interesting features. In the centre of the back of the head is a small circular depression from which a series of more or less deeply cut lines radiates in straight lines towards the front and back, and in curving lines towards the sides of the head. This arrangement, as Deonna points out,³ is characteristic of the later archaic heads. The hair is confined by a fillet, the line of which is clearly marked all round the head. This fillet is tied in a knot on the top of the head immediately above the centre of the face, an arrangement which differs from the usual method of tying at the back of the head.⁴ The loose ends of the fillet run for a short distance parallel to and above the fillet on either side of the knot. In front of the fillet is a double row of close curls in the form of volutes terminating in a single row which runs round the back of each ear. These rows of curls are the commonest method of arranging the hair in archaic art of the second half of the sixth century B.C.⁵ There are no indications of locks hanging down in front over the shoulders. Below the fillet at the back of the head is a thick mass of hair, represented by a series of parallel lines, which roughly continue those that radiate from the centre of the head: the hair is cut off in a curved line across the nape of the neck. The shortness of the hair at the back of the head distinguishes this head from most of those of the archaic period and indicates the transition from the

¹ *Sculpture attique*, p. 356.

No. 20) and the Berlin Head (Berlin Mus.

² Deonna, *Les Apollons archaïques*, p. 97.

No. 536).

³ *Op. cit.* p. 105. He cites as examples the ‘Apollo’ of Mt. Ptoion (Nat. Mus. Athens,

⁴ Cf. Deonna, *op. cit.* Pl. VII.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 108–109.

long hair usually worn in the sixth century to the shorter hair of the fifth century.

There can be no doubt that this head belonged to a statue of the class to which Lechat⁶ has given the generic name of *Koūpoi*, representations of the nude male figure portraying human beings and corresponding to the class of female statues known as *Kópai*.

We have already noticed several details which indicate that this head belongs to the later part of the archaic period of Greek Art, *viz.* the rendering of the ears and eyes, the lines representing hair radiating from the centre of the skull and the abrupt termination of the hair on the nape of the neck. The fact that the head was found in Athens makes it practically certain that it is the work of the early Attic school, of which the excavations on the Acropolis have given us such ample monumental evidence.

Deonna⁷ has made an elaborate and convincing local classification of archaic nude male figures. He ascribes the following heads and statues of which the heads have been preserved to the Attic school of the second half of the sixth century B.C.:—the Volomandra statue (Nat. Mus. Athens, No. 1906), the head from Aegina (do. No. 48), and the Acropolis head (Acrop. Mus. No. 663). These heads are, with the possible exception of the head from Aegina, considerably more archaic than our head. It is more closely akin to the group of heads which Deonna ascribes to the Attic school of the last quarter of the sixth century, *viz.* the Louvre head from Attica (No. 695), the Rayet-Jacobsen head in the Glyptotheke of Ny-Carlsberg, the Webb head in the British Museum, the head from Delphi (Nat. Mus. Athens, No. 64), and the fragment of a head from Mt. Ptoion in the Museum at Thebes. These works, particularly the Louvre head and the head from Delphi, bear a close resemblance in style to our head, which may roughly be placed in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. It is certainly more archaic in style than the two heads which Deonna attributes to the Attic school of the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth centuries, namely, the Berlin head (Berl. Mus. No. 536) and that of the statue from Mt. Ptoion (Nat. Mus. Athens, No. 20), in which the rendering of the hair has undergone still further refinement.

This work is of interest as adding another to the not very long list of heads of Attic *Koūpoi* of the sixth century B.C.

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⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 251.

⁷ *Op. cit.* pp. 352-363.

SOME ARCHAIC GOLD ORNAMENTS WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF SPHINXES AND SIRENS.

1. In a recent description¹ of an archaic Etruscan fibula here reproduced in natural size (Fig. 1), I regret that I failed to note certain interesting details with regard to the Sphinxes. The fibula is of pale gold, of a type peculiar to early Etruscan jewellery. It consists of two parts, each composed



FIG. 1.—ETRUSCAN GOLD FIBULA.

of four tubes ending in double female heads. In one case the outer tubes are furnished with long gold pins which fit into the hollow tubes corresponding to them in the other half of the fibula. There can be no doubt that these safety-pins were used for fastening a garment on the shoulder. The two halves were locked together by means of hooks and eyes soldered to rectangular plates hinged to the main body of the fibula. The tubes were also connected together by similar plates. The present fibula, which may be dated to the seventh century B.C., is said to have been found in the Roman Campagna. Upon the four rectangular plates already mentioned are seated sixteen Sphinxes in the round, four upon each plate. The eight Sphinxes on the outer plates are composed of the figure of a seated lion, with the head of a woman substituted for a wing. The granulated decoration on the hind-

¹ *Cat. of the Jewellery in the British Mus.*, No. 1379, Pl. XVII. References to other fibulae of the same class are there given.

quarters of the lion produces the effect of a bust rather than a simple head (Fig. 2 *a*, twice natural size). The eight Sphinxes on the inner plates are

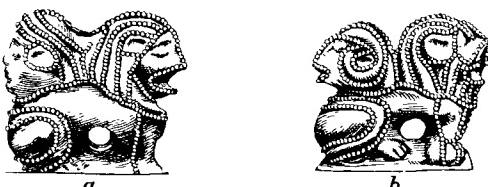


FIG. 2.—DETAIL FROM ABOVE FIBULA.

composed of a similar seated lion, with a ram's head (as I am now convinced) in the place of the wing (Fig. 2 *b*). There is thus a combination (quite in the fantastic Etrusco-Ionian manner) of the Chaldean female-headed Sphinx² and the Egyptian ram-headed Sphinx.³ The nearest parallels to the Sphinxes on this fibula are furnished by two of the same type found at Praeneste. One, formerly in the Barberini collection but recently acquired by the Italian Government, has, as far as can be judged from a small scale illustration,⁴ Sphinxes of almost, if not quite, the same type as those above figured. The other, in a rather fragmentary condition, has Sphinxes composed of a seated lion with a female head substituted for a wing.⁵

2. The accompanying gold plaque, reproduced in natural size in Fig. 3, was found in clearing a cupboard in the British Museum after the completion of the Jewellery Catalogue. There is no evidence to show how or when it came into the Museum. It is a thin embossed plaque, with ribbed decoration above and below.



FIG. 3.
GOLD PLAQUE WITH
SIREN.

The upper part is pierced with several holes, as though it has been attached to some object, possibly to a diadem. The design shows what is probably the figure of a Siren to front, legs and forepart of body only seen, with perhaps an indication of wings on each side of the head. With either arm she clasps the body of a nude youth, each with the outer leg advanced and the inner leg drawn back. The outer hand of each is pressed against the breast of the Siren (?). Most likely the underlying idea is that of a Death-genius carrying off two souls. There is just the possibility that the central figure is meant for a Sphinx, but this is rendered unlikely by the shortness of the legs. There seems, however, to be some confusion between a Sphinx and a Siren, such as has been noted as occurring

² G. Nicole in Daremberg et Saglio, *s. v.* Sphinx, p. 1432, n. 46.

³ Cf. Prisse d'Avennes, *Hist. de l'art égypt.*, p. 405.

⁴ *Les Arts*, Mars 1909, p. 8 (De Ridder).

⁵ *Annali dell'Ist.* 1876, p. 250; *Mon. dell'Ist.* v. Pl. XXXI. Fig. 7. It is fairly certain from the illustration that one head is that of a lion, though in the text of the *Annali* it is said that both heads are human.

in archaic Greek art.⁶ If the figure is meant for a Sphinx (and the legs are certainly very heavy for those of a bird), we have a representation of a Sphinx carrying off two Theban youths, a subject represented by Pheidias on the arms (probably) of the throne of Zeus at Olympia.⁷ Sphinxes are not infrequently represented in archaic Greek art as carrying off a single youth.⁸ On the other hand the nearest parallels to the present plaque are furnished by a design on a vase in Berlin⁹ and on a bronze handle-attachment of a situla in the British Museum, in both of which winged figures carry away two youths.¹⁰ The parallel, however, is not very close: the attitude of the youths in the present instance is far more peaceful, and the manner in which their hands are pressed against their bearer's breast peculiar. In their calm and unresisting attitude they recall the figures carried off by the Sirens on the 'Harpy' tomb. The plaque is late archaic work, probably made towards the close of the sixth century B.C. It is either Ionian or Etrusco-Ionian in character.

3. This is a suitable place to call attention to and to apologize for an omission in the description of the early Etruscan bracelet No. 1358 on plate XVIII of the *Cat. of Jewellery in the British Museum*. In the text I have omitted to mention the three minute winged heads in the lowest row of three 'Phoenician palmettes' on the inside of the bracelet. They are doubtless meant for heads of Sirens, as are the similar ones in the centres of the disks Nos. 1422-3 of the same Catalogue. The Siren is much in evidence in early Etruscan art.

F. H. MARSHALL.

⁶ Weicker, *Seelenregel*, p. 127 f.; cf. especially p. 128, Fig. 54, two Sirens with lions' paws on a Clazomenae sarcophagus in the B.M.

⁷ Paus. v. 11. 2.

⁸ See Nicole in Daremberg et Saglio, *loc. cit.*,

p. 1437.

⁹ Weicker, *op. cit.*, p. 6, Fig. 1.

¹⁰ Walters, *B.M. Cat. of Bronzes*, p. 107, Fig. 18, No. 650.

TOPOGRAPHICA CONSTANTINOPOLITANA.

Not every student of topography is also interested in the more remote paths of hagiography: thus a reader of the *Acta Sanctorum* may perhaps be pardoned for the following lines. The original Greek text of the *Miracula S. Artemii* has recently been published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Zapiski istoriko-philologicheskago Phakul'teta imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta*, Chast xcv, St. Petersburg, 1909. The account of these contemporary miracles was written by an eyewitness between the years 660–668, and we thus secure a fixed date for the topographical references.

The precious body of the saint had been brought to Constantinople after his decapitation *παρά τινος Ἀρίστης διακόνου* 76_{11–12}, and was placed in a shrine in the church of St. John the Baptist. This church was situated *ἐν τῇ Ὁξείᾳ* 6₅ 8₁₀ 13_{2–3} 42_{2s} 46₁₅ 61₃₀ 66₁₀, a street in which there were also private residences, for here dwelt Stephen, an official of the Blues and a deacon of St. Sophia 26₁₉. The church was *πλησίον τῶν Δομνίνου ἐμβόλων* 5₃ (for which cf. Mordtmann, *Esquisse*, etc., §§ 9, 99, 121), and hard by, perhaps attached to the church (cf. 4₁₄), was a *Xenōn—τοῦ Ξενώνος τῶν Χριστοδότης τοῦ ὄντος πλησίον τῆς ἀγίας Ἀναστασίας* 28₁₂—of which I am unable to trace any mention in the topographical books. Of this Xenōn the Xenodochos was towards the end of Heraclius' reign an *ἀνὴρ χρηστὸς τῶν ἐν ἔξοχῇ τοῦ πατριάρχου ὑπάρχων* 28₁₁. Here, too, *ἐν τοῖς Δομνίνου ἐμβόλοις* Theodore the *χαλκεύς* had his forge 37_{4–5}, and here, as is well known, was the church of S. Anastasia—*ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς ἀγίας Ἀναστασίας* 29₁₁ (*ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς Δομνίνου ἐμβόλοις* 42₅) (cf. Mordtmann, *op. cit.* § 99). To what the following refers I am uncertain: *ἔξελθόντες ὡσανεὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Προδρόμου εἰχοντο τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτῶν ώς ἐπὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Κανδηλάριον* 53_{2sT} (the account is part of a vision). Saint Artemius was specialist for the empire (cf. *κοσμικὸς ἴατήρ* 34₁₇) in all diseases affecting the genital organs, but such was his delicacy that he had associated with himself, to act as his representative where ladies were concerned, S. Febronia (cf. 33₂₃ 34_{26sT} 74_{2s} 75₁₁). Patients prayed to S. John the Baptist, S. Artemius, and S. Febronia 29₁₁ (cf. 63₁₉), and a careful order of precedence was observed between the three saints 62_{19 sT}. From the descriptions given us we are enabled to gain some idea of the plan of the church of S. John the Forerunner: the most instructive passages are the following taken in the order in which they occur in the Greek text:

15₁₂ Narses is awaiting a cure in the church and has fallen asleep: *καὶ ὥρᾳ τινα φοροῦντα πατρικιότητος σχῆμα καθὼς αὐτὸς διηγήσατο*

καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ νάρθηκος, οὐτινος προηγεῖτο περιστερὰ λευκὴ ἀσπιλος. εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἀνακάμψας ἥλθεν εἰς τὸν ἀριστερὸν ἔμβολον διὰ τῶν ἄνωθεν καγκέλων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ σκευοφυλάκιον καὶ ἐστῇ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νοσοῦντος . . . the patient on being led εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν σορόν discovers himself healed.

17₁₉^{ημ} Sergius being a patrician and θεῖος δικαστής is allowed to sleep ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ σορῷ even though it was not early in the morning of Sunday [μὴ ἔξօν . . . τινι ἑκτὸς κυριακῆς διαφαούσης κοιμηθῆναι κάτω]. His Alexandrian friend, however, a scoffer, was only after much persuasion allowed to sleep ἄνω εἰς τὸν ναόν. καὶ δὴ κοιμᾶται ἔμπροσθεν τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου ἐνθα ἡ τροπικὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς δεξιᾶς καταβάσεως. About midnight desiring to relieve himself the scoffer was unable to find any way out of the church διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀσφαλιζομένου [τοῦ ναοῦ] κατὰ νύκτα μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκ δύο πλευρῶν τεσσάρων καγκέλων. Accordingly he relieved himself while standing κατὰ τὴν δεξιὰν τοῦ ναοῦ πύλην, παρ’ ἥντινα τὸ φρέαρ ἐστὶν καὶ ἡ γραφὴ τῆς Σαμαρειτίδος. Sergius before he could go out had to ask ἀνοιχθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸ κάγκελλον.

33₂₀ ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ναῷ ὑποκάτω μὲν τοῦ μεγάλου θυσιαστηρίου ἐστὶν ἡ σορὸς τοῦ ἀγίου μάρτυρος, ἐκ δεξιῶν δὲ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εὐκτήριον τῆς ἀγίας μάρτυρος Φεβρωνίας.

51₂₄ Anna lights a candle before τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ ἀγίου ἐνδόξου προφίήτου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τῆς εἰς τὴν τροπικὴν ἐστώσης κατὰ τὴν πύλην τοῦ ὄντος μεσιαύλου ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Προδρόμου ἐνθα καὶ τὰ γραδίλια εἰσιν. ἐν φότῳ τοῖς τότε καιροῖς ἦν καὶ ἴστορία τῆς ἀθλίσεως τοῦ ἀγίου θαυματουργοῦ Ἀρτεμίου.

62₁₈ While George was sleeping ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἔμβολῳ he saw in a vision S. Artemius and S. John the Baptist μηλωτὴν ἐνδεδυμένον coming out of the θυσιαστήριον. καὶ κατόπισθεν ἀμφοτέρων ὡς ἀπὸ βημάτων τριῶν τὴν ἀγίαν Φεβρωνίαν. Artemius preceding S. John as though to do him honour ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνὸς βήματος. καὶ ὡς ἔξηλθον τὰ κάγκελλα τὰ πλησίον τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου καὶ διήρχοντο τὸν ἔμβολον ἐνθα οἱ νοσοῦντες ἀνέκειντο S. John and Artemius converse. . . . Later 63₇ ἀποβηματίσαντες κατήγεσαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν νάρθηκα.

69₂₁ Poluchronios sees in a vision the saint ἐκ τῶν χορῶν τῶν πανυπχευόντων ἐρχόμενον καὶ κατιόντα τὰ τῆς ἀγίας σοροῦ γραδίλια καὶ ἐπιστάντα τῷ τόπῳ ἐν φότῳ ἀνέκειτο.

Of other churches to which reference is made there may be mentioned S. Pantaleemon—(cf. Mordtmann, § 105: van Millingen, *Byz. Const.* p. 300)—a man who had been robbed of all his clothes went εἰς τὸν ἄγιον Παντελεήμονα εἰς τὰ Ρουφίνου, as he heard of one there ἐπίστασιν διδόντα ὃς ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ τὸν συλήσαντα 20₂₀₋₂₄; and the church of the Virgin τὰ Κύρου (cf. Mordt. § 113)—a woman with a sick child took it with her and ἐν τῷ ναῷ

τῆς Θεοτόκου τὰ Κύρου προσεκαρτέρησεν 12₂₆, and is there bidden to seek help from S. Artemius. The following public baths appear in the *Miracula*: (i) τὸ δίδυμον λουτρὸν τοῦ Ξερῶνος ἡτοι γε Πασχεντίου τοῦ ὄντος πλησίου τοῦ παλατίου τοῦ Δευτέρου 11₁₂₋₁₃;—this building I am unable to trace: (ii) τὸ λουτρὸν τῶν Ἀνθεμίου τὸ λεγόμενον Λίβανον 27₂₇ (for τὰ Ἀνθεμίου cf. Mordt. § 63); and (iii) the well-known Baths of Dagistheus (cf. Mordt. § 99; Du Cange: *Const. Christ.* 93e 94a) καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ δημόσιον λουτρὸν τὸ λεγόμενον Δαγισθέον, κατὰ τὴν κυφίνην, ἔνθα ποτε τὰ σταῦλα ἤσαν τῶν τοῦ Ἰπποδρόμου ἵππων ἀτονήσας ἀπέθετο τὴν στρωμνὴν ἐν μιᾷ γωνίᾳ καὶ ἀνεπαύσατο ἐπ' αὐτῆν 13₁₆^{8PP}. Here, too, we have another example of a ship which ἀνέμου ἐναντίου πνεύσαντος ὥρμησεν εἰς τὸ "Ἐβδομον" εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Μαγναύραν 5₂₅₋₂₆ to add to the instances cited by Byelyaev (in his study of the Hebdomon in *Zapiski klassicheskago otdyeleniya imperatorskago russkogo archeologicheskago Obschestva* iv. 1907 pp. 57-92 and, see van Millingen, *op. cit.* p. 324, and for the Magnaura id. *ibid.* p. 336).

For the rest the following disconnected topographical references may be noted:

- (i) 2₂₈ 'Εν τῷ Κόλπῳ τις τὰς οἰκίστεις ποιούμενος κ.τ.λ. This supports Bury's conjecture as to the location of the Κόλπος where the drungarius τοῦ Κόλπου was stationed. (*The Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, p. 110.)
- (ii) 16₁₂ Sergius an Alexandrian is φύλαξ τοῦ ὄριον τῶν Καισαρίου τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Λαμίας. Here the φύλαξ also slept κοιμωμένῳ αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ ὄριον 16₂₀, and over him was a κόμης τοῦ ὄριον 16₂₂ (for τὰ Καισαρίου cf. van Millingen, *op. cit.* pp. 301-2).
- (iii) 26₂₉ Stephanus came κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐπιλεγομένην τὰ Ιορδάνου and δοὺς λογάριν τῷ ἐκεῖσε κηρουλαρίῳ ἔλαβ[εν] κηροὺς καὶ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον κέρμα.
- (iv) 45₂₀ In the days of Maurice Menas of Alexandria was living ἐν Ἀργυροπόλει πλησίον τοῦ ἀγίου μάρτυρος Ἀδριανοῦ.

In themselves the *Miracula* are fascinating reading and the present writer hopes in another place to study at length their social and religious import. Students may be glad of a reference to S. A. Zhebelev's article 'Chudesa Sv. Artemiya' in *Sbornik statei posvyashcheniikh V. I. Laman-skому posluchayu pyatidesyatlyetiju ego uchenoi d'yeyatelnosti*, I. pp. 451-473, St. Petersburg, 1907, though this is based on the old Slav translation.

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

PENALTIES IN LYCIAN EPITAPHS OF HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TIMES.

It is well known that a large proportion of the Greek epitaphs of Lycia¹ contain a clause by which any person making any burial unauthorised by the founder of the tomb becomes liable to pay a named sum to some corporation, whether public (as the *δῆμος*, the *πόλις*, or the imperial treasury) or religious (as the temple of some god), or a powerful association (as the *γερουσία*).²

This liability was not (as might be supposed) a fine imposed by the state in punishment of a criminal offence. Illegal burial was indeed 'at least under the Roman government'³ a crime at law, and was punishable by a fine: but this fine is expressly distinguished from the sum due to the *πόλις* and the *δῆμος*.⁴ The penalty in question does not, in fact, represent a fine at all, but damages to be recovered by a civil action. This explains the wide variation in the sums specified,⁵ and the otherwise unaccountable fact that the amount is fixed by the builder of the tomb.⁶ It stands for the value which he placed

¹ The standard authority may be said to be Hirschfeld's essay, 'Ueber die griechischen Grabinschriften welche Geldstrafen anordnen,' *Königsberger Historisch-philologischen Studien*, i. 1887. A most full and careful analysis of all inscriptions of the kind from Lycia, which were then known, is given in Treuber's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Lykier*, Part ii. Tübingen, 1881. Great numbers have been published since. I have used this work so freely that a general acknowledgment of obligation must serve instead of incessant citation. If any similar work dealing especially with this province has been published in recent years, I must apologise to its author for not being able to refer to it.

² The system is common to most counties of Asia Minor, but the evidence in the case of Lycia is both earlier and more complete. For Phrygia, see Ramsey, *Cittas and Bishoprics*, vol. i. p. 98.

³ There does not appear to be any distinct allusion earlier than A.D. 43 to any law against *ἀσέβεια οἱ τυμβωνχίᾳ*.

⁴ J.H.S. xv. p. 112, No. 25. ἀλλω δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεσται ἐνταφῖναι η̄ ἐπιτρέψαι ἑτέρω, η̄ ὑποκεισται τοῖς ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων ἐπι[τειμ]οῖς, καὶ ἔξωθεν

διφειλέσει τῇ Κυανεῖτῶν πόλει δημάρια πρισχία, κ.τ.λ. 'Εξωθεν is 'besides,' i.e. a distinct payment. The διατάξεις are the imperial enactments. Also C.I.G. 4290, δὲ ἐνθάψας ὑπενθύνος ἔσται ἀσέβεια[s] καταχθονίοις θεοῖς καὶ ὑποκεισται τοῖς διατεταγμένοις κ[αὶ ἔ]ξωθεν Ἀπερ[λ]ειτῶν τῷ δήμῳ (δημάρια δισμύρια). This explains C.I.G. 4207, δὲ θεῖς τινα ἀσέβης ἔστω θεοῖς καταχθονίοις καὶ ἐκτὸς διφειλέτω τῷ Τελμησσέων δήμῳ (δημάρια πεντακισχίλια), and C.I.G. 4221, d.

⁵ There is then a γραφὴ ἀσέβειας involving a known and unvarying amount of fine which need not be named; cf. C.I.G. 4292, διφειλέσει τοῖς καταχθονίοις θεοῖς δίκαια.

⁶ There is also a variable penalty to varying corporations.

⁷ They vary from 250 to 10,000 and even 20,000 denarii. There is no indication of any fixed scale.

⁸ Any man committing to others not his personal heirs the duty of bringing, after his death, a private action for damages against anyone making a wrongful use of the property bequeathed by him, would be compelled to name in his lifetime the damages to be claimed, and

on the possession of the tomb, modified, probably, by his estimate of the damages which the court was likely to grant.⁷

Why, then, were these damages to be handed over to various corporations? The object was to ensure the prosecution of offenders.

The right of bringing a private action to recover damages for the wrongful use of private property is in itself purely personal to the owner. In Lycia the tomb is the absolute property of the man who builds it, not only during his lifetime, but after his death. It is his house, which he continues to inhabit, ruled by his orders, just like the house of a living man.⁸ For obvious reasons, these orders must be recorded before his death in the form of a will, the provisions of which, so far as they deal with the disposal of the tomb, are often engraved upon it in the form of an epitaph. He has the power to dispose of it, or any part of it, in any way he chooses,⁹ but as a general rule he bequeaths it to his personal descendants as an hereditary family property.¹⁰ Naturally the right and duty of bringing actions for the protection of this property would devolve upon his heirs, who would of course receive the consequent damages. Several inscriptions, to be quoted later, indicate that this was in fact originally the custom.¹¹ But experience seems to have shewn that they were apt through supineness, timidity, or possibly corruption, to neglect their duty. The remedy suggested itself of deputing this duty either to anyone who would undertake the office, or (probably by a later development) to some corporation, the damages claimed serving as an inducement or bribe.

he would almost certainly name more than the market-value of the property. Otherwise he could not be sure that the damages would be deterrent, or guard against collusive actions, or fictitious sales under the pretext of claims for damages.

⁷ It is not improbable that the court could only award the full sum claimed, just as Blackstone held that in an action of debt the plaintiff must prove the whole debt he claims, or recover nothing at all. Book V. ch. 9.

⁸ Lycian rocktombs, as everyone knows, are a reproduction of the living-house. The native word *pīnawa*, a tomb, probably means simply a house, and in the neighbouring Cibyra sarcophagi are several times called *ōkos*, *Reisen*, ii. pp. 191, 192. In Phrygia the dead man is 'conceived as living on as a god,' and the tomb 'is the temple, i.e. the home of the god.' Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. 100. Compare 'μετὰ τὸ ἀποθεωθῆναι τοὺς προδηλουμένους' at Aphrodisias in Caria, *C.I.G.* 2831. In Lycia the adoration of the heroised dead is represented at a very early period in reliefs of sepulchral banquets (A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, i. 298), and often later. These are sculptured on the tomb, and probably are supposed to take place within it.

⁹ This is abundantly proved by the variety and precision of the bequests, permissions, and restrictions found at all periods.

¹⁰ According to the established formula, a man builds the tomb for himself, his wife, and his children (*téknoi*). That this includes descendants is proved by Heberdey and Kalinka, *Bericht*, etc., i. No. 59, where Semonis builds for herself *kai τοῖς τέκνοις* a tomb which Lalla daughter of Lysimachus describes in a later inscription as her own *προγονικὸν μνημεῖον*. Often the formula is more explicit, as *téknoi kai ἐγύόνοις*, or *kai τῶν τέκνων τέκνοις* or *τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν*, or (as in *C.I.G.* 4208, c.) *kai τῇ ἐκ τούτων ἐσομένῃ γενεᾷ*. On the other hand tombs (especially those previously uninscribed) are often spoken of in secondary inscriptions as *προγονικόν*. Compare *Reisen*, ii. 32. Αἰρήλιος "Αρπαλος δίς, δὴ [μη]σάμην (= took over) ἐκ προγόνων μον μνημεῖον ἐπέγραψα ἔαντφ, κ.τ.λ. It may probably be inferred that all tombs were by custom hereditary in the absence of any clause to the contrary effect in the founder's will.

¹¹ Here again the duty very likely continued to devolve on the heirs in the numerous cases where no express clause is inserted delegating it to others, or where there is no epitaph at all.

The earliest Greek inscription from Lycia which certainly mentions a definite penalty is that of Telesias at Pinara,¹² which probably belongs to the third century B.C. Here the sum of a talent is named, without any clear indication to whom it is to be paid.

It seems hardly possible not to take *προσαποτεισάτω* as implying that two distinct payments were to be made. This is certainly the meaning in a formula found in Roman times at Aphrodisias in Caria, ἐπεὶ ὁ παρὰ ταῦτα τι ποιήσας ἔσται ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἐπάρατος καὶ τυμβωρύχος, καὶ προσαποτεισάτω εἰς τὸ ιερώτατον ταμεῖον, κ.τ.λ.¹³ Offenders were liable to prosecution for *ἀσέβεια* which involved a fine, and were to pay damages to the treasury as well. In one inscription there we find *ἔνοχος ἔσται ἀσεβείᾳ*.¹⁴ The meaning is therefore identical with such late Lycian phrases as *ὑπεύθυνος ἔσται ἀσεβείας καταχθονίοις θεοῖς καὶ ὑποκείσται τοῖς διατεταγμένοις, καὶ ἔξωθεν Ἀπερλειτῶν τῷ δῆμῳ*.¹⁵

Early Greek epitaphs from Lycia, such as the present example, always employ the word *ἀμαρτωλός*, which in itself refers entirely to moral or ceremonial guilt, not to criminality punishable by the law. The oldest formulae seem to be 'let him be held a sinner against Leto and the other gods,'¹⁶ or more generally, 'against all the gods and goddesses.'¹⁷ Later the regular phrase is *ἀμαρτωλὸς ἔστω θεοῖς καταχθονίοις, κ.τ.λ.*¹⁸ It would certainly appear throughout that this is merely a curse.

In the epitaph of Telesias the explanation seems to be that the religious offence could be purged by atonement in money to the offended gods, but this was a matter between them or their priests and the sinner. The talent is a distinct sum to be recovered in a civil suit by some unnamed person. The reason why no particular person or corporation is appointed, as was the custom in later times, is I believe because it is taken for granted that the duty of *ἐγδικάζεσθαι* or bringing a private action (*δίκη*) lies with the children and grandchildren who are the heirs: they would therefore receive the damages. Failing them, the damages go to any one who is willing to bring the action.¹⁹

¹² Τιλομα Διελιτῶν γένους τὸ ἡρῶν κατεσκεύακεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ, καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ ἐγγόνοις αὐτῷ. Ὑπὲιτα δὲ μηδενὶ ἔξεστω ἐπανοῖσαι τὸ ἡρῶν μηδὲ προστάξαι ἐτέρῳ. Ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, ἀμαρτωλὸς ἔστω θεῶν πάντων καὶ Δητοῦς καὶ τῶν τέκνων, καὶ προσαποτεισάτω τάλαντον ἀργυρίου, καὶ ἔξεστω τῷ Βουλομένῳ ἐγδικάζεσθαι περὶ τούτων. C.I.G. 4259, and *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, i. 29.

¹³ C.I.G. 2839, and in several other epitaphs. See Treuber, *op. cit.* p. 12.

¹⁴ Le as-Waddington 1639.

¹⁵ C.I.G. 4290. Compare the other passages already quoted, p. 269, note 4. A variant of the usual formula at Aphrodisias, *ἔστω ἐπάρατος καὶ προσαποτεισάτω* (C.I.G. 2824), must be interpreted in conformity with contemporary

local custom as loosely equivalent to *ἔστω ἀσεβής*, i.e. *ὑπεύθυνος ἀσεβείας*.

¹⁶ C.I.G. 4303. This epitaph is very ancient.

¹⁷ C.I.G. 4303, e.; J.H.S. xv. p. 114, No. 31; *ibid.* p. 104, No. 9; *Reisen*, ii. 58.

¹⁸ This first appears in the first century B.C. and is commonly used until A.D. 43. It is generally combined with a penalty to the *δῆμος*.

¹⁹ This stage in the development of Lycian law is therefore the same as that reached by Roman law under the republic, as quoted by Treuber, *op. cit.* p. 33. *Cujus dolo malo sepulchrum violatum esse dicetur, in eum in factum judicium dabo, ut ei ad quem pertinet quanti ob eam rem aequum videbitur condemnetur. Si nemo erit, al quem pertineat, sive agere solet: quicumque agere solet, ei sestertium centum milium nummorum actionem dabo.*

The failure of the heirs alone to protect the tomb properly is already shewn by this inscription. The plan of appealing to the intervention of private persons does not seem to have been more efficacious. It is very likely not a mere coincidence that the published inscriptions of about the same date with that of Telesias,²⁰ and for a long time after, either contain no provisions at all for the future protection of the tomb,²¹ or else rely entirely on a curse.²² The extraordinarily small number of epitaphs intermediate in date between the beginning of the third century B.C. and the end of the second makes the evidence rather insufficient.²³

It is possibly not until the first century in an epitaph at Tristomo (*Reisen.* ii. 108),²⁴ that we find another mention of damages.²⁵ Here they are to be paid to one of the two builders and to his descendants.²⁶

The sarcophagus of Hermoas at Assarjik (Aloanda²⁷) may be somewhat later in date.²⁸ In any case this seems to be the oldest published inscription in which any part of the damages is assigned to a named public body, and even here the right belongs in the first place to the heir. The δῆμος only has the share which is commonly given to the informer, as in the next example.

The earliest epitaph in which the recovery of damages is entirely handed over to a public body, to the complete exclusion of the heirs, is on the

²⁰ I omit in this paper all discussion of two epitaphs much older than Telesias', that of Perpenenis at Cyaneae (*Reisen.* ii. 27), and that of Moschion at Telmessus (first printed by M. Imbert, *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, vol. x. p. 216). Their interpretation depends entirely on the meaning of a Lycian word, *mindis*, and they cannot be treated apart from the Lycian inscriptions, with which they are, I believe, contemporary. Neither seems to have anything to do with legal penalties. In the first, there is probably only a question of a fine imposed by a corporation on its members (Vertragsmult. in the second of a fee, not a fine).

²¹ As *Reisen.* ii. 52, and 94.

²² As *Reisen.* ii. 58; *C.I.G.* 4303; *J.H.S.* xv. p. 114.

²³ There are perhaps not more than about 15 in all older than the latter date, and of these some half-dozen are to be dated before 300 or little after. Before 300, over 150 Lycian and Greek epitaphs are known. The new wealth created under Roman protection (from B.C. 168 onward) required new family tombs; in the bad times of Greek rule the old were sufficient.

²⁴ In this inscription two erasures appear to have been made, in the first and third lines, so as to remove the name of the first of the two original builders, and remove also the mention of the heirs of the second original builder, Hegias. Instead of these the name of Thrasymachus and the mention of his heirs are ap-

pended at the end of the inscription, which is therefore to be read thus:

Τὸν τάφον κατεσκενάσαντο (erasure) Ἡγίας Σεδεπλειος ἔαντων καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ (erasure seq. l. 6) καὶ Θρασύμαχος Ἀρχίου ἔαντων καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Νο[σ]σ[δι] Μενεκράτον καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν καὶ [το]ις τούτ[ω]ν ἐγγόνοις (l. 3) ἄλλων δὲ μη ἔξεσται θύψαι, η διειλήσει δ πάρα τῶντα θύψας ἐπιτίμων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης Θρασύμαχοι η τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ δραχμὰς χιλιας. The alteration was made at the moment of engraving: lines 6 and 7 are not a later addition. In l. 3 καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ were probably the words erased.

²⁵ 'Die Inschrift ist gut geschrieben und gehört wohl noch in das letzte vorchristliche Jahrhundert' (Petersen). There seems no definite indication that it may not be even somewhat earlier.

²⁶ If there had been only one builder, the damages would probably have gone to his descendants by ordinary right, and not have been mentioned in the epitaph.

²⁷ For himself, wife, and children. Ἄλλωι δὲ μηθενὶ ἔξεστα ταφῆναι ἐν τῷ προγεγραμμένῳ τάφῳ, η ἀποτισάτω ὁ θύψας τῷ νινῶν μοῦ Ἐρμολάωι δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὸ ίσον πλῆθος, καὶ ἀμαρτωλὸς ἔστω κ.τ.λ. *J.H.S.* xv. p. 104. The restorations, not here marked, are due to Mr. Davies and are certain. No reward is offered to a private prosecutor or to an informer.

sarcophagus of Serisalus²³ at Simena, which is probably later than that of Hegias and Thrasymachus.

That of Archedemus at Tristomo is apparently somewhat later again. It is the first epitaph in which the builder, having personal descendants to whom he bequeaths the right of burying others in his tomb, nevertheless leaves the right of recovering damages to a public body or to private individuals instead of to his heirs.²⁴

The three inscriptions last quoted with another unfortunately imperfect,²⁵ give the only published examples of penalties payable to a corporation during the period in which the iota adscript was still in use, and they belong generally speaking to the very end of that period. Yet almost immediately afterwards the system must have become very common, since it is found in more than twenty epitaphs earlier than A.D. 43, besides those quoted.²⁶ The formulae employed are very uniform, and very similar in wording to the inscriptions of Serisalus and Archedemus.

The evidence, so far as it goes, tends to shew that the deputation of the right of prosecution to a specially named public body was still a new expedient in the early part of the first century B.C., and did not become common until the end of that century. It appears to be a development of the popular action found in the much earlier epitaph of Telesias. The same causes which deterred the heirs from prosecuting would generally deter a private individual: in the case of a powerful offender a public body would be less open to intimidation. The change may have been helped on by a reform of the legal procedure.

It has been already observed that the epitaph of Hegias and Thrasymachus,²⁷ and likewise the two inscriptions nearest to it in date, those of Hermoas²⁸ and of Serisalus,²⁹ all contain the words *καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης*, which are not found on any other tomb, whether earlier or later. The meaning seems

²³ *C.I.G.* 4300, v. line 9. ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα πρᾶξῃ τι, ἀμαρτωλὸς ἔστω θεοῖς χθονίοις, καὶ ἀποτισάτω ἐπιτίμιον τῷ δῆμῳ δραχμὰς ἔξακισχιλίας, τῆς προσαγγελίας οὗσης παντὶ τῷ βουλούμενῷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμίσει καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης.

The founder seems to have left no descendants, for the use of the tomb is only given to his wife, and parents, and a θρηπτή (*θρηπτοί* and *ἀπελεύθεροι* in the *ὑπόστοροι*). The delegation to the *δῆμος* is probably due to the incapacity of some to plead, and the improbability that the others would survive him.

²⁴ *Ileisien*, ii. 108^a (= *C.I.G.* 4303 c). Τὸν τάφον κατεσκευάσατο Ἀρχέδημος Ερμαπίου ἑατῶι, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Μαμα Ουαμαρον, καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, καὶ τῶν τέκνων τεκνοῖς. Ἀλλωι δὲ μηδενὶ ἔξεστω θάψαι: ἐὰν δέ τις θάψῃ τινά, ὑφελέτωι Μυρέων τῷ δῆμῳ (δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας), τῆς πράξεως οὗσης παντὶ τῷ βουλούμενῷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμίσει.

The inscription belongs to the first century B.C.; the form *ἑατῷ* indicates a date later than B.C. 70.

²⁵ *C.I.G.* 4300, s, in which the end of the line should be restored, διφειλήσει Ἀπερ-[λ]ειρ[ῶν τῷ δῆμῳ δραχμάς . .].

²⁶ During this period in three-fourths of the examples the damages are payable to the *δῆμος*. Permission to prosecute still continued to be given to private persons, who receive one-half of the penalty. After A.D. 43, the penalty is stated in denarii instead of drachmae, and one-third is generally promised to the informer, or the witness who secures a conviction.

²⁷ ὑφειλήσει—ἐπιτίμιον καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης Θρασυμάχῳ, κ. τ. λ.

²⁸ ἀποτισάτω—τῷ νιωτῶι ιοῦ—δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. κ. τ. λ.

²⁹ τῆς προσαγγελίας οὗσης παντὶ τῷ βουλούμενῷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμίσει καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης.

certainly to be, 'as if in consequence of a civil action,' 'as though a civil action had taken place,'³⁵ with the distinct implication that a civil action was not to take place, at least in the ordinary way. Yet it appears certain that the substitution of a criminal action is not intended.³⁶

The nature of the change is very probably indicated by the wording of the formula which is found in the nearly contemporary epitaph of Archedemus, and again repeatedly almost without variation until A.D. 43: ὁφειλέτω Μυρέων τῷ δίμωι (δραχμὰς ἔξακισχιλίας), τῆς πράξεως οὐσῆς παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμίσει.

Πρᾶξις, which is found at least ten times during this period, is properly 'the recovery of a debt';³⁷ the habitual use of such a term can hardly be accidental. The procedure in cases of claims for the wrongful use of a tomb had probably been assimilated to that in cases of debt, no doubt with the object of making it cheaper and more expeditious. The meaning would in that case be that proceedings were to be taken against offenders by a *πρᾶξις*³⁸ instead of a *δίκη*, but the damages and the accuser's share were to be assigned as in the case of an ordinary civil action (*καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης*).

The series of epitaphs hitherto discussed extends from early Hellenistic down to late Roman times. Throughout this period, the objects, as well as the rights and powers, of the tomb-builder remain in general unaltered. The trespasses against which he seeks to protect his property are defined in formulae which hardly vary from first to last. The remedies, on the contrary, to which he has recourse are of two entirely different kinds derived from entirely different orders of ideas. Each of them, moreover, seems to pass through more than one stage of evolution during the period.

In the first case usurpation of a tomb is regarded as a sin. The remedy is an appeal to the vengeance of the offended gods. In times and places where religious influence was powerful, a substantial atonement was probably enforced. Later, under the Roman empire, the state intervenes with penal statutes against sacrilege and tomb-breaking. The sin has developed into a crime.

In the second case the usurpation is neither a sin nor a crime, but a tort. It is an injury to private property, and the remedy is a civil action for damages. This (it seems likely) was at first to be brought by the builder

³⁵ Treuber (p. 19) translates 'ganz wie auf Grund eines durchgeföhnten Privatprozesses.' He compares an inscription at Aphrodisias (Lebas-Waddington 1639) where offenders have to pay to the Imperial fiscus 10,000 denarii, ὡς ἐκ καταδίκης, ὥν τὸ τρίτον έσται τοῦ ἑκδικήσατος. He suggests that 'bei dem Gerichtsverfahren, das durch eine derartige Anzeige veranlaßt wurde, die *litis aestimatio* sowie die *actio judicati* und vielleicht noch anderes von vornherein wegfiel, und dazu, dass die Busse verwirkt war und rechtskraftig wurde, es genügte, wenn der Richter sich dahin ausprach, dass die gegen die Bestimmungen verstossende That von der

bezeichneten Person begangen war.' He knew only the last of the three epitaphs.

³⁶ See above, p. 269.

³⁷ Also the recovery of arrears of taxation, etc.

³⁸ It is not probable that the actual recovery of damages which had already been awarded by a court could have been left to any private person. More probably all necessity for such an award was eliminated by something analogous to a justices' warrant. The public registration of the damages claimed, as well as the title to the tomb (*C.I.G.* 4274), would facilitate a summary jurisdiction.

and his heirs; then later by them, or failing them by anyone who would undertake the office; finally by some corporation appointed by the builder.

Throughout the period both sets of ideas were held simultaneously: both remedies are commonly invoked in the same epitaph. But the first system is certainly more in accordance with primitive habits of thought, and more characteristic of the native races of Asia Minor, so far as we know anything of them. It also appears to prevail over the other the more, the further we go back.³⁹ It is possible that the second system is the result of the imposition by the Macedonian conquest of Greek ideas on Asiatic, an application of Greek legal theories about private property and Greek habits of litigation to native conceptions of the absolute ownership of the tomb by the dead.

In any case it is unsafe, when employing these Greek epitaphs as a means for the translation of the older Lycian inscriptions, to assume an exact correspondence throughout, or to expect confidently on native tombs of the fourth century to find the identical system of penalties to the *πόλις*, the *δῆμος*, and the *γερουσία* which is found 300 years later. The continuity of custom and even of wording is no doubt remarkable. The very same formulae are used to define the trespass during the Lycian as during the Greek period. It by no means follows that the remedies are identical. On some future occasion I may perhaps endeavour to show that the Lycian formulae which have generally been supposed to refer to penalties have really a totally different meaning.⁴⁰

I regret that the article by Keil in *Hermes*, xiv. pp. 552 f., only came to my notice after the above was already in type. Interesting as it is, it does not appear to me to make any essential modification of my position necessary.

W. ARKWRIGHT.

³⁹ Only one of the oldest epitaphs (that of Telesias) comes under the second class, and there the curse precedes the penalty. Two others (*C.I.G.* 4303 and *J.H.S.* xv. p. 114) have the curse only.

⁴⁰ With the Lycian are to be classed, not only the bilingual, but also a few very early Greek epitaphs, such as the two mentioned on p. 272, note 20.



FIG. 1.—AMPHORA IN BERLIN.

THE MASTER OF THE BERLIN AMPHORA.

ONE of the best Greek vases we possess is the amphora No. 2160 in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 1 and Pll. XV.—XVI.). There is something specially charming about these graceful woodland people, the dreaming Silens and their instruments of music, young Hermes with winged head and feet, the gentle fawn. The question, however, who painted the piece, has been variously answered. Furtwangler, in his catalogue,¹ thought of Brygos, but some years later he attributed the vase to the painter called Kleophrades²; and Winter said it was by Euphronios.³ A year ago, the present writer indicated five other vases by the same hand⁴; and he now proposes to examine the work of this

I owe my thanks to Miss G. M. A. Richter, Mr. L. D. Caskey, Dr. Holweida, Drs. Sieveking and Hackl, Mr. Pottier, and Mr. A. H. Smith for allowing me to publish vases in New York, Boston, Leyden, Munich, the Louvre, and the British Museum, and for sending me photographs, to Mr. E. P. Warren for allowing me to publish the vase in his collection and for a drawing of the Boston fragment by Mr. F. H. Gearing; to Dr. Pridik for telling me the patterns of the St. Petersburg vase; to

Dr. Kostler and to Dr. Delbrück for allowing me to inspect the apparatus of the Berlin Museum and of the German Institute in Rome; to Miss H. L. Lorimer and Mr. A. S. Owen for supplementing my scanty notes on the Palermo vases; and to Prof. Myres for referring me to the Myrina vase in note 10.

¹ 2, p. 485.

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1894, p. 114.

³ *Jahreshefte*, iii, p. 128.

⁴ *J.H.S.* xxx, p. 38, note 5 and p. 49.

anonymous painter, who may be called the Master of the Berlin amphora; for although we possess a fair number of his paintings, none is quite so elaborate as this, though some of them are rightly admired.

LIST OF VASES BY THE BERLIN MASTER.

Thirty-eight vases will be assigned to the Berlin master's hand. A list of these vases will first be given, arranged according to shape. The characteristics of the master's style will then be indicated.

A further list of twenty-nine vases will follow. These are imitations. To say that they show the master's influence would be misleading: they are direct and conscious imitations: they copy his style, some of them so closely that it is difficult to distinguish them from the master's own work. Occasional stylistic variations and crudity of touch betray the imitator. This list of school-pieces will conclude the study.

I. **Amphora** (shape Furtw. *Cat.* No. 35).

This shape, a favourite with the early severe painters, is rare in the developed severe period. The transitional and free style examples are not very numerous and nearly all bad.

This unusually fine piece is distinguished by unusual patterns, the spiral is never a common pattern, and the r.-f. ivy-wreath is very rare in the severe period.⁵

¹ Berlin 2160 Pl. XV.-XVI. and Fig. 1: Gerhard Silen with lyre, Silen with lyre
Etr. u. Kamp. Vasenb. Pl. VIII.- and Hermes
IX. ; *Jahreshefte* 3, Pl. III.-V."

Above each picture, pattern No. 14; below each, No. 15.

Handles ivied, their edges red: foot usual early type: rays at base: at each handle r.-f. palmette: lid black, with pomegranate-shaped knob. A red line below upper pattern; above rays; and at upper edge of reserved section of foot.

Winter's interpretation of the subject is improbable. Hermes and the Silens are frequently found together: the herald had often to pass through wild country, and it was well for him to be on good terms with the savage inhabitants.

The Silens on Douris' psykter (B.M. E 768,⁶ show the influence of our master.

⁵ For the spiral, v. *ibid.* p. 55, note 57. The earliest example of the r.-f. ivy-wreath is Louvre kalpis G 49 (Pottier, *Allum.*, Pl. 94): then comes our amphora.

⁶ Our plates are composite drawings from the

previous publications, with some corrections. They will presently be superseded by a new drawing in FRH. (kind communication by Dr. Zahn.)

⁷ FR Pl. 48.

II. Amphorae of Panathenaic shape (shape Furtw. No. 36).

We find the very counterparts of the Berlin Silens on an amphora of Panathenaic shape in Munich (2311) (Fig. 2). This Munich vase does not stand alone, but belongs to a group of eleven amphorae of true Panathenaic shape, with spreading convex foot, and cushion between neck and shoulder.

One of these eleven, an early piece, has frames round the subjects: of the other ten, four have no pattern at all, and five have a band of pattern under each figure.⁸ This pattern is either (1) a stopt key ('stopt,' as opposed to the ordinary 'running-key' pattern): or (2) a stopt key alternating



FIG. 2.—AMPHORA OF PANATHENAIC SHAPE IN MUNICH.

with saltire-squares alternately from top to bottom. Both these patterns are highly characteristic of the master, and the first we shall refer to as 'pattern 1,' the second as 'pattern 2' (*v. Fig. 3*).

Pattern 2 is found on 7 of our 38 vases, and twice, perhaps thrice, on school-pieces:⁹ and on no other vase.

⁸ No. 9 is a mere fragment, and the patterns are lost.

⁹ Our Nos. 13*d* and 24*a*. The doubtful

example is on the fragmentary 13*f*, where the pattern is incomplete.

PATTERNS USED BY THE BERLIN MASTER ON VASES Nos :—

1		4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 22, 27, 29, 33
2		10, 11, 13, 14, 21, 25, 26
3		2
4		2
4a		21
5		14
6		34
7		34
8		2
9		25 <i>bis</i>
10		24, 24 <i>bis</i> , 28
11		14 : 21 (doubled)
12		30, 31
13		32
14		1
15		1
16		15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20

FIG. 3.

Pattern 1 occurs on 9 of the 38 vases : further, on 7 school-pieces : beyond that, only 13 times in Attic vase-painting.¹⁰

Other combinations, besides pattern 2, of the stopt key-motive with pattern-square or maeander, are found on our vase No. 2 : on the 2 school-pieces 13*d* and 21*a* ; and on 6 other vases only.¹¹

Outside our master's school then, the stopt key-motive only appears 19 times in Attic vase-painting.

Amphorae of Panathenaic shape.

Upper side of mouth always black.

(*a*) Pictures framed.

2 Vatican *Mus. Greg.* Pl. 58. 2

Hermes

: Athena

Frame : above, all round, tongues ; sides, (A) pattern No. 3 ; (B) No. 4 : below, all round, No. 8. Neck, both A and B, a r.-f. palmette-and-lotus-bud-motive.

Shoulder-cushion red ; at each handle r.-f. palmette, the petals all ribbed.

(*b*) No frame : no palmettes or neck-ornament : shoulder-cushion the usual black.

3	Munich 2312 (54) ¹²	Micali. <i>Mon. Ined.</i> Pl. 44. 8 ; FRH. Pl. 134. 1	Perseus	Medusa	none	none
4	Vatican	PL VIII. 1: <i>Mus. Greg.</i> Pl. 58. 1	Diskobolos	Man	1	1
5	Munich 2310 (1)	—	Diskobolos	Athlete with halteres	none	none

¹⁰ This pattern is found on Asiatic vases : Louvre B 561, amphora from Myrina (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 8. Pl. 7) ; Berlin, a fragment from Pergamon ; B.M. inv. 1907, 12-1, 726, a fragment from Ephesus ; B.M. inv. 1888, 6-1, 477, a fragment from Naukratis.

Not on Attic b.-f. vases.

On Attic r.-f. vases : Severe lekythoi ; Vienna, Hofmuseum 608 ; Munich, Glyptothek. Severe Nolan amphorae : Berlin 2330 ; B.M. E 296 (*Él. Cér.* 4, Pl. 48) ; Louvre G 204. Severe fragment (of oinochoe ?) in Athens (I have not seen the original of the Athens piece ; to judge from the drawing kindly shown me by Dr. Hartwig, it belongs to our master's school). Free lekythoi : Athens 12480 (phot. Alinari 24472), New York (*Bull. Metr. Mus.* June 1909, p. 104, Fig. 6), and Berlin (*Coll. Sabouroff.* Pl. 60. 1) ; Palermo (FR Pl. 66, 1). Free amphora with twisted handles B.M. E 277 ; free amphora with ridged handles, Copenhagen. Finally, amphora with twisted handles Genick *Gr. Ker.* Pl. 4*a* : this may belong to the school of our master (group 13*a-h*), but the reproduction is styleless ; the foot is as Furtwangler notices (*ibid.* p. 17) a restoration.

For the genesis of this pattern from the maeander, *v.* Corinthian jug Louvre E 648 (Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 51) and Corinthian hydria Berlin 1657.

The lekythos in the Glyptothek (subject, Herakles with the tripod) is a work of Kleophrades. I should like it added, together with a kalpis belonging to Mr. Augusto Castellani in Rome (Herakles and the lion), to the list given of that artist's vases in *J.H.S.* 30.

¹¹ Stopt key alternating with stopped maeander : severe lekythoi, Oxford 323 and Munich 2476 ; severe Nolan amphora with patterns only. Rome, coll. Mr. Aug. Castellani.

Stopt key in 2's alternating with stopped maeander in 2's : severe Nolan amphora, Copenhagen 4978.

Stopt key in 3's alternating with stopped maeander in 3's : severe lekythos, B.M. E 574.

Stopt key in 2's with saltire-squares and Dourian cross-squares from top and bottom stamnos, Berlin 2186 (*Ann.* 1860, Pl. L-M).

¹² For Munich vases, the new number is given, and Jahn's number added in brackets. In Naples vases, Heydemann's number is added in brackets.

6	Munich 2313 (9)	Pl. VIII. 2	Diskobolos ΣΟΚΠΑΤΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ	Youth	1	1
7	Wurzburg 319	FRH. Pl. 134. 2	Apollo	Herakles	none	none
8	Naples (fracc. cum. 163)	—	Eros	Youth	1	1
9	Boston (fragment)	Pl. X. 1	Athena	—	—	—
10	Florence 399 ¹³	—	Amazon	Amazon	1	2
11	Leyden	Pl. XIII.	Hoplitedromos	Hoplitedromos	2	2
12	Munich 2311 (52)	Fig. 2	Silen	Silen	none	none

III. Neck-Amphora with twisted handles (shape Furtw. No. 37).

Neck, mouth, and foot are of the ordinary shape, and are covered all over with black: the upper side of the rim is also black.

13	B.M. E 266	Pl. XI.-XII. and Fig. 4	Bearded komast	Young komast with lyre	2	1
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FIG. 4.—NECK-AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (E 266).

¹³ A. Amazon l. regardant, short chiton and helmet, in r. upright spear, on l. shield, gteaves, r. extended downwards, on l. shield, in l. spear. B. Amazon r. regardant, corslet, helmet, and

IV. **Pelike** (shape Furtw. No. 42).

14	Once Rome. coll. Castellani	Drawing in Rome, German Institute, 1867, No. 22	Theft of the Tripod	Boy between youth and man ¹⁴
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The pictures are framed: above, on both A and B, pattern No. 11; at the sides, on both A and B, No. 2; below, on A, No. 5; on B, No. 2.

V. **Stamnoi** (shape Furtw. No. 39).

Six stamnoi can be attributed to our master. Four of them have preserved their necks: the neck is always short and its circumference the same at its upper and lower edges. Only two have kept their feet: 15 has a plain reserved disc without cushion, 18 has a plain black disc with cushion.

The pattern below the pictures is always the same, a single reserved line running all round the vase (pattern No. 16).

15, 16, and 19 have the usual tongues at the shoulder. 17, 18, and 20 have no pattern at the shoulder: this is uncommon in stamnoi.

15	Munich 2406 (421)	FRH. Pl. 106, 2, and text, 2, p. 236	Achilles and Hector	Arming
16	Louvre G 56	Pottier, <i>Album</i> , Pl. 95 (A); drawing in German Institute, Mappe 21, 4	Athena mounting chariot	Arming
17	Palermo 1503	Inghirami, <i>cav. jitt.</i> I. Pl. 77-8	Visit to Cheiron	N <small>E</small> R <small>E</small> US and N <small>E</small> REIDS KALOS
18	Louvre G 186	Fro-huet, <i>Cat. Coll. Barat.</i> , Pl. 5 (A)	Achilles brought to Cheiron	Man and 2 youths
19	Louvre G 185	<i>Mon.</i> 6-7, Pl. 67	Dionysos on goat, and Silens	Hermes on ram and Silens
20	Lewes, coll. Mr. E. P. Warren	Pl. XVII.	Maenads with Pentheus' limbs	Maenads with Pentheus' limbs.

VI. **Kraters**.VI. a. **Krater with volute handles** (shape Furtw. No. 38).

21	B.M. E 468	Pl. XIV. and Fig. 5: Fight: Achilles and Gerhard. A / Pl. 204. Fight: Achilles and Memnon	Hector
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The practice of blackening the volute-krater's body, and putting pictures on the neck, is invariable in b.-f. painting, and not infrequent in the severe r.-f. style.

The upper side of the rim reserved. On rim (A) pattern No. 2, (B, No. 4 a: on upper section of neck, No. 11, doubled: on shoulder and at base of handles, tongue. At base, rays: ivied handles.

¹⁴ *A.* 1. Herakles moving l., regardant, l. leg frontal, r. raised with club, with l. grasps middle leg of tripod; 2. Athena moving l., regardant, r. extended with helmet, in l. spear across shoulder; 3. Apollo moving l., r. extended, in

1. bow. *B.* 4. Youth leaning on stick r., l. hand on hip, l. extended; 5. boy moving r. regardant, r. arm extended, r. hand on 4's shoulder, l. hand in himation; 6. man standing l., r. hand at chin, in l. stick.

VI. b. **Bell-kraters** (shape Pl. X. 2).

The very earliest bell-kraters we possess are a group of four from our master's hand. Bell-kraters are frequently represented on early severe r.-f vases; but these were no doubt made of plain blackened clay without decoration. These early kraters are represented with holds or ears instead of handles, and have no detached foot. This simple shape is preserved without modification by our master. The bell-krater with holds continues to exist by the side of the more popular handled bell-krater right into the late free style, but a foot is soon added. All bell-kraters with handles have a detached foot, and all bell-kraters with holds excepting our four and a



FIG. 5.—VOLUTE-KRATER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (E 468).

fifth vase in Palermo¹⁵ by the master of the Boreas pointed-amphorae.¹⁶

The vases are entirely black but for the figures and a band of pattern under each.

22	Cometo	Pl. X. 2	Europa	Woman ¹⁷	1	1
23	Louvre G 174	—	Herakles resting	Silen ¹⁸	none	none
24	Louvre G 175	Fig. 6 Ann. 1876, Pl. C	Ganymede	Zeus	10	10
24 b/s	Once Rome, Fepolti	Drawing in Berlin Apparatus, XXII. 83. 2	Ganymede	Youth	10	—

¹⁵ *EJ. Cr.* 3. Pl. 62.

¹⁶ So, I think, Hauser; but I cannot find the reference.

¹⁷ B. Woman running r., l. extended.

¹⁸ A. Herakles lying on plain mattress l., r. extended, in l. kantharos; B. Silen r., in l. oinochoe, in l. lyre (B. much restored)

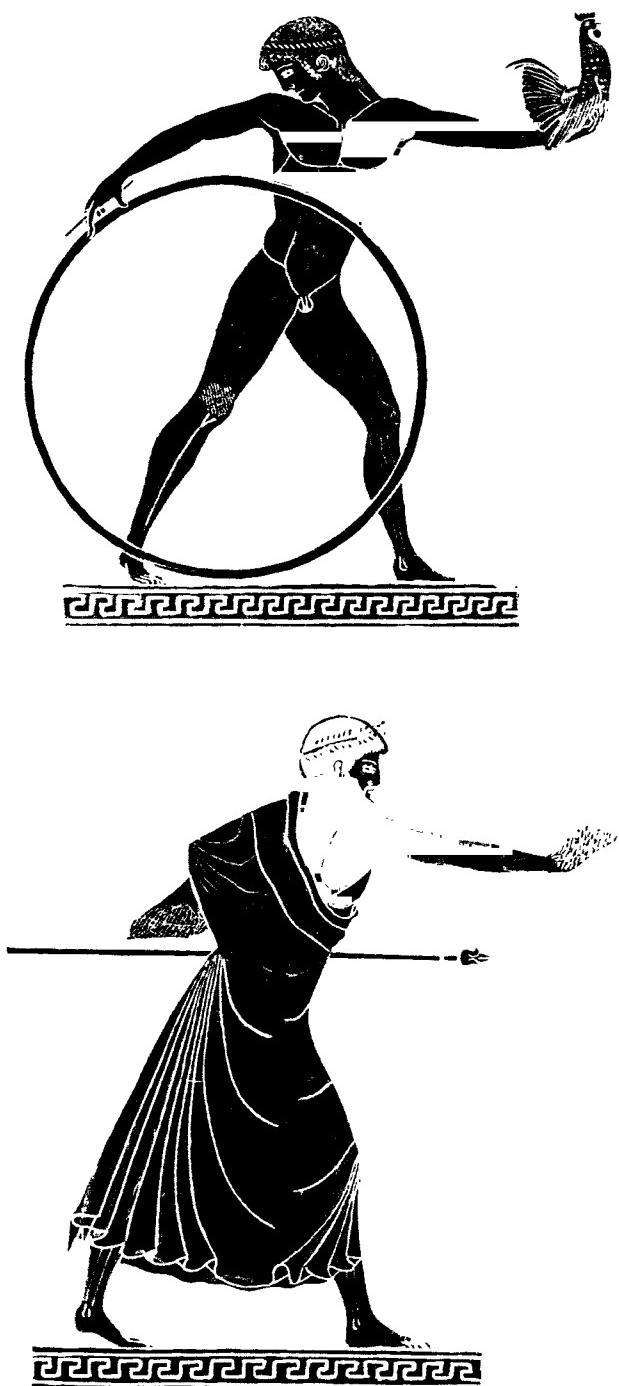


FIG. 6.—BELL-KRATER IN THE LOUVRE

VII. **Hydriae.**VII. *a.* **Hydria of b.-f. shape** (shape Furtw. No. 31).

This shape does not survive the severe style; the following vase is one of the latest examples.

The foot is of the later double ogee shape¹⁹: the mouth is reserved, and divided into two at an angle. The picture extends over the shoulder and body: below it is a band of pattern No. 2.

25 | Vatican | Mon. I. Pl. 46; phot. Moscioni 8575 | Apollo | 2

VII. *b.* **Hydriai-kalpides** (shape Furtw. No. 41).

Picture on the shoulder. Foot double-ogee: rim black with detached lip: upper side of mouth reserved; the band of pattern below the picture stops some inches from the handles.

25 bis	New York	Pl. IX. and Fig. 7: <i>Bull. Metr. Mus.</i> Feb. 1910, p. 34, Fig. 14	Greek and Amazon	9
25 ter	Once Florence, coll. Guarducci	Inghirami, <i>vasi fitt.</i> 1. Pl. 63	Herakles and lion	2 †
26	Boulogne-sur-mer ²⁰	—	Dionysos and Maenad	2



FIG. 7.—HYDRIA IN NEW YORK.

VIII. **Lekythoi.**

The three following lekythoi have the shoulder black, and no pattern above the picture: on the shoulder, at the junction with the neck, 28 and 29

¹⁹ In hydriai of b.-f. shape, this foot occurs only on our Nos. 25 and 25a, Boston (phot. Coolidge 9685), and B.M. E. 162, E. 163, E. 161.

thyrses; 2. Maenad moving r. regardant, in l. thyrses and snake, r. extended: between them small lion r.; cf. especially our No. 29.

²⁰ 1. Dionysos moving l., in r. horn, in l.

have an egg-pattern (without dots): 27 I have not seen. 27 and 29 have pattern No. 1 below the picture. 28 has a running key. (No. 10)

27 . Athens 12394	| 'Eph. 'Αρχ. 1907, p. 234, Fig. 5	Bearded komast	1
28 . Palermo ²¹	—	Bearded komast	10
29 . Palermo ²²	—	Young warrior	1

IX. Nolan amphorae (shape Furtw. No. 45).

The conventional term 'Nolan amphora' should be restricted, for convenience, to the *small* r.-f. neck-amphorae with simple mouth, simple disc-foot, and triple (or later, ridged) handles, which first appear in the developed severe period.

The following vases have triple handles and simple black disc foot. 30 and 32 have a r.-f. palmette at each handle, 31 a leaf, the others nothing.

In these smaller and not extremely careful drawings it is not easy to distinguish the master's own work from good and very close imitation. The following six vases seem to the writer not merely school-pieces but works of the master's hand.

30 Naples 1361 (3187)	Young warrior	Woman running	12 all round
31 Louvre G 201 ²³	Silen and Dionysos lying down	Silen at bell-krater	12 all round
32 Mannheim ²⁴	Man offering lyre to youth	Youth	13 all round
33 Vienna, Hofmuseum ²⁵	Young warrior	Youth with spear	1 1
34 Naples 1328 (3192)	Athlete with akontion	Youth	7 6
35 Once Boulogne, coll. Panckoucke, <i>Etr.</i> Cf., 4, Pl. 49 (A ²⁶)	Eros	Youth	,

THE STYLE OF THE BERLIN MASTER.

The *lines* are thin, equable, and flowing, not dry like Douris', nor wet, thick, and strong like Kleophrades'.

The *collar-bone* varies from (α)  through  to (β) . The intermediate form may be seen on 12, 24, and A of 8. 14 has both (α) and (β). (β) is the commoner shape (4, 6, 11, 13, 15, 21, 25 bis. 27, 28, 32, 33, 34). 1, 5, 7 and B of 8 have (α).

²¹ Man moving r. regardant, r. leg frontal, in l. lyre.

²² Not in the museum at Boulogne.

²² Young warrior, corslet and helmet, standing r. leg frontal, head l., in l. spear, with r. pours from phiale.

The Eros resembles very closely the Eros on the Naples vase, our No. 8. The earliest vases where Eros by himself forms the subject of a complete picture, are the early r.-f. Chachrylion-cup in Florence (*Mus. Ital.* 3, Pl. 2) and the early cup B.M. E 13 (Murray, *Designs*, No. 10); next comes the Naples vase with a larger-scale figure.

²³ A. 1. Silen lying l. fluting : 2. Dionysos lying l., r. extended in l. lauge kotyle : *I.* 3. Silen kneeling l., 4-back view, r. extended plunging oinochoe into bell-krater of same shape as our Nos. 22-24

The Eros on the Nolan amphora with the name of Diokles B.M. E 296 (*Etr.* Cf., 4, Pl. 48) shows the influence of our master, but the style is not that of his school. The pattern on A of that vase is a stopt key—the artist's tribute to the man whose conception he had borrowed.

²⁴ A. 1. Man leaning on stick r., in r. lyre ; 2. youth stdg. l., r. extended : between them, dog l. : B. youth moving l. regardant, l. leg frontal, in l. hand stick.

²⁵ A. Young warrior, corslet, helmet, standing l. leg frontal, head l., in r. upright spear : B. naked youth standing r., in l. upright spear.

On the carelessly drawn B of 13, the curved part of (*a*) becomes angular. On 3, Perseus has (*a*), but brown instead of black, to mark it off from the black edge of the chiton.

The junction of the lower *breast* lines: either (*a*) , or, by omitting the third side of the triangle, (*B*)  (*a*) occurs on 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 13, 15, 19, 23, (*B*) on 1, 8, 11, 12, 18, 19, 32, 33, 35.

The third side of the triangle seems brown instead of black on 25 *bis*.

The junction makes simple right angles in some small figures (21, 34), and in large figures on A of 8 (B has (*B*)), and one figure on 18 (*B* also occurs on 18).

The *nipples* are rendered by rosettes of brown dots.

A simple brown circle is used instead on the small figures of 21 : on 13 (once), and on 24 for the boy Ganymede. The nipple frequently projects from the profile of the breast.

The fixed type of *torso-* and *belly-muscles* may be studied on the Berlin amphora or the Würzburg vase.

The *navel* and the *navel-pubes line* are brown. The sole exception is B of 1, which shows a black median-line and a black navel-pubes line : this rendering is an exceptional experiment on an exceptional vase.²⁷

The *navel* is indicated by a lozenge-shaped expansion of the brown lines on the belly : in the middle of this a brown dot is sometimes placed (8, 11, 12, 15, 24, and B of 7).

Fut bellies are rendered by parallel curved brown lines on 13 (viveur) and 19 and 30 (Silens).

Let us notice a peculiarity about the *genitals*. They are pushed to one side in frontal and $\frac{3}{4}$ -figures (1, 7, 11, 13, 14, 16, 19, 21, 24, 24 *bis*, 34, 35).

Silens are not ithyphallic.

The characteristic drawing of the *arm and shoulder muscles* may be seen on 13.

The open flat *hand* is particularly common : there is usually a single curving black line at the root of the fingers. Another common type is the hand with thumb and index extended, the other fingers bent (2, 4, 18, 19, 26).

1 has the thumb-nail marked in black ; the rendering is the same as that of the toe-nails where marked. The tendons are indicated on 1, the knuckles on 7.

The profile *hip-line*, when carefully drawn, e.g. on the Würzburg vase, has a double curve and a triangle at the belly. On smaller or less careful vases, the curve is simplified. The triangle is lacking on 31 and 34. The hip-line is black on 4, 7, 12, 18, 19, 25 *bis* ; brown on 1, 13, 31, 33, 34.

The body at the hips is often in $\frac{3}{4}$ -position : this position naturally makes a different hip-line, e.g. on 13 (A) or 21.

²⁷ The black median line is characteristic of p. 47 and note 28, where the Berlin amphora the later work of Kleophrades (*J.H.S.* 30, should have been quoted).

A single black line serves to indicate the *spine*. There is no full back-view on our master's vases, only $\frac{3}{4}$ -backviews.

13 shows what pains the master takes over the muscles of *leg and knee*: his rendering never varies. Note particularly the parts about the knee.

The *frontal or three-quarter knee* is long and narrow.

The legs of the Amazons on 25 bis and A of 10 are left plain except for the knee; this is to differentiate the female leg: B of 10 is greaved and has the usual markings, which here represent the corrugations of the greave.

The *ankle* is indicated by two curving black lines.

Exceptions are extremely rare: the lines are brown instead of black on A of 31 (the Silen); B's are normal. On the rough stamnos 16 only one pair of ankles is preserved; one of the ankles is brown and L-shaped, the other is not marked. Two of the tiny figures on 21 have only a single black line.

The $\frac{3}{4}$ -foot flat on the ground occurs on 13; the same on 1, but the notable ankle-line is there omitted.

This line reappears, however, on the *lifted three-quarter feet* of 11 and 19. 21 and 24 have the same $\frac{3}{4}$ -foot, but without the ankle-line.

The reclining figure on 23 has, naturally, a third type of $\frac{3}{4}$ -foot.

The *frontal foot flat on the ground* is very common: each toe is indicated by a plain black semicircle, and toe-nails are not marked. The ankles are indicated by black concave lines on 6.

The *extended frontal foot* occurs on 7, 8, 25 bis and 35. The ankles in all three figures are marked by the same black concave lines as on the flat frontal foot of 6. The toe-nails are not marked on 8; on 7, each is a black Δ and on 25 bis the great toe-nail is so rendered: the toe-nails are also marked on 35, but how, one cannot be certain from the drawing.

The *tendons* of the foot are rendered by brown parallel lines on 30 (flat frontal foot), and 3 and 25 bis (extended frontal feet).

In the *profile foot*, the toes are thin and sloping (v. 13).

The *eye* is long, the inner end usually open, the eyeball nearer the inner end. The eyeball is a black dot, except in 1 (Silen, and young Hermes, 12 (Silen), 7 (Herakles), 23 (Herakles), 25 ter (Herakles), and 24 (Ganymede), where it is a brown dot surrounded by a brown circle. Where the eyeball is dot-and-circle, the lashes are indicated by brown strokes: otherwise only on B of 24. Herakles has, as usual, a rounder eye than the other characters (7, 14, 23, 25 ter).

The profile of the *face* tends to the upright, the chin is full, the nostril, nearly always black, rather pinched. Even in careful pieces the master is sparing of relief-line for the face-profile and indeed generally, for instance in the hands. In the less careful pieces, and often in the more careful, the face-profile has no relief at all; for instance, in 13, A has no relief below the nose on the face: B's face has none. The presence or absence of relief-line makes considerable difference in the aspect of the face: without relief-line, the nose is straight and rather flat: with relief-line it is more aquiline, the mouth finer and longer.

For ears, see the plates.

The contour of the *hair* is reserved, and nearly always smooth; a dotted contour occurs only four times, thrice for Herakles (7, 23, 25 *ter*), and once for Apollo (7).

Golden-yellow hair is sometimes given to Silens, young deities, boys and women (1 and 12, Silens; 1, young Hermes; 21 and 25, young Apollo; 21, Thetis; 24, Ganymede; 18, boy Achilles; 32, boy).

A peculiarity is the *yellow beard* (with black head-hair): 11, 13, 19, 24, 26, 28; on the rough 16, the old man's beard is reserved with a yellow outline.

The hair on the temples is rendered by raised black dots with black ground on 7, 14, and 23 (Herakles); 2 (bearded Hermes, with *krobylos*); and 22 (Europa, with *krobylos*). The same rendering is used for Herakles' beard on 7 and 23.

The *ends of the beard* have no relief except on 1.

Males usually have short hair.

In males, the *krobylos* is worn only by gods and heroes; Hermes (2 and 19), Apollo (7), Eros (8 and 35), Peleus (18).

When the hair is yellow, it is usually worn as in the Berlin Silen, except in the boy on 32, where it is simpler.

The *krobylos* is worn four times by women: 2 (Athena), 17 (Thetis), 22 (Europa), and 30.

The Maenads on 16 and 26 have long hair unconfined. On 14 (Athena), 21 (Eos, Thetis), 22 (woman), the hair is long, with a simple diadem; in 15 and 16 (Athena), the hair is long, without diadem, tied back near the ends with a simple string.

The *chiton* is edged at the top by (α) a pair of simple black curving lines  (14, 18, 20, 21, 26, 30, 31) or by (β) a pair of engraved black lines  (3, 10, 22, 25 *bis*). Three simple black lines appear on A of 3.

The *chiton* may be made of thicker or thinner stuff. The thinner chiton has black lines to indicate the folds from the waist downwards, and its lower edge has the well-known 'ladder' contour (2, 10, 15, 17, 20, 22, 25, 25 *bis*, 26).

The thicker chiton has brown fold-lines, or none, from the waist downwards (black fold-lines only on 2 and 18), and is edged below by a single engraved black line  (2, 14, 21, 29, 30, 33); or by the same, doubled  (3, 10, 18, 19, 20, 21); or tripled (only 1). B of 3 has a special border . . , and Athena on 15 another. . — (with elaborate chiton).

The *sleeve* is edged by a pair of engraved black lines ((2, 3, 10, 15, 18,

19, 20, 22, 25, 25 *bis*): or by a single engraved black line ((2, 30, 31, 33 :

by a triple only on 1. On the rough stamnos 16, the only sleeve is indicated by two straight brown lines.

Athena on 15 and 21, and Eos on 21, have elaborate chitons decorated with various patterns.

The only border for himatia or chlamydes, when they have a border, is a single thin black line | (1, 2, 3, 14, 19, 23).

The *necklace* is a brown string with a brown cross-pendant.

The *earring* is always ☺. The inner dot is omitted on the rough stamnos 16.

Bracelets are red.

The unpractical *helmet* with neither cheek-pieces nor nasal is worn by Athena on 9, 14, and 21, and by an Amazon on 10.

A helmet with fixed cheek-pieces but no nasal is worn by Athena on 2, 15, and 16.

Helmets with both cheek-piece and nasal occur on 10, 11, 15, 16, 21, 29, 33. The cheek-piece is black with a reserved border on 10, 15, and 25 *bis*. The lifted cheek-piece is entirely reserved on 21, 29, and 33.

The neck-piece is always reserved: the skull-piece is black on 25 *bis*, elsewhere is always reserved, except for a small spiral in front of the ear on 9: the same, but brown, and in front of the high crest, on 2: a palmette behind the ear on 10; and a spiral on the forehead on 11 and 33.

The Corinthian helmet occurs only twice, on 15 and 30.

The *corslet* fitting tight to the body and moulding the muscles of the torso is found on 15 and 30: the ordinary leather corslet on 10, 29, and 23. The pteryges and shoulder-flaps are plain.

Greaves are quite plain except for the brown markings which represent the moulding to the leg.

Of *episema*, the following occur more than once: bull's head, 11, 15, 21: chariot-car, 10, 11: triskeles 15, 16.

Athena's *aegis* is usually covered with brown semi-circular markings (2, 9, 14, 15, 21): with brown dots on 16. It is edged above by a pair of simple black curving lines (2, 9, 14, 21), by three such on 15. Below, the snakes join the aegis immediately on 14, 16, 21: a black line follows the curves of the snakes on 15: a pair of simple black curving lines, filled in with brown, bounds the lower edge of the aegis, above the snakes, on 2. The Gorgoneion is not indicated.

The favourite *patterns* are Nos. 1 and 2. The master is sparing of his patterns: only two vases (2 and 14) have framed pictures. He likes the sober effect of a large vase covered all over with fine black varnish except for a single figure on each side standing on a short band of simple pattern.

In combinations of stopt key or maeander with cross-squares, the groups of stopt key or maeander on either side of the cross-square face alternately right and left.

The favourite *base-forms* are amphora of Panathenaic shape (11 times), stamnos (6 times), and Nolan amphora (6 times).

Subjects:

Heroic-historical: 3, 7 and 14A, 15 and 21, 16, 17 and 18, 22, 24, 24 *bis* 25 *ter*.

Gods : 2, 9, 25, 8, 35.

Dionysiac : 1, 12, 19, 20, 23, 26, 31.

Athletic ; 4, 5, 6, 11, 34.

Fighting and Warriors : 10, 15, 16B, 21, 25 *bis*, 29, 30, 33.

Komos : 13, 27, 28.

Erotic : 14B, 18B, 32.

Inscriptions are rare. Two love-names are found, *Sokrates* and *Nikostratos*. 6 has ΣΟΚΡΑΤΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ on the l. of A, written downwards.²⁸ 17 has ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ on the r. of l on A, written downwards. The love-name Sokrates occurs again, written downwards, on a vase which belongs to the school of our master, if it is not by his hand (our No. 24b). The other vases with Nikostratos do not belong to the master's school.²⁹

ΚΑΛΟΣ appears on a wineskin in 19.

On two vases, the names of the characters are indicated: on 1, Oreimaechos, Hermes, and Orochar(t)es:³⁰ on 17, besides the love-name, Peleus, Thetis, and Chiron.

The Berlin-master is one of the most important artists in vase-painting. We have no cup from his hand: the cup-painter who most resembles him in temperament is Douris, but Douris' style is drier and weaker. Our master lacks the massiveness and monumentality of Kleophrades: but he has admirable technique, and a noble, slightly feminine grace: the figures are finely composed, the curves subtle. His best works are the Berlin amphora, the Würzburg vase, the Naples Eros, the Amazons in Florence, the Louvre Ganymede-krater and the Vatican hydria with Apollo: these pictures, and others, recall the poet's phrase, *νεόγυνος ἡβα*. His people have the charm of early youth, long limbs—winged things, and creatures

Pard-like, beautiful, and swift.

LIST OF SCHOOLPIECES.

II. Amphora of Panathenaic shape.

12a Once Paris, coll. Rollin *El. Oer.* 2, Pl. 16 Man playing cithara Men

The pattern, if there was one, is not given in the plate.

III. Neck-amphorae with twisted handles.

Mouth and foot as 13: foot and upper side of rim black as, 13. Great diversity of pattern.

a, *b*, *c*, and *h* have egg-pattern (without dots) round the handles; *e* and *g* have a r.-f. palmette at the base of each handle.

²⁸ Jahn, *Cat.* Pl. 3, No. 9.

²⁹ Furtw. *Cat.* 2, pp. 484-5.

³⁰ Klein, *Liebl.* p. 126.

13 <i>a</i>	B.M. E 268	<i>Ez. Cet.</i> 1. Pl. 76	Hermes	Athena	7	7
13 <i>b</i>	Berlin 2339	—	Young eitharode	Man	7	7
13 <i>c</i>	Leyden	<i>Ez. Cet.</i> 1. Pl. 76 A	Athena	Nike	ε	7
13 <i>d</i>	Munich 2319 (3)	—	Young eitharode	Youth	α	2
13 <i>e</i>	B.M. E 267	<i>Archaeologia</i> 31, Pl. 4	Bearded komast playing lyre	Youth carrying pointed amphora	θ	η
13 <i>f</i>	Louvre G 199 ³¹	—	Nike flying frontal	—	κ	2
13 <i>g</i>	Louvre G 198 ³²	—	Nike flying	Youth	λ	1
13 <i>h</i>	Vatican ³³	<i>Mus. Græc.</i> Pl. 59. 3	Warrior	Woman	—	—
13 <i>k</i>	B.M. E 269	—	Young warrior	Woman	γ	γ

PATTERNS COMMON TO THE BERLIN MASTER
AND HIS SCHOOL

USED ON VASES, Nos. :—

1		13 <i>g</i> , 14 <i>a</i> , 24 <i>a</i> , 24 <i>b</i> , 29 <i>a</i> , 35 <i>c</i> , 35 <i>n</i>
2		13 <i>d</i> , 13 <i>f</i> , 24 <i>a</i>
4 <i>a</i>		14 <i>a</i>
6		25 <i>a</i> , 35 <i>d</i> , 35 <i>g</i>
7		35 <i>a</i> , 35 <i>b</i> , 35 <i>e</i> , (35 <i>f</i>), 35 <i>h</i> , 35 <i>l</i> , 13 <i>b</i> , 35 <i>k</i> ; same, but maeander composed of seven lines. 13 <i>a</i> , 13 <i>c</i> ; maeander six lines, and ivy-leaves instead of dots in the saltire-squares.
10		35 <i>k</i> , 35 <i>l</i>
11		35 <i>k</i> , 35 <i>l</i> , 35 <i>m</i>
13		21 <i>a</i>

FIG. 8.

IV. *Pelike*.

14 <i>a</i>	Vienna, K. K. Mus. Masner, <i>Cat.</i> Pl. 6 f. Kunst u. Industrie	(A)	Triptolemos	Persephone	4 <i>a</i>	1
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R.-f. palmette at each handle.

Close to the master, and to the group of twisted amphorae.

³¹ Neck, foot, and handles are restorations: the handles were presumably twisted. *A*. Nike flying r., head frontal, in r. thymiaterion: *B*. Nothing remains except the toes of a foot on the ground and a fragment of the pattern.

³² Neck and handles are restorations. *A*. Nike

flying l., in r. thymiaterion, in l. phiale. *B*. Youth r., in l. stick, r. extended down.

³³ The lower part of the vase, including the legs of *A*, and all but the head and shoulders of *B*, is a restoration.

V. Stamnos.

V b.

To the school of the Berlin-master belongs a curious and repulsive vase in the Louvre (G 192). The shape, which is happily unique, is described by Pottier as 'intermediate between amphora and hydria':³⁴ indeed the long thin neck would be in place on a hydria of b.-f. shape.

The base is very thick, so that the short black foot requires no cushion. The projecting mouth, which is decorated with egg-and-dot, has a separate lip. The handles are black, round, and strongly recarved, with egg (no dots) at the base. The shoulder has the usual tongues: below the pictures, all round, pattern μ . There is a palmette above, and another, lying on its side, below each handle.

PATTERNS USED IN THE SCHOOL OF THE BERLIN MASTER BUT NOT FOUND IN HIS OWN WORKS USED ON VASES, Nos.:—

α		13 <i>d</i>
β		21 <i>a</i>
δ		25 <i>a</i>
ϵ		13 <i>e</i> , 35 <i>m</i>
ζ		21 <i>a</i>
η		13 <i>e</i>
θ		13 <i>e</i>
κ		13 <i>f</i>
λ		13 <i>g</i>
μ		20 <i>a</i>

FIG. 9.

20*a* | Louvre G 192 | *Gaz. Arch.* 1875, Pls. 14-15 | Infant Herakles and Hermes, Zeus, and the serpents Iris

The style joins the vase to the group of amphorae with twisted handles.

³⁴ *Cat. Vases du Louvre*, 3, p. 1020.

VI. c. **Calyx-krater** (shape Furtw. No. 40).

- 21a Oxford 291³⁵ Nike flying with tripod and phiale Youth
 Above, pattern No. 13: below A. No. ζ ; below B, β .

VI. d. **Kraters with columnar handles** (shape Furtw. No. 48).

Both entirely black except for the figures and the bands of pattern below them.

24a	Rome, coll. Mr. Aug. Castellani	Drawing in Rome, German Institute, Mappe 17, No. 39	Nike flying	Youth	2	1
24b	St. Petersburg 1523	<i>Compte-rendu</i> , 1873, p. 22 (A)	Nike flying SOKPATES KALOS	Youth	1	1

24a might well be from our master's own hand, but the surface is so ruined that it is impossible to decide: 24b I have not seen.

VII. **Hydriai.**VII. a. **Hydria of b.-f. shape.**

- 25a Paris, Cab. des Médailles 439 | Phot. Girandon 75 | A (on body), Zeus pursuing woman | B (on shoulder), Charioteer in quadriga

The foot is of double-ogee shape, the mouth is simple and the discs at junction of back-handle and mouth red. R.-f. palmette at back-handle; at base of side-handles egg-and-dot. Rays at base. Patterns: between shoulder- and body-picture, No. δ : below body-picture, No. 6.

VIII. **Lekythos.**

- 29a Syracuse | *Mou. Linç.* 17. Pl. 19 | Triptolemos

Shoulder black, save for an egg-and-dot pattern at the junction of shoulder and neck.

Above and below picture, pattern No. 1.

Perhaps from the master's own hand: I have not seen it.

IX. **Nolan amphorae.**

35a	Oxford, coll. Mr. H. S. T. Biscoe ³⁶	—	Herakles and Centaur	all round,		
35b	Frankfurt, Stadtmuseum ³⁷	—	Old komast	Young komast	7	7
35c	Naples (3987)	—	Young eitha- rode	Man	1	
35d	Naples 1359 (3150)	—	Young warrior	Old man	6	6

³⁵ Both faces restored.

³⁶ A. 1. Her. r. with club grasping shoulder of 2. 2. Centaur r. regardant with pine-branch. B. Centaur running r. with pine-branch and beast-skin; fragmentary.

³⁷ Old bald man, naked, moving l., r. extended: B. Naked youth moving r. with lyre. The extreme right-hand meander on A is replaced by a stopt key. Careless.

35e	Once Rome, coll. Castellani ³⁸	Drawing in German Institute, Mappe 17. ⁴⁰	Akontist	Akontist	7	7
35f	Karlsruhe 203	--	Zeus and Athena	Nike flying	all round,	7
35g	Dresden 289 ³⁹	—	Triptolemos	Persephone	6	6
35h	B.M. E 310	—	Young warrior pursuing woman	Old man	7	6

35f varies pattern No. 7 by once substituting a Dourian cross-square, and once a black saltire-square for the usual saltire-square: all the other squares are saltire-squares.

IX. b. Small neck-amphorae with triple handles.

The following pair of vases might be classed with the Nolan amphorae. They have the same general shape as the Nolan amphorae, the same mouth, simple black foot, and triple handles. But the neck is shorter than in the real Nolan amphorae, and is not plain black but ornamented.

In both vases, the ornament on the neck of A is No. 11, doubled. B has in both vases No. 11, single, with a band of rectilinear pattern under this: this pattern is a running key (No. 10), on k; on l it is No. 7.

Below the picture on A of k, and on both sides of l, is No. 10. B of k has 7, with an interesting variation:—one of the maeander-sets is replaced by stopt key. This variation connects the vases with the Frankfurt Nolan amphora (35 b), which they resemble closely in style and in carelessness.

35k	Louvre G 218 ⁴⁰	Young komast with lyre	Bearded komast
35l	Louvre G 219 ⁴¹	Youth with phiale	Youth

X. Oinochoai.

X. a. Belly-oinochoe.

35m	Munich 2453 (789)	Youths and dog
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Above, pattern No. 11; below, No. e.

X. b. Oinochoe (shape Furtw. No. 205).

35n	B.M. E 513	Él. Cér. 1, Pl. 93	Nike flying frontal
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On shoulder, egg-and-dot; below picture, pattern No. 1.

A good piece, possibly by the master himself.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

³⁸ A. Akontist running r., $\frac{3}{4}$ -back view, r. raised in front of forehead throwing horizontal akontion: B. Naked youth running l., r. extended, in l., at side, akontion.

³⁹ A. Tript. in car r., in l. sceptre, in l. ears of grain: B. Pers. l., r. raised, in l.

sceptre.

⁴⁰ A. Naked youth, wrap both arms, moving r. with barbiton: B. Naked man moving r. regardant, in r. stick.

⁴¹ A. Youth, himation, r., in r. phiale. B. Youth, himation, r., r. extended.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE (1910-1911).

THE Season of 1910-1911 has witnessed the continuation of most of the excavations mentioned in the last of these reports, and the beginning of work in the island of Corfou (Kerkyra), which has, up to now, hardly yielded its full share of antiquities. This year, however, it has given us the most important discovery of the season, an almost complete sculptured pediment of an archaic Doric temple.

This discovery was made near the monastery of Goritsa, which lies to the south of the town of Corfou. Here the chance finding of a sculptured slab led to an excavation by the Ephor Versakis on behalf of the Greek Archaeological Society. The work was presently supported by the Emperor of Germany, Doctor Doerpfeld assisting at the excavation, and the Greek Government was represented later by the Ephor Rhomaios. The temple itself is much destroyed; the importance of the discovery consists in the almost complete preservation of the sculpture of one of the pediments. The figures were arranged on eleven vertically divided slabs, of which eight are preserved. The centre of the composition was formed by a great Gorgon with snakes on her head, and girt by two snakes tied in a knot in front. The adjacent blocks on either side have each a figure on a much smaller scale: in the left is a nude youth identified with Chrysaor, and on the right her offspring, the winged Pegasos. The two next blocks on the right and left are occupied by a pair of large panthers, standing with their heads turned to face the spectator. These separate the central figures from the groups which occupy the last three blocks at each end of the pediment. Of these the last block on the left is occupied by a fallen warrior with his head in the corner of the pediment; the next block, on which no doubt his opponent was represented, is lost; the block next to the panther bears an altar and a throned goddess. On the right the last two blocks are lost; the third from the corner, that is the one next the panther, contains the nude figures of Zeus and a giant at whom he is hurling the thunderbolt. The great size of the Gorgon and the panthers as compared with the other figures is a striking feature of the work. They must have been visible at a much greater distance than the smaller figures, and the composition must thus have looked like a single figure of a Gorgon approached by the two panthers, after the fashion of a *πότνια θηρῶν*. Seen from near this simple scheme vanished and three distinct groups separated by the two panthers revealed

themselves. In the two lateral groups we may recognise a Gigantomachy, the goddess on the throne being Ge. The preservation of the surface is in general remarkably fine, although the surviving traces of paint are inconsiderable. The style, as would be expected from the political relations of Coreyra, is related to the Argive-Corinthian. The group is to remain in the local museum at Corfou.

In other places the activities of the Greek Archaeological Society have been very numerous. Space forbids more than a mention of the work at Athens in the Roman Agora and the continuation of the reconstitution of the Propylaia under the care of M. Valanos, of Doctor Kourouniotes at the temple of Apollo at Eretria, of Doctor Keramopoulos on the site of the oracle of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, and of Doctor Rhomaios at Tegea and elsewhere in the Peloponnesos. At Chalkis Doctor Papavasileiou has excavated a bath with an inscription to Isis, Sarapis and Anubis, and discovered Mycenaean tombs with rich finds, which include vases imported from Crete.¹

In Thessaly Doctor Arvanitopoulos has excavated mainly at Pagasai, where it will be remembered he discovered in 1907 a series of painted grave *stelai*. At Pharsalos he has found a fourth century *stele* with a funereal epigram which I quote²:-

'Αλκινόας κούραν λεῦσσε ξένε καὶ Μενεκόρρον
Τιμάνδραν, ἥβας τὰν στέρεος' αἰσα λυγρά·
τᾶς ἀρετὰν αὐξοντες ἀείμναστον συνόμαιμοι
οὐκ ἀκλεῶς φθιμέναν τῷδε τάφῳ κτέρισαν.

At Athens Doctor Kourouniotes has excavated behind the semi-circular supporting wall below the Pnyx, and has shewn by the sherds found in the earth by it, that it is no earlier than the end of the fourth century. He has also discovered an earlier supporting wall, but there is no evidence of its date.

Doctor Brückner's work at the Dipylon cemetery has produced interesting topographical results, and thrown light on an ancient system of irrigation. Most striking, however, is a find of 44 sherds, which had been used for voting at ostracisms. Eleven bear the name of Thukydides the son of Melesias, the opponent of Perikles, who was banished in 442, twenty-six that of Kleippides the son of Deinias, who led the fleet to Lesbos in 428, one of Teisandros the son of Epilykos, the father-in-law of the eldest son of Perikles, and one of an otherwise unknown Eucharides. They all date from shortly after the death of Perikles.³

The excavations of the German Institute at Tiryns have now brought to

¹ See his book, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαῖων τάφων*, Athens, 1910.

² From the *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1911, p. 62.

³ For many of these notes I am indebted to Doctor Karo, who kindly sent me a proof of his

report to appear in the *Arch. Anzeiger*. Further details of these excavations may be found in the *Πρακτικά* of the Greek Archaeological Society, and in articles published in the Athenian magazine *Παναθήναια* for 1910.

light Mycenaean wall-paintings of the greatest interest. These were briefly mentioned in last year's report,⁴ as far as they were known in the spring of 1910, but the number of fragments was doubled in a short excavation conducted in the autumn by Doctor Kurt Müller. Doctor Rodenwaldt, who is preparing the final publication, has been able to distinguish the earlier and later styles of painting.⁵ Of the paintings from the earlier palace an idea is given by the two warriors published in his preliminary paper in the *Mitteilungen*, but it is the paintings of the later palace which are of such remarkable interest. One shows a life-size procession of warriors, and the other is the picture of a boar-hunt mentioned in last year's report. It consists of a great number of relatively small fragments, but the laborious process of reconstruction has advanced sufficiently for it to be possible to make out the design. The whole formed a frieze with numerous figures considerably less than life-size. In the foreground as many as six boars are being attacked by dogs or caught in nets: they are represented as in a bed of the tall reeds common in rivers and streams in Greece. In the background women in chariots are watching the hunt. These pictures are very much broken by their fall from the walls, and consist of hundreds of small pieces, which very rarely actually join, and the labour of restoring the design is no light one. It has in fact only been made possible by the extreme care with which the fragments found near one another have been always kept together, so that it is known what pieces belong to the same part of the composition. As the work progresses, coloured tracings are being made by M. Gilliéron of the several pieces, and these tracings can be shifted about until a satisfactory solution of their original position is attained. When completely restored this boar-hunt will be the most interesting piece of Mycenaean painting in existence, and although of a decadent period, will vie in size and elaboration with the great picture of a temple and worshippers from Knossos. Like the work in the earlier palace, these later pictures shew the influence of the great period of Cretan art, Late Minoan I., although the details of dress and ornament, as well as the weapons, shew a complete independence. As compared with the earlier work, these later pictures show signs of decadence, and Doctor Rodenwaldt describes the history of painting in Tiryns as 'einen langsamem, kontinuierlichen, durch keinerlei Unterbrechung aus fremden Beeinflussung gestörten Prozess des Niedergangs.' These pictures are not yet ready for exhibition in the National Museum at Athens, but I was very kindly admitted to see them in process of reconstruction.

The most interesting fresh results from the French excavations at Delos are the completion of the work at the sanctuaries of the foreign gods, and the clearing of the portico of Philip. This latter edifice was much ruined, but its careful proportions give its remains some architectural importance. A system of mason's marks enabled each block to be used in its proper place. The dedicatory inscription was found: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

⁴ *J.H.S.* xxx. pp. 358, 359.

⁵ See for a preliminary report *Ath. Mitt.* xxxvi. p. 198.

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΙΤΡΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ [ΑΝΕΩΗΚΕ]. The portico was largely increased in size in the second century B.C. by the addition of an Ionic hall behind the original structure. This new building opened on the quay, and served as *δεῖγμα*, a place to exhibit merchandise.⁶

The excavation of the sanctuaries of Egyptian and Syrian gods was completed in June and July, 1910.⁷ The Egyptian sanctuary has now yielded some fifteen dedicatory inscriptions with the names of three new priests of Serapis, and mention of the god ΥΔΡΕΙΟΣ, already known on a Delian inscription under the name ΥΔΡΕΟΣ. A second and older Egyptian sanctuary has now been found in the Inopos valley. It is unfortunate that the date of its foundation is unknown; the inscriptions go back to the end of the third or beginning of the second century B.C., and shew the cult already assured by associations of the faithful, whose names, *κοινὸν τῶν δεκαδιστῶν καὶ δεκαδιστρίων* and *κοινὸν τῶν ἐνατιστῶν*, survive on two inscribed bases. Dedications to Serapis, Isis, Anubis, Ammon, and Artemis Phosphoros have been found. How long this earlier foundation survived alongside of the later one is unknown.

In the sanctuary of the Syrian gods a long portico has been found, which was erected by subscription about the year 110 A.D. The columns were of poros stone, with marble capitals, on which the names of the donors were inscribed. It is curious that one of these, Αὐλός Πακτόμητος Μαάρκου, with a generosity above that of his fellows, gave a marble column, calling attention to it by the words, *ἀντὶ τοῦ πωρίνου*. Topographical details are given in M. Roussel's report in the *Comptes Rendus*.

In May and June, 1910, an excavation was begun in the island of Thasos by M. Adolphe Reinach, who has very kindly sent me some notes on his work. The temple on the Acropolis was cleared, a building about the size of the Parthenon. The chief finds were a deposit of early Ionian terracottas, many being statuettes of the Branchidai type, the greater part of a relief resembling that in the Louvre of Hermes and the Graces, and two heads and a body of statues of the archaic 'Apollo' type, to whom M. Reinach believes the temple was dedicated. The triumphal arch of Severus and Caracalla, which Bent saw, was again uncovered, and interesting architectural fragments were found. Three gates in the town-wall were cleared. One was near the relief of Herakles with the bow, now at Constantinople, the second near the Dionysos and Nike relief,⁸ and the third, a fresh discovery, is decorated with a relief of an ithyphallic satyr. This appears to be the type used for the coins of Thasos, and is said to be a characteristic example of Ionian art of the late sixth or early fifth century. Besides these and some other less important pieces of work,

⁶ Described by M. R. Vallois, *Comptes Rendus*, 1911, pp. 214, *sqq.*

Rendus, 1910, by M. P. Roussel.

⁷ The earlier work on these sanctuaries was noticed in *J.H.S.* xxx. p. 359, and these later excavations are reported in *Comptes*

Published by Mendel, B. C. H. xxiv. 1900, pp. 560 *sqq.* and Pts. xiv., xv. as two women. He gives full reference to the Thasian reliefs.

nearly fifty new inscriptions have been found, and the excavation is to be continued.⁹

The excavations at the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea begun by the French School in 1900 have now been completed by MM. Dugas and Berchmans. It was a Doric building, and inscriptions on the architrave point to sculptured metopes. Thus the inscription ΤΗΛΕΦΟΣ suggests the discovery of Telephos by Aleos in the sanctuary, where he had been hidden by his mother Auge.¹⁰ The small finds are mostly of the Geometric period, and there are numerous bronze votive offerings, figures of animals, pins, rings, fibulae etc., such as are usually found with Geometric pottery, as at Olympia and elsewhere. One Mycenaean sherd was found. We have thus an exact parallel with the earliest votives at the temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

An excavation east of the temple produced an important archaic bronze statuette (13 m. high) of Athena. This is regarded as possibly a copy, at least in its main features, of the ivory temple statue of Endoios, which was carried off to Rome by Augustus.¹¹

Of the stream of articles which constantly flows from the study of the remains at Delphi none is more interesting than what seems to be the final solution of the question of the monuments set up to Cleobis and Biton. The statues themselves were found in 1893 and 1894, and identified by M. Homolle with those spoken of by Herodotus,¹² and now the Ephor Keramopoulos has found built into the wall of the Roman Thermae another piece of the inscribed plinth, which settles the identification. Each statue stood on its own plinth; one of these was found by the French, inscribed ἐάγαγον τῷ δυργῷ . | . . . μέδες ἐποίεε ἡρηγεῖος, and the new piece, which is the front half of the other plinth, has the words τὸν τὰν ματάρα. Doctor von Premerstein has now put these together and reads the whole inscription as, Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων τὰν ματάρα | ἐάγαγον τῷ δυργῷ . | . . . μέδες ἐποίεε ἡρηγεῖος. | He shews good reasons for taking δυργῷ as a dialect form of δυώ, and for rejecting on epigraphical grounds Homolle's idea that μέδες is the end of the name Polymedes, for the missing letters of which there is no room on the stone.¹³ The artist's name remains therefore unknown.¹⁴

The long anticipated excavation of Cyrene was begun in October, 1910, by a party of American archaeologists under the direction of Dr. Richard Norton, to whose kindness I owe these notes. The main work was on the

⁹ For Thesos in general see Baker-Penoyre in *J.H.S.* xxix, pp. 91 sqq. and 202 sqq. The reliefs are mentioned on pp. 222, 223.

¹⁰ Apoll. II. 7: Ἀλεος εἰσελθὼν καὶ ἐρευνήσας εἰς τὸ τέμενος τὰς τῆς θυγατρὸς ἀδίνας εὗρε.

Paus. viii. 46: τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀλέας . . . ἐλέφαντος διὰ παντὸς πεποιημένου, τέχνη δὲ Ἐνδοῖος.

This excavation is reported in *Cambridge Kalendar*, 1911, pp. 257 sqq. with three views of the Athena statuette.

¹² Herod. I. 31: Ἄργεῖοι δε σφέων εἰκόνας ποιητάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀρίστων γενομένων.

¹³ See, however, *B.C.H.* xxiv. 1900, p. 448 where Homolle says, 'La signature par bonheur se lit au clair, sauf encore toutefois les premières lettres du nom de l'artiste, qui sont probables, mais non absolument certaines. — 107'

¹⁴ Doctor von Premerstein's paper is in *Jahrestage*, xiii. pp. 41. sqq.

top of the eastern hill, near the fountain, where Dr. Norton, here differing from Studniezka, places the Acropolis. The excavators have found a group of large public buildings of the Ptolemaic period, consisting of a colonnade facing the north with projecting wings, and rooms behind. The small objects were not very important, but a fourth century head of Athena has been found, which is described as very beautiful. Ten to fifteen feet below the Hellenistic level are the remains, unfortunately much destroyed, of well-constructed Greek walls, and slightly below these sherds of sixth or seventh century pottery were found.

Further down the hill, on the north-east slope, the excavation of what seems to be an open-air shrine has been begun, and some 3,000 terracotta figurines have already been found. They are of various types, and date from the fifth century and earlier: many represent a crowned female holding the silphium plant. Figures of bearded men and nude or semi-nude youths are also common.

Although no untouched tombs have, as yet, been found, the robbers have left much that is of interest. The vases are naturally for the most part broken, but several fine examples can be reconstructed, including two Panathenaic amphorae. Terracottas of Tanagra types, and inscriptions have also been found, but none of great importance. Doctor Norton finishes his notes by saying, 'In sculpture we were particularly fortunate. I have mentioned the head of Athena, but besides this we found some fourth century statues of fine workmanship. Some of them came from a building outside the walls and to the south of the Acropolis, where we also found some interesting sixth century terracottas representing the same seated figure as one of the statues. We have also a large series of grave statues covering some six centuries (300 B.C.-300 A.D.) of a new type. They are half figures in the round, all of them representing a woman, and some of them very fine. The most curious point about them is that in several cases the faces were not carved but painted.'

The excavation was conducted under great difficulties of all sorts especially from the natives, and was overshadowed by the murder of Mr. De Cou. This was not due to any sudden outburst of fanaticism, but murderers were deliberately hired for the purpose, and although another explorer was intended, Mr. De Cou was the actual victim. In spite of this Doctor Norton tells me that the work is to be continued this autumn, and the results already attained give good hope of its success. In view of the attribution of 'Cyrenaic' pottery to Sparta on the strength of the evidence obtained by the excavations of the British School at the temple of Artemis Orthia, it will be of great interest to see what native archaic pottery will be found at Cyrene.

The American excavation of Sardes, the beginning of which was noticed in last year's report, was resumed in February, 1911, and the Director Professor H. C. Butler, has been so kind as to furnish some notes for this article.¹⁵ In the first year of the work the great temple was partly

¹⁵ See *J.H.S.*, xxx, p. 361

uncovered ; this work has now been almost finished, although, owing to the state of the present surface, the eastern end, towards which the work proceeds, is buried by thirty feet of earth. This great depth, however, has protected the remains ; so much so that in the eastern porch thirteen columns are still standing to a height of thirty feet. The two columns, which appeared above the surface before the excavation, are sixty feet high, and this height with the length of the temple, more than three hundred feet, gives an idea of the size of the building. Of the interior columns of the cella only the foundation piers are in place, the whole interior having been cleared out in Roman or Byzantine times to the depth of a foot below the pavement, and the cella lined with concrete and used as a reservoir. Fine capitals and other architectural details were found on the south side, and in the few places where the digging was pushed to the levels below the temple, numerous inscriptions, fragments of sculpture, statue bases and terracotta architectural details older than the great temple were found. This gives good promise for the future, and the exploration of these lower levels is to be the object of next year's campaign, although the amount of soil to be removed is a very serious matter. The earth above the great temple is barren of antiquities.

Excavations were also made in the archaic necropolis on the other side of the Pactolos. Most of the tombs had been cleared to make room for later burials, but some of the earlier contents were found thrown out on the slope below. In this way the excavators found pottery, including several hundred perfect vases, mirrors and other objects in bronze and silver, terracotta masks and figurines, fine Graeco-Persian gems and early jewellery, all originally placed in the tombs above.

The work at Sparta having been finished, the British School this year undertook a small excavation at the prehistoric city at Phylakopi in Melos, supplementary to the work carried out from 1897 to 1900.¹⁶ This first excavation left untouched a considerable part of the town, and a piece of this was chosen and dug down to the bedrock, the object of the work being naturally to supplement the results of the earlier campaign, especially in the light of our increased knowledge of prehistoric Crete and the mainland of Greece. The region chosen was in the south-eastern part of the town, just inside the eastern part of the great wall.¹⁷ The ground had been terraced, and in this way some of the houses had been partly destroyed but others excellently preserved underneath four or five feet of earth. The three sets of walls of the three superimposed cities found at the old excavation were again made out, the remains of the houses being in places more than twenty feet deep, as measured from the rock to the top of the latest walls.

The series of pottery brought out several interesting points of contact between Melos and the mainland and Melos and Crete. Thus the grey pottery called Minyan, found at Orchomenos and in Thessaly, was discovered

¹⁶ This work was published first in *B.S.A.* ii.-v. and finally in *Phylakopi*.

¹⁷ The area on the plan in the Phylakopi book marked as squares H4, H5, J4, J5.

in some quantities, and its place in the series of fabrics fixed with some certainty. The greater quantity of it was contemporary with the Middle Minoan period of Crete, after which it became rarer. Another chronological link was given by the presence in the lowest levels of a ware allied to the 'Urfirniss' pottery of Tiryns and Boeotia. This, like the Minyan and Cretan vases, is suggestive for the early trade connexion of Melos. As in the old excavation, a number of fine Cretan vases were found of the Late Minoan II. style with decorations of marine animals, nautili and seaweed. The study of Cretan pottery makes it now possible to observe two different native styles, one following the Cretan Late Minoan I., and the other, the Cretan Late Minoan II. tradition. These are the 'Red and Black' and some of the 'Later Local' respectively of the classification adopted in the Phylakopi book. The imported Mycenaean ware of the latest period of Phylakopi was found in some quantities, and falls into two classes, the later of which belongs to the very end of the Mycenaean age. A clear distinction can now be made between this imported Mycenaean ware and the Cretan fabrics.

Apart from the pottery the most interesting discovery was a series of eight or nine intramural burials of children. In several places large jars were found, either lying on the rock or placed in holes made in its surface, containing the bones of young children. Two of the jars were painted, and all belong to the early Geometric style, which goes with the latter part of the first city. There seems no doubt that the burials were actually in the houses, and from the number found at Phylakopi and the fact that in all cases the bones were those of children, it seems that this custom of intramural burial was confined to infants. One such burial was found in the original excavation.¹⁸ The jars were all broken, but the majority of them have been reconstructed and photographed. In two cases the mouth of the jar was covered by a basin. The jars themselves contained practically nothing except bones, but in association with the main group of these burials there were a number of painted jugs and cups which, though not inside the jars were probably buried with them.

The work of 1908-1910 has practically finished the work which has been occupying the Germans at Miletus for eleven years, and a seventh preliminary report by Doctor Wiegand gives the general results, some of which have already been mentioned in this journal.¹⁹

The earliest remains are a prehistoric settlement on Kiliktepe with stone axes, obsidian and hand-made pottery: the latest objects from this stratum are two fragments of Greek Geometric ware. After this came a large archaic Greek town on Kalabaktepe and stretching as far as the Hellenistic wall. Here no Mycenaean sherds were found: this great extension of the town belongs to the seventh century B.C. The great mass of sherds were

¹⁸ *Phylakopi*, p. 15.

¹⁹ These notes are based on this *zweihenter vorläufiger Bericht über die von den königlichen Museen in Milet und Didymu unternommenen*

Ausgrabungen, von Direktor Dr. Theodor Wiegand. Berlin, 1911. It is well illustrated. For previous notices see *J.H.S.* xxviii, p. 334, and xxx, p. 361.

'Milesian' and Fikellura: Geometric sherds were rare. Attic common, yet none later than the beginning of the fifth century. The whole town was destroyed by the Persians and not rebuilt.

The remains of the Hellenistic and Roman town are extensive. It was laid out in rectangular *insulae*, each measuring $1 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ *plethra*, a plan ascribed to the period after the Macedonian conquest.²⁰ The long stretch (220 metres) of Hellenistic town-wall is interesting and well preserved. Near it was a pretty grave-inscription of late Hellenistic date:—

*Zώπινρον Είφικρίτους ὑπ' ἐμοῖς στέρνοισι κρυφέντα,
Φρούρῳ δακρυτὸμ μητρὶ λιπόντα πόθον.*

The main buildings of interest are the market with its surrounding colonnades, the temples, and the baths. A temple of the Roman people and Rome is indicated by a long cult-inscription, now built into the wall of Justinian.²¹ It belongs to a date after 78 B.C., and shows, as Dr. Wiegand points out, the efforts made by the Romans to spread the cult of their own city for political purposes.

The Serapeion has been located close by the market, as is demanded by a passage in Vitruvius for the temples of Serapis and Isis.²² This Serapeion is the temple mentioned in last year's report as having the plan of an early Christian basilica with three naves.²³ Its third century A.D. date is certified by the letter-forms of the dedicatory inscription, which runs:—Ιούλ. Λύριδιος Μενεκλῆς θεῶ ἐπηκόω Σαράπιδι εὐχὴν καὶ τῇ γλυκυτ[άτῃ πατρ]ΐδι τὸ πρόναον σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκ τῶν ιδίων. The decoration of the *pronaos* contains busts of Poseidon, Hermes, Athena, Artemis, Herakles, the Muses, and Apollo of Didyma. This last is of especial interest, as it can be recognised as a copy of the Apollo of Kanachos.²⁴ A Roman Heroon, baths, and the Stadium—this last with a decree in honour of Eumenes II.—are also described, and lastly an early Byzantine church of St. Michael, a basilica with three naves, an apse, and an atrium on the north side. The building is dated to the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries by an inscription which mentions the Patriarch Kyriakos, who reigned from 595 to 606 A.D.

The same Seventh Preliminary Report gives also the latest results of the German excavation of the temple of Apollo at Didyma.

The Sacred Way, already partially cleared, has now been followed up towards the temple, and the limits of the sanctuary and of the surrounding houses have been fixed. A milestone was found, which was the last on the road made by Trajan from the Sacred Gate of Miletus to the Sacred Gate of Didyma, a distance of two Roman or ten English miles. It runs:—

²⁰ Pl. I. in Wiegand's report is a plan of the town.

²¹ It is printed on pp. 16, 17 of Wiegand's report. The dedication is to δῆμος τῶν Πωμαλῶν καὶ ἡ Ράμη.

²² *Vetr.* I. vii. discussing the localities

suitable for different temples. Mercurio autem in foro, aut etiam uti Isidi et Serapi in emporio.

²³ *J.H.S.* xxx. p. 361.

²⁴ Shewn in Fig. 9, p. 21. of Wiegand's report.

I]mp. Caesar divi Nervae
 f. Nerva Traianus Aug.
 Germanicus pontifex
 max. trib. potest. eos IIII.
 viam fecit
 M. P. XI.

Λύτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ
 blank Νέρονα νιός Νέρ-
 ονα Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστὸς
 Γ]ερμανικὸς δημαρχι-
 κῆς ἔξουσίας, τὸ δὲ ὑπατος,
 πατὴρ πατρίδος ὁδὸν
 ἵεραν κατεσκεύασεν

ΜΙΑ

The date is 101-2 A.D., and the inscription at the beginning of the road at Miletus is of the year 100, so that the road was about a year and a half in making.²⁵

The discovery of the archaic altar mentioned by Pausanias is of great interest.²⁶ It was not an altar of sacrifice, but a circular enclosure about twenty-one feet in diameter entered by two opposite gates, and served to contain the ashes of the victims, which were actually slaughtered between this structure and the temple. In it were found burned bones, a number of lead votive *astragaloī*, and sherds of the sixth and seventh centuries. Of the later altar nothing can as yet be said.

The temple was a splendid building, 359 feet long by 171 feet wide, with a double peristyle of 21 columns at the side and 10 at the ends. Including twelve in the pronaos and two in the inner porch the total number of columns is 120. A comparison with the Parthenon, which is 228 feet by 100, with 46 columns, gives an idea of its size and of the enormous difficulties in clearing it from the Byzantine castle and windmill which had been built upon it. Three columns are still standing.

The plan and inscription give many interesting details. For example, the three entrances leading from the inner porch to the great hall were closed by doors covered with ivory, and an inscription was found in April, 1910, by the east part of the temple, which tells us that Ptolemy XIV. (51-47 B.C.) gave 34 tusks for the great door.²⁷ The inscription is a decree of various officials in honour of Isaios, the son of Diognetos, in whose term of office the offering was made, the inscription ending:—έφ' οὐ καὶ ἀπεστάλη

²⁵ The Miletus inscription is published in the *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1900, p. 106.

²⁶ Paus. v.1 3, 4. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Διδύμοις τῶν Μιλησίων βωμός, ἐποιήθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Θηβαίου, καθὰ οἱ Μιλήσιοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερεῶν τὸν αἴματος. Wiegand's report gives a plan of this altar (p. 42).

²⁷ For the existence of these ivory doors,

Wiegand refers to B. M. Greek inscription, 921. If, however, the editors are right and in this inscription ἐλέφαρτος is to be taken not with θύωμα but with τάλαντα, it contains no clear reference to ivory doors, and the ivory mentioned in the new inscription may have been used for some other purpose.

τῶι θεῶι δωρεὰ ὑπὸ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ νέου Διονύσου ὁδόντες ἐλεφάντων ΛΔ ἀγοντες σταθμὸν τὰλαντα ΚΔ μνᾶς Κ, πρεσβευσάντων The enormous size of these tusks is noteworthy. Wiegand, reckoning from the small Ptolemaic talent of 20·473 kilograms, points out that each tusk weighed 14·4 kilograms on the average, whilst the modern average weight of an African tusk is only 9 kilograms.

There are also a number of inscriptions, dealing with the building of the temple, inventories, the cult, tribes and families, honorary decrees, and one oracular inscription of great interest containing two requests and two answers from the god. It begins, after ἀγαθὴ τύχη, with the request of Damianos, the interpreter (*προφήτης*) of the god, to establish an altar of Kore by that of Demeter, as he is grieved that she should not be honoured. The answer of the god is (*θεὸς ἔχρησεν*):—Σώτιρης κούρης τιμὴν περιβωμίδα ρέζε. Damianos then prays the god to himself regulate the cult at the new altar. The answer is:

Σώτιραν κλήζωμεν ὑπ' εὐέροισι βοᾶσι
μίλιχον, ἄντια εἶναι [ἀ]εὶ σὺν μητέρι Δηοῖ.

The formulae used are interesting. Each request begins with the name of the applicant, ὁ *προφήτης σου Δαμιανός*. Then the circumstances are stated, and after this preamble the actual request is introduced with the words δέται σοῦ, and the god's answer (*θεὸς ἔχρησεν*) follows. The requests are in prose, but the answer in oracular verse.

Excavations at the temple of Hera in Samos were begun in 1910 by the German archaeologists under Doctor Wiegand, who has now published a first preliminary report, from which these notes are taken.²⁸ The temple, of which a plan is given, is a large (108·75 m. × 52·44 m.) Ionic building surrounded by a peristyle double at the sides and treble at each end, with twenty-four columns on each side, eight in front and, very curiously, nine behind, the difference being due to the desire to avoid the necessity for such long architrave blocks as are used on the front. With the ten columns in the three-naved pronaos, there are in all 133 columns, and Herodotus well calls it the largest temple known.²⁹

This great temple replaced the earlier building destroyed by the Persians, not, as Wiegand points out, in the Persian wars and the Ionic revolt, because then the Samians were on the Persian side, but rather in 517 B.C., when the Satrap Otanes devastated Samos after the death of Polykrates. It is a work of the late sixth or early fifth century, but fragments of the older temple were used in its construction. Wiegand gives a short discussion of the passages which mention the architects who worked on the temple, Rhoikos

²⁸ *Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die von den Königlichen Museen unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Samos, von Direktor Dr. Theodor Wiegand.* Berlin, 1911.

²⁹ Νῆὸς μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ίδεν. *Herod.* iii. 60. Wiegand (p. 17) remarks that

when Vitruvius (vii. *Præfatio*) gives a list of architectural authors and says that Theodorus wrote *de aede Junonis, quae est Sami, Dorica*, he must be wrong in saying that the temple was Doric, as pieces of Ionic capitals have actually been found.

the son of Phileos, a native of Samos, and Theodoros, and considers that they both worked on the older building rather than on the one now standing, but that this latter was essentially an enlarged copy of the earlier building.

It only remains to express my thanks to the numerous archaeologists who have so generously again given me notes of their in many cases unpublished work, and so made this article possible. My special obligations are again to Doctor Karo.

R. M. DAWKINS.

ADDENDUM.

Doctor Chatzidakis has sent me some notes on the continuation of his excavation of the Minoan building at Tylissos east of Candia, which he began in 1909.³⁰ The palace has now been completely cleared, and the dates of the successive buildings inferred from a study of the pottery. At the end of the work the walls of a large building were found to the north of the palace, two double axes are incised upon the blocks.

R. M. D.

³⁰ For previous notices see *J. H. S.* xxix. p. 362, and xxx. p. 364.

THE SANDAL IN THE PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI.

IN the archaic room of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome there is a fragment of a colossal foot wearing a high sandal of the type known as Tyrrhenian. (Fig. 1, from photographs for which I have to thank the authorities of the British School at Rome.) The measurements, as given by C. L. Visconti, are:—length '26m., breadth '37m., indicating a total length of '86m. It is important to notice that the fragment is not broken at the back, but is made in a separate piece. From this fact we may conclude with certainty that the foot belongs to a female figure, and protruded originally from long drapery, so that it was unnecessary to carve more than the front of the foot in a separate piece; and with great probability, since there are no dowel holes or other visible signs of attachment, that the statue to which the foot belonged was acrolithic, i.e. it had the trunk and limbs made in wood, while only head, hands, and feet were carved in marble.

The name Tyrrhenian, for the sandal, comes from the definition of Pollux,¹ who applies it in particular to the sandal worn by the Parthenos of Pheidias. As in the Pheidian statue we find the sandal decorated with a frieze in relief. Similar sandals, but undecorated, are to be observed on the Athena of the Villa Ludovisi, and the statue called Pudicitia in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. The singular fineness and beauty of the design and execution of the relief on our fragment have led all critics to see in it a Greek work of pre-Imperial times. There is about it precisely that air of fresh and living inspiration, which seems to grace every work of Greek art.

The marine character of the subject of the relief, a group of Tritons with Amorini and Dolphins, gives us no good clue to the subject of the statue, and certainly affords not the slightest reason for determining the subject as Isis.

Visconti,² in his publication of the fragment, elaborates an ingenious identification of the original statue with the Isis Athenodoria noted by the Regionarium³ in the twelfth region of the city. But the theory will not

¹ *Onomasticon*, vii. § 92. Τυρρηνικά· τὸ κάτ-
τυμα ξύλινον τετραδάκτυλον. οἱ δὲ ἱμάντες ἐπί-
χρυσοι. σανδάλιον γάρ ἦν. ὑπέδησε δ' αὐτὸν
Φειδίας τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν.

² *Bull. Com. di Roma*, i. (1872), p. 33.

³ Urlichs, *Cod. Urb. Rom. topogr.* p. 17:—

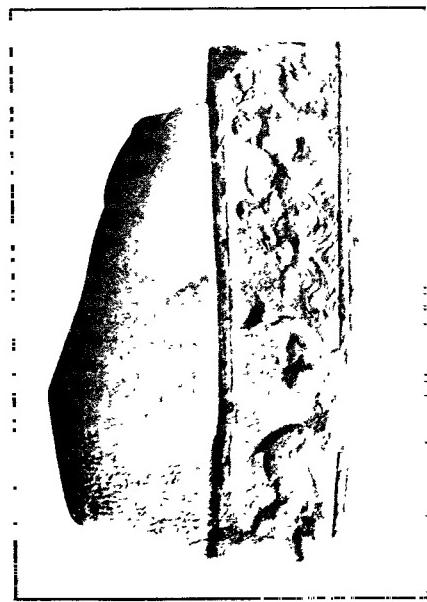
Regio xii. Piscina Publica. continet· aream
radicariam. viam novam. Fortunam mam-
mosam. Isidem Athenodoriā. Aedem Bonae
Deae subsaxanae. Clivum Delfini. Thermas
Antoninas . . . etc.



c. From the right.



b. Front view.



a. From the left.



d. Top view.

FIG. 1.—THE SANDAL IN THE PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI.

stand investigation for a moment. The only evidence is the fact that the fragment was found in the old twelfth region. If we have no adequate reason to suppose that the subject was Isis, we have still less cause to identify the statue with this particular Isis. Drexler⁴ rightly regards the theory as 'vollends phantastisch,' though it reappears without definite contradiction in Helbig.⁵ We have no reason even to suppose that the Isis Athenodoria was colossal. When Visconti goes on to connect the fragment with the Rhodian sculptor of the Laocoön, we have passed from the sphere of phantasy to that of sheer impossibility, for not only is it dubious whether the epithet Athenodoria refers to the sculptor at all, but even granting that, there is certainly no possibility that this Athenodorus is the author of the Laocoön, since no two feet in Europe are so wholly dissimilar as the feet of our fragment and of the Laocoön. It would be well to drop this unfortunate hypothesis from the *apparatus criticus* of archaeology.

In searching for an author for the statue to which this foot belonged, we must first of all discuss the external data. The material is usually admitted to be Greek marble, the date to be in the Hellenistic period. The evidence for date rests solely on the style of the relief. The frieze of Tritons and Amorini comes somewhere between the fourth century representations of such creatures and the style of the Imperial age. The sea-denizens have not yet reached the extravagant imagination of the frieze of Domitius Ahenobarbus in Munich, while the Amorini are clearly later than the ideas of the fourth century. Few critics would deny the attribution of the relief to the third or second century B.C. That the work could be Roman would be universally denied. Not only is the playful fancy of the design thoroughly Hellenistic, but the technical execution of the sea in the fine wavy lines of the relief is unparalleled in any Roman work of this character. We have then a Greek work of the Hellenistic age. But there is another characteristic of this foot, which throws further light upon its origin. The treatment of the foot itself is not that either of the schools of Pergamon, of Rhodes, or of Alexandria. There is a conservatism, a conventionality, and a lack of all straining after naturalism or novelty of any kind, which excludes this foot entirely from the newer radical schools of Hellenistic sculpture. It belongs to the mainland school, as exemplified by the works of Eubulides in Athens, or Damophon⁶ in the Peloponnese, the school which proceeded on archaic traditional lines under the predominant influence of fifth century art.

To propose this foot as an original work of Damophon may be a bold step considering its provenance in Rome, but the grounds of the hypothesis are exceedingly strong.

There is great resemblance between the relief of the sandal and the Lycosura drapery (Fig. 2), one band of which exhibits a similar group.⁷ The similarities are many. The Triton on the Lycosura relief with the Nereid

⁴ Roscher, *Lericon*, ii. p. 482.

⁵ *Führer durch Rom*: i. p. 412; N°. 614.

⁶ For the date of Damophon, cf. my articles in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 109 and xiii. p. 356.

⁷ *B.S.A.* xiii. Pl. XIV. Fig. 2 and the two following illustrations are reproduced by permission from the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. xiii.

seated on the coils of his tail is clearly treated in a manner almost identical with the trumpet-blowing Triton and Amorino on the sandal. The connexion of the Triton-torso and fish-body is the same. The paddle is similarly held in the left hand of both Tritons. The dolphins are identical in



FIG. 2.—THE LYCOSURA DRAPERY.

treatment. To pass to another piece of the Lykosura group, the Tritoness (Fig. 3) supporting the arm of the throne,⁵ we find a striking resemblance to the Triton who holds the basket of fish on the sandal. The upstanding fringe is thoroughly Damophontic.

⁵ *B.S.A.* xii. p. 362, Fig. 5.

But the truest ground for connecting the two friezes is not external detail but the technique and treatment of the relief. Here the identity is much less tangible and much more difficult to explain. It rests partly on the extraordinary wealth of detail, the treatment of the surface as if it belonged to a mirror or toilet-box, rather than to a colossal statue. It rests also on the treatment of the marble, the rounded limbs and soft transitions, the similar poses, the same break-up of every straight line into a series of waves, similar details in arms and hair. Even the marble seems to possess the same smooth metallic surface, and it may very easily be the identical marble of the Lycosura sculptures. It is certainly of similar texture and grain. Both the friezes are the work of an artist, whose primary interest is



FIG. 3.—TRITONESS FROM LYCOSURA GROUP.

in small decorative detail, and both are found in connexion with a colossal statue of rather inferior calibre. For, when we pass from the sandal to the foot, we are even more struck by the close resemblance to the feet at Lycosura⁹ (Fig. 4). There is exactly the same flat dull treatment of the instep unrelieved by muscle, vein, or sinew, the same round fleshy joints, and the same broad thin structure. By themselves the resemblances of the feet might be attributed to similar conditions of art, to the work of inferior artists on colossal sculpture, which inevitably tends to mere multiplication or magnifying of a smaller type without the addition of that illusive treatment,

⁹ *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 369, Fig. 10.

which makes the colossal appear also magnificent. Similarly the resemblances of sandal and drapery might be attributed to contemporary skill in minute decorative work. But when we get on each of the two statues the same combination of great toreutic skill with an inability to represent the colossal with real conviction, and when we further remember the similarity in material, date, and type of statue (the scale is also identical), then we seem to have a strong *prima facie* case for connecting the two.

Granted this strong probability we may proceed to build up a forcible case for Damophon's authorship. The resemblance in type of sandal to the Parthenos of Pheidias has already been mentioned. The Lycosura group, as well as the Asclepius of Aegium, shews how closely Damophon imitated



FIG. 4.—FEET FROM LYCOSURA.

the great Attic master in details of pose and drapery. We have suggested the probability of our statue belonging to an acrolithic statue. Damophon is well known as an artist in this type of sculpture, and if the acrolithic character of the statue be not considered proved, we can see from the Lycosura group how Damophon used a sort of carpenter's technique in his colossal statues, which would admirably explain the separate execution of our fragment. Colossal statues cannot have been common on the impoverished Greek mainland in the third and second centuries, but Damophon was a renowned designer of great groups of the sort. And finally Damophon was the greatest mainland, or at any rate Peloponnesian, artist during the period of Roman conquest and penetration into Greece.

His were the works that the Romans would find the vogue of the time, and consequently there is no difficulty in supposing that they would be eagerly selected for export to Rome. There are at least three statues in Rome which reflect his influence, and two are possibly originals from his own hand.¹⁰ We need not therefore hesitate to add a third on the ground that Damophontic colossi would not be worth exporting. The list of Colossi in Rome given by Pliny¹¹ shews that the Romans had a great taste for the grandiose in art as in other things, and if the statue were acrolithic, transport would be still easier. Moreover among colossi of 30 or 40 cubits the 16-foot statue, to which the foot belongs, would not be particularly remarkable.

It is unfortunately impossible to combine the colossal foot of the Conservatori with the colossal head of the Capitol, for, while the foot must have belonged to a statue about 16 feet high, the head comes from one of barely 12 feet. Although they do not belong together, the presence of the head supports the Damophontic attribution of the foot, since if there was one Damophon colossus in Rome, there can be no material argument against a second.

As to the originality of the work, it is, I think, improbable that Roman copies were made either of works of very late date like those of Damophon, or of any colossi on an equally great scale. The combination of both circumstances in a late colossus makes it a highly improbable subject for the Roman copyist, who devoted himself almost entirely to the famous and the archaic. This, I think, is the most telling argument for the originality of the Capitol head, apart from the cogent evidence of style.¹² The conclusion therefore is that we possess in the Conservatori fragment another original work of the Messenian sculptor.

GUY DICKINS.

¹⁰ A Satyr-head in the Vatican, Amelung *Catalogue* ii. 3, p. 492; No. 293 P; *B.S.A.* xi. p. 173. Colossal Head in the Capitol, *Galleria*, No. 49. Statue of Hygieia, formerly in Villa Borghese, Arndt and Amelung, *Einzelauflnahmen* No. 490.

¹¹ *N.H.* xxxiv. 43.

¹² Graef (*Rom. Mitt.* iv. 218) speaks of Scopae influence in this head. Daniel (in *J.H.S.* xxiv. (1904), p. 51) further notices differences in the hair treatment from the

Lycosura heads, and speaks of the face as tamer in style. I am wholly unable to subscribe to this view. I can find no essential difference in the hair, except that it is much better preserved, and the faulty transitions from bony to fleshy surfaces are a regular feature of Damophon's style. As positive evidence for the connexion we have the typical Damophontic eyes and mouth, unparalleled elsewhere.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum. By F. H. MARSHALL, M.A. Pp. 400+lxii : Plates LXXIII, Text Illustrations 97. London, 1911.

This volume, the latest issued from the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, is much more than it professes to be, a catalogue of the ornaments, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman in the Departments of Antiquities ; it is the first attempt to give a scientific account of any large representative collection, and to trace the influences which determined local developments of the goldsmith's art through a period of over 2000 years, and the historical sequence and connexion of those developments.

In the fifty pages of his Introduction Mr. F. H. Marshall has brought together a wealth of clearly arranged material which throws fresh light not merely on the history of the jewellery of the various periods and their distinctive styles, but on problems of much wider interest, such as the connexion between the Balkan tribes and the Mycenaeans (p. xix), the forces which moulded the transition from the 'Mycenaean' to the 'Greek' period (pp. xxi ff.), the influence exercised in the seventh century by Ionian Greece (pp. xxiii ff.), and the reputed Lydian origin of the Etruscans (pp. xxv ff.). In fact Mr. Marshall shews us once more, as in his *Catalogue of Finger Rings*, how much of general importance can be learnt by adopting the historical method in dealing with one limited class of ancient monuments.

At present the attention of archaeologists is very much centred on 'origins' and on disentangling the component elements of the 'Greek' civilization of historical times. The sections on Mycenaean, Sub-Mycenaean, Geometric, and Primitive Greek Jewellery (Introd. II. A. B : Cat. pp. 1-107, Nos. 1-1254 : Pls. I.-XIV.) throw fresh light on these problems.

In discussing the eighth-seventh century treasures from Ephesus and Rhodes, and various kindred pieces of jewellery from sites on the Greek islands and mainland, Mr. Marshall draws attention to certain elements, neither Egyptian nor Assyrian, which they have in common : the figures of a lion-taming goddess and of a bee. The goddess to whom the ornaments were offered at Ephesus must be the local Artemis, who is, however, only a particular manifestation of the 'Magna Mater,' of whom the bee is a symbol, the 'Mother-Goddess' of Asia (Astarte, Rhea, Kybebe or Kybele, Artemis). As Kybebe she had a temple at Sardis; a gold treasure which, although more archaic in style, presents a close parallel to the Rhodian ornaments, and shews the same use of granulation, was found at Tralles (Aidin) in Lydia : the Lydians according to Pausanias (vi. 2. 8) were at Ephesus before the Ionian Greeks settled there, and ancient authors mention their passion for jewellery. All these considerations point to the conclusion that this third element in the jewellery is Lydian.

A comparison of the plates on which the Ionian and the Early Etruscan jewellery is figured shews the intimate connexion between the two ; but the latter is more markedly oriental in style. The lion-taming goddess and the bee constantly occur ; on a pair of eighth-seventh century pendants from Praeneste (Nos. 1357,* Fig. 29) we find not only the Great Goddess herself, but a fringe of delicate little human-bee figures which may

well represent her priestesses (*Melissae*, p. xxv, note 3), and many other instances can be quoted which shew that the dominant influence in Early Etruscan art was more definitely Asiatic than in Ionian art. This influence might well be explained by the immigration into N. Italy of a large body of Asiatic colonists. We cannot ignore the statement of Herodotus that the Etruscans were of Lydian origin, nor the other literary allusions to Lydians in Etruria. The granulation-technique which the Etruscans carried to such perfection in the seventh century appears there about the end of the eighth (p. xxvi) : it can hardly have been of local origin, and whether it came direct from Asia Minor or through the medium of Ionian jewellery, was certainly carried on in some centres by native workmen (p. liv) not by Greeks domiciled in Etruria. It is difficult to avoid Mr. Marshall's conclusion (p. xxvi) that the connexion between Lydians and Etruscans is certainly rendered plausible by the character of the Etruscan gold ornaments.

In studying any collection of Greek ornaments the student is immediately confronted by two problems. Why is there so little archaic (sixth-fifth century) jewellery? Where was the fine (late fifth-fourth century) gold-work made? The vase-paintings and sculpture of the sixth century shew that jewellery was worn then, but in a representative collection, like that of the British Museum, only a few miscellaneous objects, chiefly from Cyprus, can be classed as archaic. Mr. Marshall suggests (p. xxx) that both in Asia Minor and in Greece Proper this scarcity may be due to the havoc caused by the Persian Wars. Quite apart from the loss caused by looting, it is not unlikely that wealth was hoarded in the form of gold jewellery and melted down when needed; it is also possible that under the influence of fashion, such archaic jewellery as survived the stress of the first half of the fifth century, was afterwards remodelled in the style which better reflected the temperament of fourth-century Greece. But when all these considerations are taken into account we do not feel that they account satisfactorily for the scarcity of archaic jewellery in all parts of the Greek world. Nor can we obtain a complete answer to the second question. The probability is that the very fine gold work was made in Athens and exported thence in the course of trade (p. xxxvii) : still the fact remains that it has not been found there, but in the outlying portions of the Greek world. Possibly the Athenians were too sophisticated to bury valuables in the tombs of their relations, possibly they were deterred by the fear of *τυμβωρεχία*: Mr. Marshall gives particulars (pp. xxxvii f.) of three finds of jewellery from three far distant parts of the Greek world, Kertch in the Thracian Chersonese, Kyme in Aeolis and S. Eufemia in Calabria. The ornaments from Kertch belong mainly to the fifth century, the other two groups to the close of the fine period: all contain specimens of the finest Greek work, and shew such analogies of style and technique that we may reasonably conclude they were exported from a common centre of production, which, given the conditions of the age, was probably Athens.

During the Graeco-Roman period (200 B.C.-200 A.D.) the centres of distribution were Alexandria, Antioch and Rome (p. xlii): during the Roman period (A.D. 200-) Mr. Marshall believes it was to be found in Syria, and that the Roman jewellery came either from Palmyra or, through it, from the Farther East. He bases this opinion on the statues of Palmyrene ladies, who are profusely decked with the jewellery in fashion in this period. One of the instructive features of his *Catalogue* is the constant use of other classes of monuments to illustrate and explain the jewellery of the different periods. Vase-paintings, sculpture, wall-paintings, coins, statues, and temple-inventories are all laid under contribution. The British Museum possesses a fine gold necklace from Melos (No. 1947, Pl. XXXV.), with gold amphora-pendants. The temple-inventory of Delos registers one composed of fifty-eight such pendants (p. xxxvii); from the same inventory we learn the technical name (*λόγχαι*) of the spear-shaped drops which are a common feature of the necklaces of the period. Two busts of Palmyrene ladies are figured, one of whom (Fig. 88) wears earrings and a necklace like the Museum specimens Nos. 2643 *spp.* and No. 2745; the other (Fig. 94) a hair ornament, with which Mr. Marshall ingeniously identifies No. 2866, Pl. LXVI.

In discussing the Roman jewellery he points out how faithfully it reflects the ultra-superstitious tone of the period when a necklace was simply a convenient method of wearing amulets. It is to this custom that the British Museum owes the latest addition to its collection of Gnostic charms inscribed on precious metal. A vase-shaped pendant (No. 3150, Pl. LXXI.) in the Hamilton Collection has only recently yielded up the thin gold plate which had been rolled up into the size of a pea and placed there. It and five other Gnostic charms, similarly inscribed on gold or silver (Nos. 3151-3, 3156, 7), are now published for the first time (pp. 377 ff.). In republishing the important Orphic tablet from Petelia, Mr. Marshall notes that though the tablet belongs to the fourth century B.C. the case cannot be earlier than the second or third century A.D. The charm had therefore been carefully preserved for at least 500 years before it was rolled up and placed in a case; a striking testimony to the great virtue ascribed to these Orphic tablets.

Reference has already been made to one noteworthy feature of the *Catalogue*, the use made of other classes of monuments to explain and date the jewellery. Another important feature is its systematic presentation of chronological data. Mr. Marshall gives dates, approximate and relative, whenever possible. The relative dates, shewing the position of the different finds in each period and the sequence of development throughout a long series of the same class of ornament, are most valuable, for they are based on the intimate expert knowledge which comes from careful examination of a representative collection. The century dates of the earlier periods, which are necessarily based on somewhat shifting data, may need revision in the light of further excavation, especially in Asia Minor; but that does not affect the permanent value of the relative dates assigned, on internal evidence, to the early finds from Cyprus, Ialysos, Kameiros, Ephesus, Sardinia and N. Italy.

The *Catalogue* is illustrated by seventy-three excellent collotype plates and ninety-seven figures in the text, and is furnished with very complete Indices and with Tables for converting English and French weights and measures.

The Greek Commonwealth. By A. E. ZIMMERN. Pp. 454. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. 8s. 6d. net.

Mr. Zimmern's aim in writing this book is best expressed by its sub-title, 'Polities and Economics in Fifth-Century Athens,' or by the opening sentence of his preface, 'This book is the result of an attempt to make clear to myself what fifth-century Athens was really like.' It is upon the Athens of Pericles that the reader's attention is focussed, its ideals and its realities, its aims and its success, its poverty and its enrichment of all future ages. The central and culminating chapter of the work consists of little more than a translation of Pericles' Funeral Speech, yet the familiar phrases are filled with a new meaning by the author's sympathetic interpretation of the ideals which underly and inspired them. True, we learn much from Mr. Zimmern about the Athens of prehistoric times, of Theseus and Draco, of Solon and Cleisthenes, of Themistocles and Cimon, but that is only to enable us to follow the long and sometimes toilsome path which led up to the heights upon which Periclean Athens stood, in order that we may the better understand the value of her achievement and the spirit which made it possible. Of the subsequent decline Mr. Zimmern does not say much. He takes us in his Conclusion to the death of Pericles and gives us a glimpse of the demoralization wrought by the plague and of the spiritual decadence revealed by the Melian Dialogue. About the Sicilian expedition and the ten years' life-and-death struggle which followed he is silent.

Yet the book justifies its more comprehensive title, for it deals with much which is not solely Athenian and attempts to estimate the chief factors, whether material environment or economic forces or spiritual ideals, which affected, to a greater or less degree, all Greek city-states. Athens is represented as unique, not because she followed a different path of

development from her sister states, but because she travelled farther than they along the common path and set herself with greater devotion and self-sacrifice to the attainment of her highest aims.

The plan of the book is simple. It opens with a delightfully vivid account, based upon personal experience, of the Mediterranean area and of the geographical factors—sea, soil, and climate—which influenced Greek history. The second section deals with the political development of Greece, especially of Athens. The various ‘elements of citizenship’ are passed in careful review and we are shewn the place of public opinion, family tradition, the magistrate, religion, law, self-government, and liberty in the gradually widening conception of citizenship which reaches its consummation in the Periclean ideal unfolded in the Funeral Speech. The third section is devoted to ‘Economics.’ It starts by emphasizing the radical poverty of the Greeks and then traces the growth and expansion of the city-state, the struggle for subsistence finding a vent in warfare or in emigration, the problems of production and distribution, and finally the special economic influences operative in Athens as the head of an Empire. The concluding chapter deals with the Peloponnesian War from its outbreak to 416, illustrating Athenian policy and the working of the political and economic factors which have already been discussed.

It would be hard to over-estimate the interest and value of the work as a whole. There are individual judgments with which we may disagree, and the scope of the book has often forced the author into making dogmatic statements upon disputed points. Solon surely did not open the archonship to all save the *θῆτες*, as stated on p. 137; Empedocles is represented by tradition (Diog. Laert. viii. 52) as a visitor to, not as a colonist of, Thurii (p. 368), and one at least of Mr. Zimmern’s readers remains quite unconvinced by his rejection of *Ath. Pol.* xxi. 5 (p. 152 note). We should like to see a reference on p. 158 to Diodorus’ story (xiii. 64) that the first recorded instance of the corruption of an Attic jury was in 409, when Anytus, after failing to relieve Pylos, ἐρρύσατο χρήμαστι τὴν ιδίαν ψυχήν. This is not the place to discuss differences of opinion, but Mr. Zimmern will welcome two corrections on matters of fact. A fragmentary decree (*I. G.* xii. 5. 480; cf. Cavaignac, *Études*, p. 186) has proved that Athens did impose upon her allies the exclusive use of her weights, measures, and coinage (p. 187), while Wilhelm has shewn that the decree in Hicks and Hill, No. 58, which is quoted (p. 432) for 428 b.c. really belongs to a date eighteen years later (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1903, 774). Yet the book is a notable contribution to Greek, and above all to Athenian, history. Penetrating beneath its phenomena, the author lays bare for us its underlying spirit and principles: he teaches us to look not merely at men’s actions, but at the environment in which they were wrought, the motives which impelled, the ambitions which inspired them. He makes Greek history something not merely to remember but to understand. In spite of the assertion that ‘there are comparatively few special points on which I can claim to have contributed anything novel,’ the whole book is fresh and vivid. Old facts are seen in a new light and the English reader finds some of the ripest fruits of Continental scholarship and study placed for the first time within his reach. No one who has read the chapters on slavery—in our view the most interesting portion of the work—can go back to his old ideas of that much discussed and much misunderstood institution. Best of all, though Mr. Zimmern emphasizes the effects of geographical and economic factors upon human history, he rejects the conception of man as a mere creature of his environment: there are such things as ideals, free-will is no mere phrase, wealth and comfort are not the sole ends of action, and the true greatness of the Athenians lies in this, that ‘they bravely refused to submit, either in mind or in body, to the squalid tyranny which Poverty and Impossibility have imposed upon the great mass of humankind.’

Thucydides and the History of his Age. By G. B. GRUNDY. Pp. xix + 553.
London : Murray, 1911. 16s.

This volume is composed of somewhat diverse elements. Its opening chapters and a lengthy appendix are concerned with the personality of Thucydides and the genesis of his historical writings. In addition to an elaborate *ἀρχαιολογία* of previous researches on the same subject, this section contains an exhaustive analysis of all the biographical material in Thucydides' text. This original enquiry by Dr. Grundy is a valuable piece of work, and by reason of its thoroughness deserves to be accepted as the basis of all further argument about Thucydides' historical method. The conclusion which it establishes is that the history of the Peloponnesian War in its extant form is composed of four monographs on different episodes of the War, which Thucydides eventually proceeded to weld together into a single narrative, but did not live long enough to work up into final shape.

The central part of the volume is devoted to the discussion of two leading problems of fifth-century history which Thucydides raises, but fails to solve to the satisfaction of modern critics: why did the Peloponnesian War break out at all, and on what strategic principles was it fought out? In answer to the second question Dr. Grundy develops and applies the theory of hoplite warfare already published by him in this *Journal*. By virtue of his intimate first-hand acquaintance with the countryside of Greece, he is able to show convincingly that the apparently futile operations of conventional Greek warfare in the fifth century were the logical outcome of the natural features of the land. Exception may be taken to some of Dr. Grundy's conjectures. It seems most unlikely that the object of the Peloponnesians in attacking Acarnania was to secure an overland route from the Ambracian Gulf for their imports of Sicilian corn, for the dangers of the previous sea voyage through the line of Athenian posts in the Ionian Isles would have far exceeded those of a direct journey in summer time from Sicily to Peloponnesus. It is also a matter of regret that no explanation is given of any campaigns after 421 B.C., the most important operations of the War being thus left without a clue. But, taken as a whole, this section is remarkable for its insight into the conditions of Greek warfare, and it throws a good deal of light on the dark corners of Thucydides' military narrative.

In dealing with the causes of the War, Dr. Grundy frankly accepts the modern suggestion that the Corinthians, rather than the Spartans, were the authors of it. In support of this view he not only reproduces his previously expressed theory (*J.H.S.* 1908) of the limitations of Spartan ambition, but also lays much stress on the positively disastrous character of trade competition between Athens and the Isthmus States. The discussion of this topic is somewhat complicated by a lengthy review of the economic policy of Athens from the days of Solon. In this suggestive but not always convincing disquisition the most striking feature is the vast importance which Dr. Grundy attaches to the competition between free and servile labour. Though slave industry in normal times was both cheap and abundant at Athens, it does not follow as a matter of course that the free workers were driven out of the market. Analogy between the effects of ancient and modern capitalism is highly deceptive; and there are several pieces of direct evidence against Dr. Grundy's reasoning—the absence of protective legislation on the part of the Demos against slavery, the apparent shortage of labour in the days ranging from Themistocles to Xenophon, and the rate of freemen's wages, which stood well above the level of bare subsistence. In the absence of further proof, it seems preferable to adopt the view that the field of work was divided peacefully between the free and the unfree labourers. But this is a side issue which hardly affects the author's main contention. Dr. Grundy has undoubtedly strengthened the case of those who ascribe the Peloponnesian War to commercial causes, and he has rendered considerable service by taking into serious consideration the economic side of fifth-century history, which hitherto has been treated with undue contempt.

The usefulness of the book is in danger of being impaired by its general lack of literary finish. Though here and there a chapter *festinat ad eventum*, at least one-third

of the volume is taken up with repetitions and digressions which merely serve to obscure the argument. Nevertheless, the present volume should in the long run have a marked effect upon the traditional history of the fifth century : few books can do more to disperse the air of unreality which still hangs about the conventional accounts of this period.

Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer. [Die Kultur der Gegenwart, II. 4, i.] By U. v. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF and B. NIESE. Pp. vi + 280. Leipzig : B. G. Teubner, 1910. M. 8.

This volume, which forms part of an encyclopaedic treatise on Present-day Culture, is pieced together somewhat incongruously out of two sections differing widely in scale and method of treatment.

The portion relating to Greece holds the lion's share of the book, and in point of interest undoubtedly takes precedence. Coming from the pen of Wilamowitz, it displays a delightful freedom from the trammels of ordinary book-knowledge and envisages Greek life with a directness peculiar to one in whom the power of 'thinking hellenically' almost rises to an instinct. Although the author is at no special pains to break away from the commonplaces of his subject, and as a rule endorses rather than combats accepted conclusions, he has everywhere presented familiar topics in a novel light and has frequently reinforced conventional truths with additional evidence. Particular attention is here due to his resourcefulness in eliciting fresh knowledge out of linguistic usage and out of recently found inscriptions. It is perhaps but natural that so self-reliant a writer should at times have committed himself to contentions which, to say the least, as yet lack proof. Thus Minos is dubbed a 'Carian' (p. 2) ; the first mintage of coins in European Greece is ascribed to Pheidon of Argos (p. 66) ; the Dorians are invested with a distinctive code of morals under the special sanction of Delphi, and with a peculiar aptitude for polities (p. 87 *sqq.*) ; the statesmen of Athens are shorn of all permanent importance except as patrons of art (p. 134). Roman phil-hellenism is represented as purely Machiavellian (pp. 146-7). Furthermore, at the risk of being told to 'go pray to Mannion,' we would suggest that Wilamowitz has laid undue stress on the ideal motives of Greek action as expounded by theologians and philosophers, and has underrated the enormous importance of the nation's economic development. This deficiency is well illustrated by the author's breach of his own rule in dealing with post-Alexandrine Greece : by reason of his more pragmatic treatment of this period his characterization of it becomes singularly complete. Lastly, though few will regret the absence of a cut-and-dried scheme of exposition, readers with a scientific turn of mind may feel that not enough has been said to explain how one phase of Greek life passed into another. Presented without any clear connexion, the single episodes by their very fulness tend to obscure the general course of the narrative. Nevertheless, Wilamowitz' contribution should prove illuminating to the experienced student, and it will certainly rouse the interest of all its readers.

In the disproportionately short space allotted to him Niese has confined himself to giving a brief abstract of Roman political history. Though not devoid of original touches, *e.g.* the emphasis which is laid throughout on the indebtedness of Roman civilization to the Greeks, the narrative moves for the most part on conventional lines. But if this section of the book is somewhat colourless, it is correspondingly clear and well-balanced. As a skeleton outline of Roman history it should serve a useful purpose.

British School of Archaeology in Egypt. Studies. Vol. II. Historical studies.
London : Quaritch, 1911. Pp. viii + 50.

For the student of the Greek world the chief interest of this volume lies in a contribution by Prof. Flinders Petrie (pp. 8-22) on the chronology of the twelfth and succeeding dynasties of Egypt, with which the Middle Minoan age of prehistoric Crete has been proved largely to synchronise. In the present article Prof. Petrie restates his case in favour of relegating the twelfth dynasty to the fourth millennium B.C. and supports it with a series of new contentions. His arguments, though attractive throughout, are of somewhat unequal value. The interpretation of the dates in the Turin Papyrus and Manetho is undoubtedly more straightforward than that of the Berlin school, but hardly suffices to put all rival theories out of court; and the ingenious parallel which is drawn between the period 3000-1500 B.C. and the centuries of the Christian era rouses suspicion by reason of its very perfectness. The evidence of material remains has been clearly made out by Prof. Petrie to be far less unfavourable to his case than has been commonly supposed, but taken by itself it cannot be made to decide the issue in any direction. On the other hand the most regular of all timepieces in Egypt, the variations of Nile-level and of climate, have been made by him to furnish some fresh evidence which at first sight is all in favour of dating the Hyksos period back to 2500 B.C. and the twelfth dynasty to 3500 B.C.

The present treatise will not suffice in itself to settle the most vexed question of Egyptian chronology. In the absence of new discoveries, whether in Egypt, Mesopotamia or Asia Minor, no final solution is likely to be attained, though it is at all events a matter for congratulation that disputants of all schools are fairly unanimous in their judgment of the astronomical data which serve to fix the outlines of the time-chart. But Prof. Petrie has plainly succeeded in presenting a case on behalf of his system of dating which will require a far more attentive study than the opposite school of chronologists has hitherto accorded to him.

Hellenistic Athens. By WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON. Pp. 487 + xviii. London : Macmillan & Co., 1911. 12s.

This brilliant volume is an object-lesson in the extent to which epigraphy has transformed history. For thirteen years Professor Ferguson has been publishing his preliminary studies of Athens in Hellenistic times, studies which have done so much both for chronology and for the details of government, administration, and party life. We now get the ripe fruit of much labour in this well-written and most interesting history, the work of one emphatically master of his material.

The period treated is from the death of Alexander to the capture of the city by Sulla : the Hellenic war, the rule of the philosopher Demetrius, the alternate friendship and struggle with the Antigonid kings—a time of great vitality and chequered fortune,—the peace as of death that followed the capture of the city by Antigonus, and the resurrection of a different sort of Athens in 229, still the world's culture-centre, but (in the author's apt phrase) 'internationalised' : for Athens is now a little power, increasing in wealth and perhaps in happiness, but having to walk carefully in such paths as may suit those who control the world. Then comes the renaissance of 166 B.C., and the acquisition of Delos, followed by more material prosperity under prudent aristocratic rule, till the democracy, in a moment of generous if mistaken impulse, breaks bounds and defies Rome ; and Athens goes down in blood. It is a good subject, and no one who cares for Greek history as a whole, rather than for the fragment of it once called classical, can afford to leave the book unread. In the later days of Greece our tradition requires thorough retreatment : for the version of Hellenistic history which the world adopted was the one that best suited Rome. This book makes a good contribution to the work.

Perhaps the best chapter is the reconstruction of the condition of Delos under Athenian rule, a time of hurried splendour built up over the foul horrors of the slave trade. The abundant epigraphic material is still in part unpublished ; but from the mass available the author has achieved a striking picture. Among other good things may be especially noted the excellent analysis of the New Comedy, based on the recovered portions of Menander, with the just verdict that it deals with the least worthy part of Athenian life.

It is harder to know how to appraise that part of the book which covers the great gap in the framework of history between Diodorus, Bk. xx. and Polybius. To reconstruct parts of this epoch is like doing a jig-saw puzzle with the majority of the pieces missing : from the remainder everyone gets a different picture. Mr. Ferguson has made a good one ; it may be open to question whether it cannot be bettered in places. To give just one instance ; all the events at the end of the reign of Demetrius I. are dislocated, and Plutarch (good here) and an Athenian decree both jettisoned,—for what ? To preserve intact the rotation of the priests of Asclepius, which Mr. Ferguson himself admits is broken elsewhere. But how quickly ground has to be shifted can be seen from this, that the Delian choragic inscriptions, which last year gave us mention of a ‘peace’ in 255, have now added (too late for Mr. Ferguson to use) another ‘peace’ in 261 ; and if the words be not formulae, but refer to realities (and nothing forbids this, see Dittenb. *Syll.* 140. l. 71), the sketch given in this book of the events following the capture of Athens in 262–1 may already require reconsideration.

One grumble to conclude. If the philosophers were to be handled at all, we should often like fuller treatment ; we should like, for instance, to see more clearly *why* Zeno was a great man, and to get some notice of the enormous importance of the rise of Stoicism. But, after all, it is the very excellence of the fare provided that prompts us to be ‘asking for more.’

Das Altertum im Leben der Gegenwart. Von P. CAUER. Pp. vi+122.
Leipzig : Teubner, 1911. M. 1 (paper); M. 1·25 (cloth).

Die Anschauungen vom Wesen des Griechentums. Von G. BILLETER. Pp. xviii+477. Leipzig : Teubner, 1911. M. 12.

The contents of Professor Cauer's volume are not altogether in keeping with its title and its professed purpose as a popularizing work. Instead of pointing out the analogies between ancient and modern life it rather tends to emphasize the uniqueness of the former and scarcely reveals the present-day world save in one or two dissolving views. The difficulties of its trim but disjointed style, the studied incoherence with which the author jumps from topic to topic, and his addiction to speculative reasoning, will disconcert the inexpert reader, who will search in vain for some guiding thread or landmark to direct his explorations. Nevertheless, Professor Cauer's book should prove a useful addition to our literature of the stock-taking order. It is a product of ripe reflection, and while it seldom works out any of the miscellaneous subjects with which it deals, it generally succeeds in presenting them in a new and suggestive light. Particular attention may be drawn to the felicitous remarks with which the chapter on Homer abounds. To the advanced student this volume should be of service in freshening up stagnant knowledge and in opening here and there a new avenue of thought.

In contrast with the above, Dr. Billeter's book is highly methodical, but lays no claim to originality of judgment. It is an attempt to collect and classify the various opinions emitted by worthies ranging from Xenophon to J. McN. Whistler in regard to the world of Greece, with a view to clarifying the issues over which students of that world are still contending. A glance at the index will reveal the comprehensive character of Dr. Billeter's list of authorities : in spite of some remarkable omissions—no mention is made of Dionysius and Quintilian, of Machiavelli and the Humanists, of modern Greek scholars like Coraës and Lampros, or of such distinguished hellenists as Byron and

Browning—its dimensions are truly colossal. Unhappily this display of industry goes for little or nothing. A survey of views expressed by the most eminent hellenists of successive ages, if compressed into a narrow compass, might form a useful contribution to the history of Greek scholarship. But to induce residual truths about the Greek genius out of an aggregation of quotations detached from their context is as hopeless a task as to discover scientific laws by means of Bacon's Tables of Instances. Indeed the very completeness of the author's lists tells heavily against him, for such a welter of evidence, however carefully classified, is sure to paralyze rather than to stimulate the judgment. It can serve at most to prove anew the old saying *quot homines tot sententiae*. Students who desire to penetrate farther into the unexplored recesses of the Greek mind will do well to leave alone compilations like the present volume and to devote the time thus saved to the originals.

Les Secrétaires Athéniens. Par MAURICE BRILLANT. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 191. Pp. xxi+148. Paris. Champion, 1911. 4 fr.

The discovery and publication of the Ἀθηναῖοι Πολιτεῖαι twenty years ago gave a fresh impetus to the study of the Athenian Secretaries. E. Drexup's article *Über den Staatschreiber von Athen* (1897) was followed in 1898 by J. Penndorf's *De Scribis republibcae Atheniensium* and W. S. Ferguson's *The Athenian Secretaries*. Since then no new evidence of value has been discovered, save the list of bouleutae published by Kirchner (*Ath. Mitt.* 1904, 244 ff.), and it would seem at first sight as though there were no opening for a fresh monograph on the same subject. Yet M. Brillant's book is its own justification. Starting from the assumption of the absolute value of Ἀθ. Πολ. liv. (the Aristotelian authorship of which he accepts without question) the writer tries to prove that this passage is in perfect accord with the epigraphical evidence. Though maintaining an independent attitude throughout, he adopts and reinforces the view of Boeckh and Ferguson in asserting the identity of the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς of the period before 363 B.C. with the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρωταρεῖαν of the succeeding centuries, though the latter is now an annual official chosen by lot, and in regarding the sporadic appearances of the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς from 362 to 318 B.C. as survivals of a familiar title which officially no longer existed. All the Attic Secretaries of State are discussed, and a chapter is devoted to an exposition and examination of 'Ferguson's Law' regulating the succession of Secretaries and Priests of Asclepius. The book is pleasantly and attractively written, though clearness and accuracy are never sacrificed to rhetorical effect. Errors and misprints (e.g. the attribution of I.G. i. 40 to 325-4 on p. 15) are commendably few, and the author appears to have mastered his materials well, though we miss a reference to Wilhelm's restoration of I.G. i. Suppl. 39a (*Anzeiger d. Wiener Akad.* 1909, p. 53) on p. 10, and A. Mommsen's articles in *Philologus* lxi., lxii. and lxiv. seem to have been overlooked. That the difficulties of this intricate subject cannot yet be regarded as finally settled is shewn by the divergent account given by Schulthess (Pauly-Kroll *Realencyclopädie* s.v. *Γραμματεῖς*) in an article published this summer upon the Athenian and other Greek Secretaries.

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The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century with a Revised Text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos. By J. B. BURY. [The British Academy: Supplementary Papers. I.] London: Frowde, 1911. Pp. 179. 10s. 6d.

In this work, after considering the MSS. and recensions of the Kletorologion, Bury deals with the great officials (civil, military, and financial) of the later Roman Empire and with the organization of their staffs; he does not touch upon the civil administration of the provinces nor upon the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The whole work is an illustration of the

thesis that the outstanding difference between the governmental systems of the fourth and ninth centuries is that while in the older Diocletiano-Constantinian system there was a comparatively small number of ministers and commanders-in-chief who were directly responsible to the Emperor alone, all other administrators being ranged under these in graded subordination, in the ninth century there is no hierarchy of office and the number of independent officials responsible only to the Emperor is enormously larger, and this in spite of the fact that the territory ruled from Constantinople was far less extensive than in the earlier period. There was no break in continuity : the changes were effected by a series of successive modifications dating from the days of the Heraclian dynasty to the time of Leo the Isaurian : generals in the provinces were no longer subject to the magistri militum, while the functions of *e.g.* the magister officiorum were distributed amongst several ministers whose sole superior was the Emperor. Semenov has recently published a study on the office of the Logothete (A. Semenov : 'Über Ursprung u. Bedeutung d. Amtes d. Logotheten in Byzanz,' *B.Z.* xix. 1910, pp. 440-449) in which he traces the changes in administrative terminology—from procurator, through rationalis to logothete ; but when the Russian scholar turns to consider the functions of the various logothetes, the student is left confused and unilluminated ; let him compare this part of Semenov's paper with Bury, pp. 78 *sqq.*, and he will be in a position to estimate the advance marked by the book now under review. Considerations of space will only allow me to add a few notes : p. 50 in med. it might have been expressly stated that we know that the magister Bonus was charged with the defence of the capital during the absence of Heraclius in Persia : p. 56 the last text quoted for the existence of the protectores in the sixth century dates from 559 A.D. (=Theop. 233₁₈) : add Corippus : In Laudem Justini iv. 239 and a reference to C. Julian : De Protectoribus et Domesticis Augustorum, Paris 1883, an essay which is independent of Mommsen's study. Here and there reference might have been made by way of illustration to Byelyaev's *Byzantina*. Ocherki, Materialui i Zamyetki po Vizantiiskim Drevnostyam III. Zapiski klassicheskago otdyeleniya imperatorskago russkago archeologicheskago Obschestva iv. 1907, pp. 1-188 which does not appear in Bury's bibliography, while the obscurer paths of hagiography may furnish further examples. Thus Papadopoulos Kerameus has recently published the original Greek text of the Miracula S. Artemii (*Sbornik grecheskikh neizdannikh bogoslovskikh Tekstov* iv.-xv. Vyekov. St. Petersburg, 1909) which in his (Russian) preface he dates between the years 660-668. Here we find, *v.g.*, p. 25₁₉, a Στέφανος διάκονος τῆς ἀγωτάρης Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ποιητὴς μέρους Βενέτου (cf. Bury, p. 105) and on p. 26₂₀ Kosmas shortly before the death of Heraclius was ὁ τότε τοῦ Βενέτου διοικητής ; further pp. 22-23 give an interesting account of a trial for theft before Theodore ὁ κατὰ Καλλίνικον the praefect of the city (temp. Heraclii) in which the injured party withdrew his accusation and paid τὰ τῆς θεραπείας to the officers of the court—τῷ σεκρεταρίῳ ἔξαγραμμα μηδιαρήσια δόκτῳ καὶ τῷ κομενταρησίῳ τρίᾳ. But enough ! Bury's book will be indispensable for all students of the history of the Roman Empire ; his mastery of the sources, his knowledge of the modern literature, his terseness, clearness, and precision have never been better exemplified than in this work.

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

Papyrus de Théadelphie. Édités par PIERRE JOUGUET. 2 plates. Pp. xvii + 266.
Paris : Fontemont et Cie., 1911.

The Fayum, one of the earliest districts to yield us any records of Graeco-Roman Egypt, still continues to pour forth a stream of papyri. The present volume consists entirely of documents from a single village, Theadelphia, the modern Harit, all falling within a short period of time, and many of them concerning the same person. They are preserved in the Museum at Cairo, where they arrived in 1903, and apparently they do not exhaust the treasures of the kôm, since a considerable collection of papyri from Theadelphia were recently acquired by the Museum at Berlin, and more recently still several others

have arrived at the British Museum. The papyri contained in this volume belong to that period of transition, the age of Diocletian, and the years immediately following it; and it is this fact which gives them their main interest and value. The collection, containing many excellently preserved documents, does not throw much new light on problems of law and administration, nor does it include any single item so sensational as the edict of Caracalla among the Giessen papyri; but it is nevertheless of considerable interest as illustrating, more vividly perhaps than any other, the economic decay which marked the third and following centuries of our era. Theadelphia, a populous and flourishing village in the early Roman period, was ruined by the neglect of the irrigation canals, and the gradual encroachment of the desert sand: and not a few of these papyri give us striking glimpses of its death agony. We hear of the flight of the villagers to other neighbourhoods, and at last Sakaon, the person from whose portfolio many of the papyri come, seems to have been almost the sole inhabitant. The documents are published with introductions and ample commentary, and there is at the beginning a general introduction dealing with the village and its inhabitants: on pp. 9 and 10 is given a charming description of the site at the present day. There are the usual indices. Several documents, written in very long lines, are printed continuously across two opposite pages: the practice cannot be commended, and makes them awkward to read. In the introduction to 48 (pp. 204-5) the editor discovers in the document a new title *πραι-πόσιτος ἐπὶ (τῆς) πόλεως*. It seems much more likely that *ἐπὶ (τῆς) πόλεως* is to be separated from the title and taken as referring to the place of payment—'in the city.' It is to be noticed that where the phrase does not occur its place is always (except perhaps 1. 5) taken by an indication of place. For *ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως* in the above sense see, e.g., B. M. Pap. 1170 *verso*, 1. 388, etc. (vol. III. p. 202). The volume contains a good many misprints.

Les Épistratèges; Contribution à l'Étude des Institutions de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine. Par VICTOR MARTIN. Pp. xv+201. Genève. Georg & Co. 1911, 8vo. 10 fr.

This work, yet another addition to the rapidly growing list of monographs on papyrological subjects, is a thesis for the doctorate of Geneva, and deals with the subject of the officials known as epistrategi. Considering the high rank of these officials, it is somewhat curious that we have so little information concerning their position and functions; and this work, collecting such facts as are known, and throwing fresh light on not a few points, is a useful addition to the literature of Graeco-Roman Egyptology. The author's arguments are not always quite convincing, and the gaps in the evidence make it impossible to arrive at any certain conclusion on several points, but this is of course inevitable, and in some cases he has certainly cleared up matters which have hitherto been in dispute. The work falls into two parts, the first dealing with the Ptolemaic, the second with the Roman period; the evidence advanced by the author makes it quite certain that in the former there was but one epistrategus for the Thebaid. In an appendix a useful list of known epistrategi is given, and there are indices of passages cited and of personal names.

The Bacchants of Euripides and other Essays. By A. W. VERRALL. 395 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1910. 10s.

The book consists of a long essay on the *Bacchae* followed by a number of shorter essays on Greek literary subjects. The essay on the *Bacchae* is one of the most elaborate and perhaps the most successful of the author's Euripidean studies. His view of the play resembles Professor Norwood's (*The Riddle of the Bacchae*), though it differs in some

important details. The Lydian stranger is not Dionysus, but an adept of a type common then as now, and the audience, or its more intelligent members, are not to suppose that the miraculous occurrences described in the play really took place. The root-ideas of Professor Verrall's Euripidean criticism are familiar to everyone : and most readers would agree that in many cases he has exaggerated the non-artistic *tendency* of the poet's work and turned the poet into a doctrinaire. But in the *Bacchae* he is on safer ground than elsewhere, for it is in the religious aspect of the plays that he is especially interested, and the subject of the *Bacchae* is without doubt Religion. To use his own words, 'what is new and unique (in this drama) . . . is the thing . . . observed and depicted, which is, in one word, *faith*, or a faith.' That is true : Euripides has seen both the beauty and the ugliness of the Dionysiac worship, and has drawn a keen, hard picture of it, coldly, $\omega\sigma\gammaμαρφείς ἀποσταθείς$.

The character and motives of the Lydian stranger are persuasively presented ; but though we admit that such a person is 'not a possible object of adoration,' it does not follow that he is not identical with the Dionysos of the prologue and epilogue. The final scene of the *Bacchae* loses enormously if we consider the fading god a mere lay-figure.

The person of Teiresias is rightly interpreted, as we believe, by Professor Verrall ; here our author differs from Professor Norwood, and we prefer Professor Verrall's view. But his Pentheus is less satisfactory : by manipulating certain difficult passages, he seeks to prove that Pentheus has not been maddened by divine power, and is not even drunk, but has actually been drugged by the adept who carries a little tube of poison in his bosom. It is not believable that his arguments from the text itself will find favour ; in particular, his reversion, in line 913, to the MS. reading $\sigmaπένδοντα$, instead of the usually adopted conjecture $\sigmaπενδοντα$, seems simply wilful ; and his general pleading on p. 115 shews him at his weakest : his phrases betray him—'I should suppose . . . , 'the Athenian audience, the educated part of it, would probably expect . . . , 'but even without this, . . . supposing only . . .' In the fifth century, he says in the same place, owing to Ionian speculation, 'the connexion of enthusiasm with intoxicants must have been notorious.' No one denies it ; nor do we need a ghost to tell us that : the chief known intoxicant and the most popular is alcohol. It is possible that a little alcohol, undrugged, contributed to Pentheus' frenzy : but it is not necessary to think so. The man is Agave's son : he belongs to one of those great, tainted, and disastrous houses which ruled the Greek countries at one time and were never forgotten by their subjects. The hysterical faith of Agave and Ino is represented in Pentheus by a temper so hot that from the beginning it is almost insane. The foreign plague has struck the zealot's own house ; he is further infuriated by the provoking calm of the adept and by the wild stories rife among his people : a touch more and he is mad.

Dr. Verrall defends himself with great vigour and with his usual charm of style against the accusation that he does not realize the poetic value of the play. It is certain that he does ; but his description, keen-sighted as it is, over-emphasizes certain details, and, we think, is sometimes distorted. This is almost inevitable when one seeks to prove anything about a work of art. But surely the *Bacchae* is seen to be a unity, if we consider that, although its theme is ecstatic religion, its substructure is Wine :—in its three phases, expectation, intoxication, and $\kappaραιπάλη$. and this is the reason why wine is hardly mentioned in the play.

The most important of the remaining chapters in the book are 'Rhyme and Reason,' which brings to light really valuable and suggestive facts about the sporadic use of rhyme in tragedy, and 'Phrynicus and the *Persians*,' where good reason is shewn for believing that Aeschylus transferred large portions of the earlier drama to his own extant work. The other essays are slighter : and the concluding chapter, where the author applies his method to the Gospel narrative, must be left to the theologians.

Lectures on Greek Poetry. By J. W. MACKAIL. Longmans, Green & Co., 1910. 9s. 6d.

These lectures were delivered by Mr. Mackail when Professor of Poetry at Oxford. He takes for his subjects Homer, the Lyric poets, Sophocles, the Alexandians, and his aim is 'to disengage the essence of Greek poetry, to place its progress in a clearer perspective, and to bring it into a closer relation with life.' The book is an interesting one; there is some fine writing in it, and some well-phrased ideas, and the author's view if misleading is consistent. He approaches Greek poetry as a Romantic of the old school, and only as a Romantic: poetry for him is Romantic poetry. Homer of course belongs to the Greek Middle Ages, and Mr. Mackail is therefore in his element. His account of the Homeric question is judicious, and his criticism always shows enthusiasm, and sometimes insight: but at the end of the chapters on Homer, the reader asks himself, 'What has it all been about'—Morris, or Hugo, or early French tapestry?' Mr. Mackail is at his worst when dealing with Homer's women. They show signs of 'the hard, unromantic Greek temper' (p. 35); the poet seems to have 'made them live almost against his will, or the will of his audience' (p. 34). We want to hear more about Nausicaa: Briseis (a 'strangely romantic figure') is hardly allowed to speak; and Penelope has had her part cut. Finally, the Iliad stands to the Odyssey as Chartres stands to Beauvais; and while Homer is a 'church with soaring columns,' etc., Hesiod is its 'subterranean crypt.' Sappho is compared, justly enough, to the Provençal poetesses; but even Sophocles does not escape: the *Trachiniae* has 'its unmistakable accent of romance'; in the *Philoctetes*, 'the romantic note is stronger'; *Oedipus Coloneus* belongs to the class of romances. Theocritus and Apollonius are naturally romantics; and the book ends with the heading 'the reinstatement of romance,' and a parallel between Apollonius and William Morris.

It is easy to see what the author is looking out for in Greek poetry. His eyes are the eyes of William Morris, and we believe the book will have value as a record of that poet's point of view. Further, it will be of some use in introducing Greek poetry to those who have been brought up among other ideas: it will provide them with a stepping-stone towards a truer appreciation. But one cannot help feeling that much that is here said in florid prose would have been better condensed into sonnet form.

The Clouds of Aristophanes: with Introduction, English Prose Translation, Critical Notes, and Commentary, including a new Transcript of the Scholia in Codex Venetus Marcianus 474. By W. J. M. STARKIE. Macmillan, 1911. 12s.

The second volume of Dr. Starkie's monumental edition of Aristophanes follows closely on the first, and is no less painstaking and no less welcome. The commentary errs on the side of fulness: this is partly because Dr. Starkie wishes to leave no suggestion unmentioned which could conceivably illuminate the text, and partly from a natural disposition in the editor of a well-worn classic to read more into the text than is there. The 'cynical' theory of Joel, which meets us on nearly every page of the notes, could surely have been relegated to an appendix. Rutherford's conjecture, that the scholiast derived καρδίλη from κάρρη οἰδαλέα, hardly deserves mention and certainly does not deserve approval; nor does Holzinger's interpretation of δῆμαρχος. Such phrases as 'possibly a jest' introduce several suggestions which are not worthy of the author *c. a.* 44, 106, 248. The translation into Shakesperian English is scarcely as successful as the author's version of the *Acharnians*, no doubt because of the philosophical jargon which pervades the play and does not lend itself to Elizabethan phrasing. The low comedy is more satisfactory, though the rendering of the quick sharp antiphonal lines 1089–1104 is a curious failure. The introductory essay on 'The Aim of the Clouds' is a just survey of a difficult question. The work may be warmly commended: its fault is, that it is slightly overloaded.

Four Plays of Menander. By EDWARD CAPPS. Pp. x + 328 : 1 facsimile. London : Ginn and Company. 10s. 6d.

Professor Capps of Princeton, who has already largely contributed to the textual criticism and elucidation of the Cairo papyrus, has now produced an edition of the *Hero*, *Epitrepontes*, *Periceiromene*, and *Samia*, 'in the belief that American college students may now profitably read Menander.' The book will certainly be very useful for class purposes. The introductions to each play are full and lucid, the notes are business-like and, as becomes a pupil of Prof. J. W. White, very sound on metrical points, while the critical appendix and bibliography will be found useful, even by scholars who possess the Teubner edition by Alfred Koerte. Thanks to this lucky discovery of the papyrus in 1905, we now know much more of Menander than could ever have been hoped, and an ingenious editor like Prof. Capps almost succeeds in disguising from the reader the fact, that even now we hardly have materials for fully judging the celebrated comedian. But we can see how life-like was his presentation of character, if we are not yet in a position to judge him as a composer of plots. The ingenuity of Prof. Capps in restoring almost the whole succession of incidents in the plays is remarkable : it must however be added, that it could only be justified in such an edition as this for the benefit of students, and that uncertainties are as thick as possible throughout the plays except in a few scenes like the famous Arbitration. The same thing must be said of his supplements, that they are always good Greek, and what Menander might have written, but in a great many cases there is not the least probability that we can restore the sense of the original. It will be well perhaps to confine detailed criticism to the best preserved play of the four, the *Epitrepontes*, which occupies fourteen of the thirty-two pages of the Cairo papyrus. We are at least certain in this play of the *Dramatis personae*, and Prof. Capps is no doubt right in regarding Chaerestratus as the father of Charisius and Sophrona as the nurse, not the mother, of Pamphila. But the part played by the former in the play still remains very doubtful, though we are inclined to think that the name is correctly restored by Sudhaus and Capps in 770. It may be that he manumitted the inquisitive slave, Onesimus, but surely not in two words, on hearing which the latter would not have continued to fix his eyes on the ground! Moreover it is more likely that Chaerestratus wanted to see the newly identified grandson than his son, and so 777 probably ended with *ένδοιν*. That the cook supplied some broad farce in the piece is probable, but who shall say, when or how? However if he is described in 166 as a slow-coach, Wilamowitz's view that he elicited the situation from Onesimus in the first scene is at least improbable. When or how Smicrines abused his son-in-law is quite uncertain. The uncertainty is complicated by the St. Petersburg parchment fragments, first seen by Tischendorf in 1844, but only fully published by Jernstedt in 1891. They clearly give some lines of a play of Menander. Prof. Capps has by ingenious editing fitted them into the third act of this play, but only by the improbable suggestion that the house of Chaerestratus is temporarily occupied by the leno, who owns Habrotonon. On the whole Koerte must be held to have made out his case against this insertion. The mere occurrence of the name Charisius in the fragments is not enough, and there is no probability in the restoration of the name of Chaerestratus, who would hardly address his slave as *γλυκέτας*, any more than Smicrines would curse the father of his daughter's husband. This is enough to show that though we have more than half the 1100 lines the play must have contained, we cannot say that we have recovered more than the main outlines of the plot. Prof. Capps was only able to use Koerte's revision of the papyrus in the last stages before publication, and in a second edition, which the book richly deserves, will no doubt alter his text somewhat. But he is particularly good in supplying lacunae according to the indications of the context, e.g. *Hero* 46-53. He will doubtless consider whether in face of the papyrus reading *χρηστός* in 48 he can keep his *χρηστόν* in spite of the admirable sense. On the other hand the papyrus is certainly corrupt in places. Apparently in Epitr. 53 *έδεον Σίγμαρκ* is the papyrus reading. In Epitr. 192 the emendation is ingenious, and far superior to the lame one of Wilamowitz adopted by Koerte. But is the crisis

μὴ τῷ ίνα impossible, as the same occurs in the papyrus of 118 the sense required is ‘‘that I may produce it to the master safe and sound.’’ In 138 we should surely read *μὰ Δια σοῦ*, and perhaps in 354 Prof. Capps is wrong in rejecting the ingenious idea that leaving a sinking ship is what was written, but his own view about *ἀπολεψίς* in the legal sense is certainly tenable. At the end of the play Croiset’s supplement based on 900–1 certainly deserved mention in the Appendix, if not to be printed in the text. Here and there the notes will need revision. In 165 *προκύδπιον* is the turnovel of the Doric tunie, which Syriscus bids his wife lift up from the bottom. In 173 it is hardly likely that there is ‘a jest at the expense of a contemporary artist.’ In 187 it is possible but not certain that *στρεπτόν* and *πτέρυξ* are two separate articles. Finally in a future text the following misprints should be corrected: Epitr. 102 *εὔρησις* for *εὕρεσις*, Sam. 79 *τοὺς πάνυων* for *τούπτάνυων*, Sam. 154 *ποίησαι* for *ποίησει*.

Studies in Menander. By F. WARREN WRIGHT. Pp. vi + 109. Baltimore: Waverly Press. 1911. \$1.

Dr. Wright, a pupil of Professor Capps, gives us four studies based on his teacher’s text, of oaths, mutes and liquids, omission of the article *metri causa*, and asyndeton in Menander. The first study only confirms what was already known, that ‘women never swear by Athena Apollo Dionysus Heracles or Poseidon and men never swear by the two Goddesses’ or by Aphrodite (*e.g.* Epitr. 203 *μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην* is certainly said by Habrotonon, even if the *καὶ μᾶλα* is a sarcastic comment of Onesimus), and draws no further conclusions. While *μὰ τὸν* (*Δια*) seems established, *μὰ τὴν* is wrongly inferred from Hesychius. What Dr. Wright does not say but should have said, is that our material shows that a character is often given a favourite oath. Demeas in the *Samia* swears thrice by Apollo, Onesimus in the *Epitheiōntes* perhaps twice by Helios, Habrotonon also uses the exclamation *τάλαν* five times and invokes the gods thrice. In the second study he finds it easy to establish the prosodical correctness of Menander as equal to that of Aristophanes, and concludes that apparent exceptions (if not quotations parodies or reminiscences of other poets) must be held under suspicion of corruption. The third study maintains that Menander never ‘omitted the articles for the sake of his verse, if he thereby contravened the usage of prose or colloquial language, but when that usage gave him a choice he took the form that suited him.’ He does not notice the curious case in Sam. 352. In the fourth study it is interesting to learn that the extant fragments of Philemon and Menander bring out nearly the same proportion of asyndeta. We cannot therefore argue that ‘Demetrius’ (On Style) was wrong about Philemon, but he was certainly right in emphasizing Menander’s preference for the disjointed style. A kindred point, which Dr. Wright might well have treated, is Menander’s colloquial fondness for brachylogy, *e.g.* the omission of *δεῖ* in a sentence like *τι φορτίδων ἔμοι :* or *οὐτως εὐτυχῆς* (*εῖης*), *οὐτως ἐλεύθερος* (*γένοιο*), or the following (Epitr. 164) ‘Have you a basket?’ (Well, if you haven’t) put them into the fold of your dress.’

Grèce. Par GUSTAVE FOUGÈRES. (Guide Joanne) 2^e édition revue et corrigée. 27 cartes, 56 plans, 30 illustrations et 1 tableau. Paris: Hachette, 1911. 15 fr.

The present edition of the Joanne *Grec* returns to the single volume, which contains 520 pages of text and more than 150 of (mostly irrelevant) advertisements—surely rather a large allowance. The elaborate typography and spacing seem to us to make the page too complicated for clearness: the index in particular suffers from this and the incorporation of *renseignements pratiques*. But we are here probably quarrelling rather with the series than the volume, and such details are in any case largely a matter of habit. Every

tourist will be grateful for the really clear indication of the new Athenian tramway-system, and many for the sixteen pages (with three plans) of Crete, a visit to which would be an inevitable pendant to a Greek tour, but for bad steamer-services, and as it is grows yearly more common. For archaeologists the book is specially important for the up-to-date descriptions, largely contributed by excavators, of sites explored by the French School, notably Delphi, Delos, and Argos. Capt. Bellot's survey of Delos is rather a luxury in a book of this size and the Preemet at Delphi surely deserves the additional clearness given by colour. A welcome feature is the generous treatment of mediaeval monuments : besides a map of Mediaeval Greece have been added M. Millet's plan of Mistra and others (indicating the scheme of decoration) of the Dáphni and H. Loukás monasteries.

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Γενική Ἰστορία τῆς Νήσου Κύπρου ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῆς Αγγλικῆς κατοχῆς, ἵπο Ι. Κ. ΠΕΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΗ. Pp. [c] + 1028. 'Ἐν Λευκοσίᾳ τίποις 'Φωνῆς τῆς Κύπρου.' 1910. 12 dr.

We have nothing against scissors and paste if used with method and intelligence, but the chaos resulting from the lack of these is painfully apparent in the book before us. This extraordinary jumble begins with a chapter headed *'Istoria'*, but the history in question is not, as one might expect from the title of the book, of Cyprus but of Ceryneia! the next chapter is (characteristically) on geology! The author explains these anomalies to his own satisfaction in the Preface. The book ends with an apology for an index which the author has drawn up without taking the trouble to arrange the items alphabetically. For the rest it is not unfair to take as a sample the Chronological Table of Cypriote history, surely an easy thing to compile, granted average care and common sense. The table is divided into two main headings 'Stone age' and 'Historical Period.' The first, beginning with a Palaeolithic Period, 50th.-10th. millennia B.C., of which, as our author naively remarks, there are no traces in Cyprus, proceeds by rapid bounds through Neolithic, Bronze, Iron, Minoan, Ptolemaic, etc. periods to the British occupation (1878). It then reverts to 1450 B.C., the Historical Period beginning in 1000 B.C. This second division goes on to 1878, inserting the dates of the Roman emperors for the first three centuries, but relegating the luckless Lusignan kings of Cyprus itself to a separate list placed after 1878. *'Quid plura'*.

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A History of the Ancient World. By G. W. BOSFORD. Pp. xvii + 588. New York : Macmillan, 1911. 6s. 6*d.* net.

This volume condenses Professor Botsford's previous histories of antiquity into a brief survey of the period extending from Menes to Charlemagne. It fulfils in a large degree the requirements of an introductory text-book. Its style is direct and simple, and the narrative flows easily. The unity of the subject is kept well in view, and sectional summaries are provided wherever the reader might lose the thread. Due proportion has on the whole been maintained between the various sections of the book, but two very important episodes, the post-Alexandrine era and the age of Augustus, are dealt with on too small a scale. The space allotted to constitutional and economic discussions is likewise insufficient, though Professor Botsford gives proof of his ability in handling these topics in his excellent account of the decline of the Roman Empire. On the other hand some curtailment might be effected in the chapters on art and literature, which are not properly correlated with the social and political history, and read too much like articles in a classical dictionary. In spite of occasional slips, e.g. in assigning the battle of Oenophyta to 436 B.C., and the death of Sertorius to 76 B.C., the author's knowledge of facts is, on the whole, up to date.

XAPITEΣ Friedrich Leo zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht.
Berlin : Weidmann. Pp. 490. 1911. 16 Mk.

The articles in this volume likely to interest Hellenists are . de Menone Larisaco (Bruhn) ; Πλάτωνος πρώτος πλούς (Stavenhagen) : Menanders Perikeironene 81-104 (K. F. W. Schmidt) ; Menandrea (Vollgraff) ; die hellenistische Poesie und die Philosophie Pohlenz) ; das Prooium des Arat (Pasquali) : de Lobone Argivo (Cronert) : Plutarch Πτερόν ὕδωρ κ.τ.λ. (Wegehaupt) ; zur Entstehung der Tischgespräche Plutarchs (Hubert) ; Zweck u. Bedeutung der ersten Rede des Maximus Tyrius (Hobein) : die Alexanderzitate bei Olympiodor (Capelle) ; der Eid vom Kloster Lorsch : MS. copy of a Greek inscription of a "Ορκος βουλευτῶν" (Ziebarth) ; zur Kunstgeschichte der griech. Inschriften (Jacobsthal ; 6 plates) ; zur Münzprägung des phrygischen Hierapolis (L. Weber . 2 plates)

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The New Laokoon: an Essay on the Confusion of the Arts. By IRVING BABBITT. Pp. xiv+258. London. Constable, 1910. 5s. net.

This book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the pseudo-classic, the second with the romantic, confusion of the Arts. The first part comes more or less into the scope of a review in the *Hellenic Journal*, and in it Professor Babbitt gives a readable account of the errors into which the eighteenth century was led by its excessive reverence for Aristotle's doctrine of imitation and Horace's *Ut pictura, poesis*. The second part contains a good chapter on Platonists and Pseudo-Platonists, and the remainder of the book is taken up with a polemic against the tendency of modern art to 'work away from its centre.' Professor Babbitt does not always seem very discerning in his criticisms of the greater Romantics, but his general point of view is undoubtedly a reasonable one.

* * * For other books received, see *List of Accessions to the Library*.

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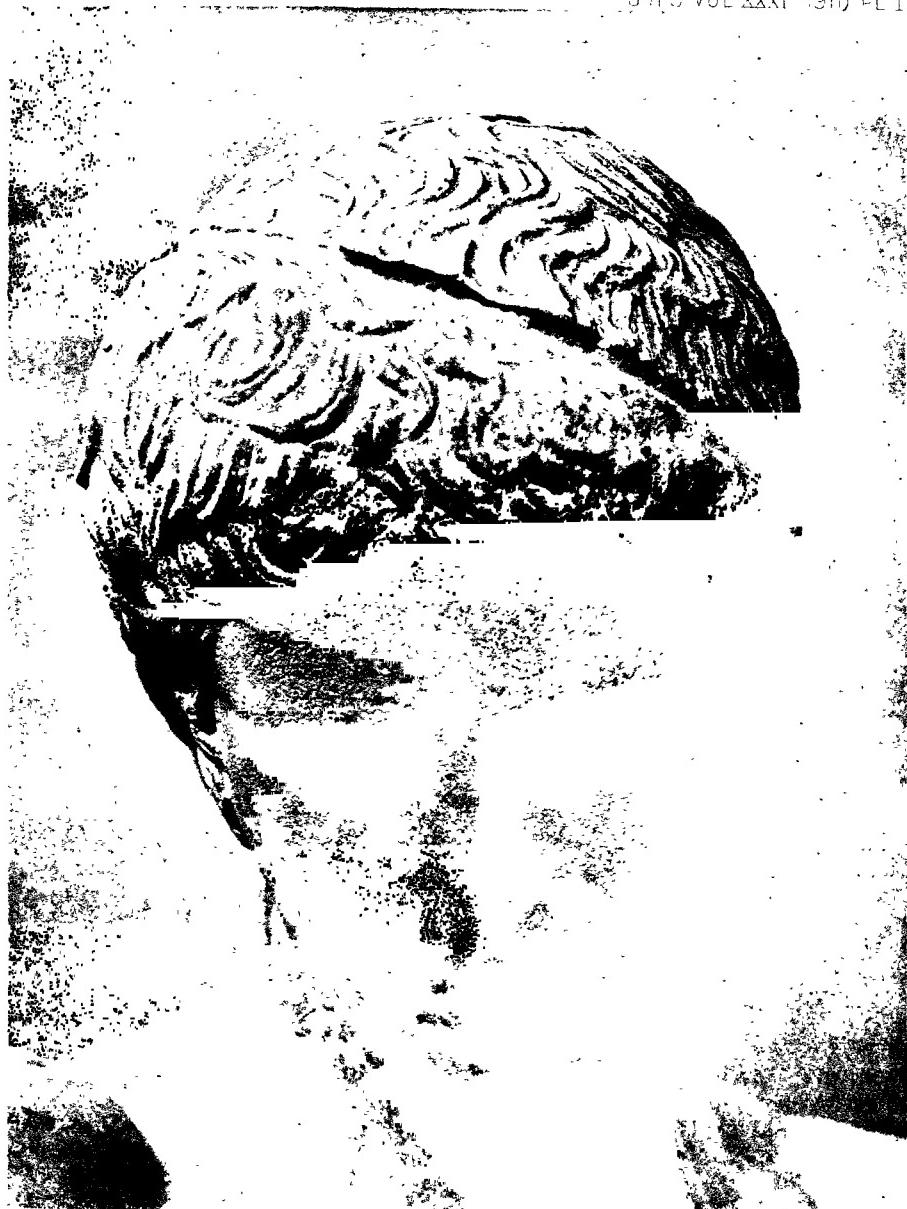
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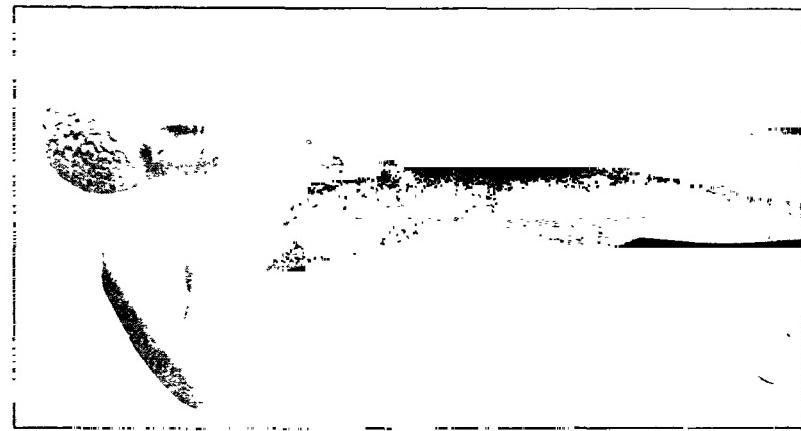


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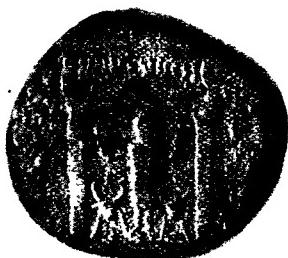
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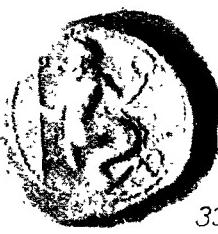
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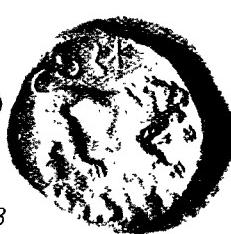
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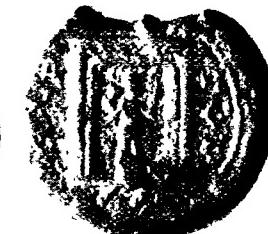
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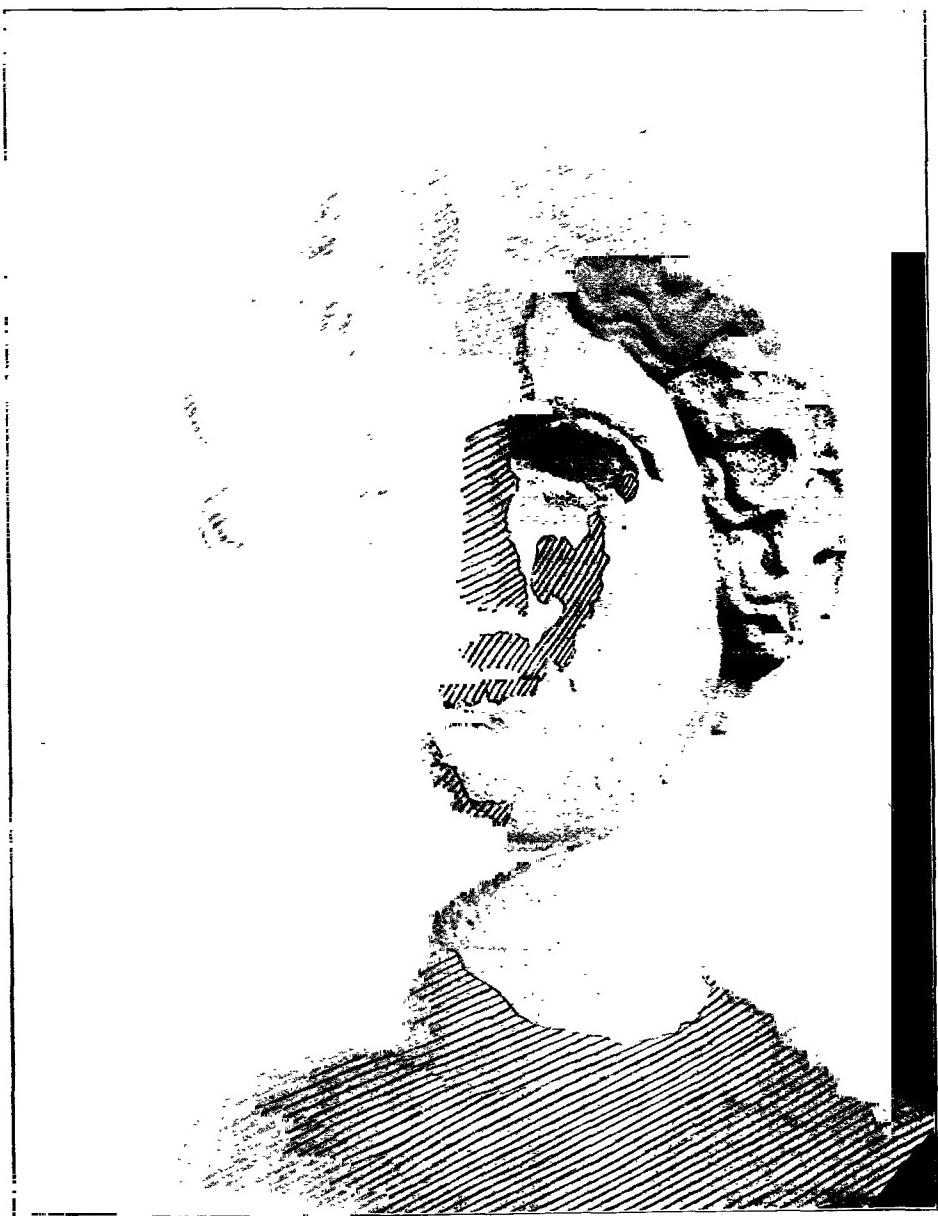
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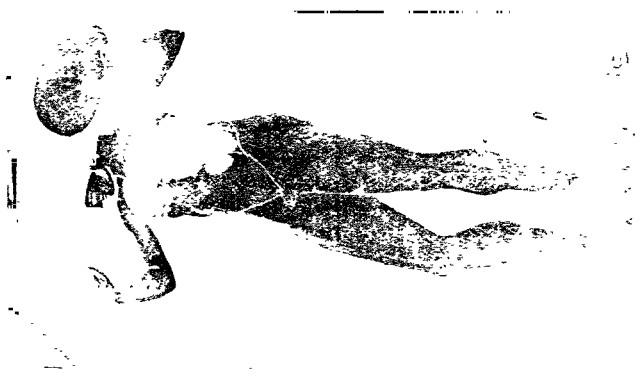
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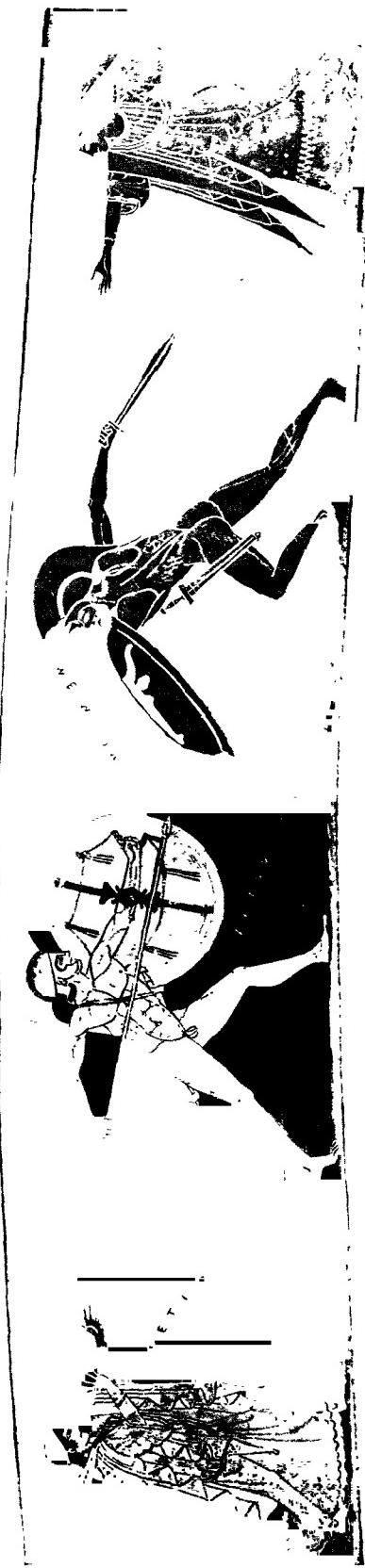


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